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Thomas Mayhew, Patriarch to the Indians

BY LLOYD C. M. HARE, LL. B., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA



THOMAS MAYHEW . . . deserves to be ranked with Bradford, Winthrop, and the other worthies, who established or governed the first English colonies in North America. The little band of adventurers, whom he boldly placed on an island, amidst numerous bodies of savages, have not become a large and flourishing people; his fame consequently is less; but his toils, his zeal, his courage were equally great. In prudence and benevolence he stands preëminent. Whilst on his part he abstained from all acts of violence and fraud against the Indians, he gained such an ascendancy over their minds, that they on their part never did him or his people the least injury, or joined in any of the wars, which their countrymen on the main land waged against the English. He seemed to come among them, not like a robber to dispossess them of their lands, not like a conqueror to reduce them to slavery, but like a father, to impart to them the comforts of civilized life, and the blessings of the gospel of peace.—James Freeman, in "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1815."

CHAPTER I

THE PRELUDE OF EMPIRE

In 1588 the Spanish Armada was destroyed by the grace of God and the sea dogs of England. On the bleak coasts of Ireland and Scotland lay the bones of Philip's ships. Britannia had become mistress of the seas.

The sun of empire had broken on Elizabethan England. It was the morning of the seaman, the middle class, and the merchant prince. Feudal barons no longer ruled supreme in councils of state with visions proscribed by the bounds of ancient manors. In this day commerce reached its peak, unconfined to the counting of pennies and the dickering of traders.

England sloughed provincialism; turned from broad acres to the swelling sea and took root beyond the ocean, ambitious to be something other than a mere island outpost of Europe.

Merchant adventurers and mariners went forth to vex distant seas in strange corners of the globe. Ships sailed the oceans laden with cannon and spices and furs.

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Great commercial companies were formed to trade in all the parts of the earth. Under the seals of state a stream of charters passed, granting new domains in savage untrammelled wildernesses. Vast tracts of land, mighty unexplored territories reaching from the Atlantic to the fabled South Sea, passed to favorites of the royal hand. Pioneers of empire dreamt of power.

In home ports all was bustle. Wooden ships creaked at wharves piled high with merchandise from strange lands. The music of lapping waters, the clank of chains, grating blocks, and straining hawsers lulled the air like gentle zephyrs and belied the dangers of foreign enterprise in barbaric lands. Hulls that had sailed uncharted waters pounded gently against their mother piers. In the counting houses merchants and masters planned new voyages.

Royal captains, explorers, and grizzled sea dogs ventured out of the harbors of England in cockleshell boats to explore the shores of North America. The prelude to the empire was being brilliantly dramatized.

To the stern forbidding shores of America were transplanted names ancient in the United Kingdom. Where the Indian roved in snow and forest, maps pictured New Scotland, New Dartmouth, New Somersetshire, the Colony of New Plymouth, and a host of home loved names, many of which took no root in the barren soil of the New World, but passed from all but the memory of man and the pages of history. Others flourished for a time or were merged in greater units.

Governors to strange lands were appointed, admirals of new seas commissioned, trading posts were settled, forts erected, and the foundations of empire laid.

In this hurly-burly of colonization and commerce were established close to the middle of the seventeenth century the colonies of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, the private proprietary of an English merchant from the seaport town of old Southampton—the Worshipful Thomas Mayhew, Esquire, father of a colony, governor of an island, feudal lord in the nobility of the New World, judge, educator, patriarch and missionary to the Indians of New England.



CHAPTER II

THE EARLY LIFE

On April 1, 1593, in the ancient church of St. John the Baptist, in the parish of Tisbury on the downs of south Wiltshire, England, Thomas, infant son of Matthew and Alice (Barter) Mayhew, was baptized.

The father of Thomas was a yeoman of gentle origin. Perhaps as his son was carried from the font of the parish church, he prayed that the infant who was destined to become one of a long line of British governors of dominions over-seas, would live to revive the fortunes of his branch of the Mayhew family, to bring again to his line the social rank from whence he sprang.

The Mayhew family of Tisbury was a cadet branch of the family of Mayhew, spelled Mayow, of Dinton, an armigerous county family of considerable distinction, with its pedigree registered by the heralds in the Visitations of 1565 and 1623. The name is of Norman origin and is most frequently met with in the south and west of England. It is often spelled Mahu and Mayo and not infrequently appears clipped down and reduced to May. There can be little doubt but that it is a softened form of Matthew. The name De Mahieu is found in the sixteenth century in the southern provinces of the Netherlands among the noble Walloon families of French-speaking Belgium.

Thomas Mayhew, of Tisbury, a younger son of Dinton, was father of Matthew and grandfather of the infant Thomas. He is the first of his family to have lived in Tisbury, the home of his mother's people, where he was taxed for goods as of the Tithing of Tisbury in 1540. This Thomas was the third son of Robert Mayow, Gentleman, "eldest sonne and heire of Dynton," who married Joan Bridmore, daughter of John, of Tisbury.

Thomas, of Tisbury, was a yeoman, a member of that free-born class of small landholders, in the social scale of the feudal system ranking below the gentry.

The line of demarcation between younger sons of the gentry and prosperous yeoman was not firmly fixed and was apt to fluctuate in accordance with the wealth of the parent stock and the size of their

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families. Thomas, as one of five sons and two daughters, and the third son of his stock, underwent this transition.

It has been suggested that he inherited his mother's estate at Tisbury while the eldest son and heir of the family retained possession of the Mayhew property at Dinton. These were the days when the eldest son was favored in inheritance to the exclusion of the younger. The drop of a step in the social scale in all probability accounts for the fact that descendants of Thomas are not recorded in the family pedigree prepared at the Visitations. The great art of the heralds of England was the elimination in tabular pedigrees of the names of younger sons and daughters and those not in the direct line of ascent from the head of the family at the time of the Visitation.

These were also days when the Puritan movement was growing in strength. The branch to which Thomas Mayhew belonged, becoming Protestant, may have lost association and recognition by the parent stock. The Mayhews of Dinton are said to have been of the Roman Catholic faith.

Thomas was buried in 1590, in Tisbury, predeceased by his wife, Alice.

Robert, father of Thomas, although named in the Visitations as "eldest sonne," is the only son of his generation recorded. He was doubtless that Robert Mayhew who, with John Todeworth, in a "Chirograph" dated 7 Henry VI, granted two messuages, three shops, and ten acres of land in New and Old Sarum to Robert Asshton and Alice, his wife, for life, remainder to John, son of the said Robert and the heirs of his body.

Simon Mayhew, Gentleman, father of Robert, and grandfather of Thomas, of Tisbury, heads the family in the recorded pedigrees, and bore as arms, "Argent, on a chevron between three birds sable, five lozenges of the field."

Matthew, son of Thomas, of Tisbury, and father of the infant Thomas, was born about 1550. He was a resident of the parish of Tisbury, where he was buried 26 February, 1614. In his will he is described as a yeoman. For his rank he appears to have been a man of substance. In his will, after minor bequests to the parish church at Tisbury and "to the poore people" of the parish, he bequeaths two hundred and twenty-four pounds of "good and lawfull monie of England" to his several children, and in addition "all the rest" of his goods, including his landed holdings, to his eldest son John.



CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, TISBURY, ENGLAND
WHERE THOMAS MAYHEW WAS BAPTIZED



INTERIOR VIEW OF CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
TISBURY, ENGLAND

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Alice, the wife of Matthew, to whom he was married in 1587, was a daughter of Edward and Edith Barter, of Haxton, in the parish of Fyddleton, County Wilts, and a granddaughter of James and Margaret Barter, of Fovent, in the same shire.

A prominent member of the Mayhew family was Edward, born at Dinton in 1570. He became a noted monk of the Benedictine Order. According to the writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography" he was "descended from an ancient family who had suffered for their attachment to the catholic faith." It is probable that he was a son of Henry, of Dinton, and a cousin to the father of Governor Mayhew. Edward, with a brother or cousin, Henry, not named in the Visitations, was admitted a student of the English College at Douay, then temporarily located at Rheims. Later attending the English College at Tome he took orders and was sent to England, where he exercised his functions for twelve years as a secular priest. Desiring to revive the Benedictine Order in England he took the habit and at the end of his novitiate was professed by the famous Father Sigebert Buckley, sole survivor of the order in England, and aggregated to the Abbey of Westminster. Edward was one of the two monks to keep unbroken the link in England connecting the old order of St. Benedictine with the new.

When Governor Thomas Mayhew was born, Elizabeth was Queen, Shakespeare was still living, and the fame of Raleigh and Drake and worthy John Hawkins and of a thousand more that by their powers "made the Devonian shore mock the proud Taugus" resounded still in the Briton's ear. In the same year was passed the Conventicle Act that provided the imprisonment without bail of any non-conformist who should be present at a religious gathering not authorized by the establish church. During the ten years preceding the ascension of James I to the throne large numbers of Puritan worshippers were sent to jail by the terms of this act and many others went into voluntary exile.

The formative period of Thomas Mayhew's life, no doubt, was spent in the parish of his birth. In times of leisure we may picture that he tramped the hills and downs of the countryside and mirrored his reflections in the still waters of the Nadder, quietly flowing, by whose banks ancient Tisbury slept with her past deep in Saxon history and the days of Ethelred.

The land where he lived was a land of pleasant villages and ancient churches, trees and parks and manor houses, dusty highways that lead

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up hill and over rolling downs, where one saw thousands upon thousands of sheep cropping grass, the source of England's woolen trade. It was home. All about him in neighboring parishes, Chilmark, Font-hill, and Dinton, lived a race of Mayhew squires and country gentlemen.

At Dinton, home of his parent stock, was born the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, whose daughter was to marry James, Duke of York, destined to become James II of England. The church at Tisbury contains a Brass to the Earl's father, Lawrence Hyde, great-grandfather of two of England's Queens. In later years Clarendon was to procure a patent of the province of New York from the King for his son-in-law, the Duke. In the history of that province it was destined the boy Mayhew should play a rôle.

But of this the youth foresaw nothing in the peaceful days that passed all too quickly. On Sundays he sat in the noble church that stood in the fields of the village and read inscriptions to the great Arundels, lords of the countryside, whose castle of Wardour stood not far distant. He did not know that some of England's history lay in the womb of that little countryside that seemed so peaceful and stable and far removed from the stirring world. He saw the Lady Arundel, a noblewoman of rank and influence, a sister to the Earl of Southampton: that Southampton who was patron of Shakespeare and who sent Captain Gosnold to America to establish the first English colony in New England upon an island of which Mayhew was later to be lord, and from which a town was to grow called Gosnold.

Perhaps the boy saw, too, Lord Arundel's daughter, the future wife of Lord Baltimore, of Maryland. She was to be buried in the church at Tisbury, where he sat.

On week days he attended the English school and perhaps the grammar school of the parish. The extent of young Mayhew's education can be no more than guessed.

In the early sixteen hundreds there were three main types of schools in England—the Dame School, the English School for instruction in the three *R*'s, and the Grammar School, devoted chiefly to the study of Latin and Greek with occasionally a bit of Hebrew. The latter was preparatory to the universities. To the Grammar School at Stratford-on-Avon went William Shakespeare, who had "small Latin and less Greek." The education of the great majority of English boys ended at the English School. It shunted pupils able to read the

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catechism and the Bible, to write a fairly legible hand and to wrestle with simple problems in addition and subtraction.

Judging from the letters of Thomas Mayhew and his conduct in life, we are justified in concluding that his education was greater than that of the average Englishman of his times. Education throughout the world was at a low ebb. Not to be illiterate was a matter of pride.

The peculiarities of orthography found in Mayhew's writings are those common to his day. *U's* are habitually used in place of *v's* and *v's* in place of *u's*; *e's* are placed in words where not now used, as in *doeing* and *yeares*; and the tendency to double letters is found, of which examples are *sitt*, *donne*, and *ffive*.

Another peculiarity common to the times was the shaping of the letter *i* so that the word *if* when reproduced in modern type appears *yf*. The elimination of letters to avoid the laborious use of a quill pen and poor ink was prevalent. The sign manual of this practice was the use of the apostrophe or the elevation of the last letter of a word above the line to denote the elimination of preceding letters.

Rules of capitalization were not hardened. Early writers gave free rein to the art of this expression, and astonishing were their results. We find educated writers and clergymen capitalizing inconsequential words whenever fancy strikes them and in the same sentence writing *god* and *christianity* in the lower case.

Past school age the picture of Thomas Mayhew may more clearly be limned. Major-General Daniel Gookin, the New England magistrate, who knew him personally, says he was "a merchant, bred in England, as I take it, at Southampton." This is verified by an entry in the Book of Free Commoners of the corporation of Southampton:

Nono die ffebr' 1620 (*i. e.*, 1621)
Thomas Mayhew late servant and
apprentice unto Richard Masey
of the Towne and countie of
Southampton mrcer havinge well
and truely served his apprentiship
with his said mr whoe beinge
prsent testified to the same
And he the said Thomas Mayhewe
(desieringe to be admitted a
free commoner of the said Towne
to use his trade of a mrcer in
this said Towne and his said mr

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likewise desieringe the same)
was therefore this present daie
admitted and sworren a free
commoner accordingly.

The privilege of a Free Commoner at Southampton entitled the licensee to engage in any "arte, scyence or occupation withyn the towne."

By this record a number of years in the life of Thomas Mayhew may be pieced. At the age of twenty-one his father had died leaving him an estate of forty pounds. A turning point in life had come. A few miles distant lay the seaport of Southampton, one of the great mercantile centers of south England. No occupation offered so great an opportunity for adventure, travel, wealth as did the mercantile life. So the youth determined at this time, if he did not do so sooner, to seek his fortune in the field of trade, the occupation then popularly pursued by sons of the gentry and wealthy yeomen.

Behind him he left the quiet fields of Wiltshire and its country families, its traditions of agriculture and woollen cloths. Opening before him was a vista of commerce and trade, ships and wharves and foreign enterprise.

It is thought that Richard Macey, with whom Thomas Mayhew served his apprenticeship, was a kinsman. Macey was a native of the adjoining parish of Chilmark, where young Mayhew had relatives, and it is not unlikely that the two were known to each other, if in no other way connected.

At the time of his freedom, Mayhew was close to twenty-eight years of age. We may infer that he was soon established in business for himself, plying as a mercer, a trade in silks and woollens.

The mercers were the great merchants of England. In their ranks were the most powerful traders of the day. No simple tradesmen they, we are told, but persons who dealt in a large way in a varied assortment of goods, such as linen cloths, buckrams, fustions, satins, fine woollen and other English cloths, cotton thread and wool, silk and other commodities.

In business at Southampton, Thomas Mayhew, Free Commoner and Merchant, followed the fortunes of the colonizing ventures of the great mercantile companies. The history of Southampton is replete with the exploits of merchant adventures concerned in the first settle-

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ment and maintenance of plantations in the West Indies and on the mainland of America.

The year prior to Mayhew's freedom the "Mayflower" met the "Speedwell" from Holland in Southampton waters and rode at anchor. From the quays of the town the merchant must have seen the beginnings of that great voyage which was to terminate with the arrival of the "Mayflower" at Cape Cod in the dead of winter. Already the Pilgrims were suffering the horrors of those first months and nearly one-half their number lay beneath the untamed sod of the Western World.

Mayhew's pursuits brought him close in contact with New World colonization. He is thought to be the Mr. Maio of whom the Massachusetts Bay Company ordered material for beds, bolsters, and ticks in 1628.

From the harbors of Southampton and the Isle of Wight sailed the great fleet of eleven vessels with 700 settlers under the leadership of John Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall that established the colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

The abilities of Thomas Mayhew in time reached the ears of Matthew Cradock, potent London merchant, one time governor of the company of the Massachusetts Bay. This was accomplished "by the reports and advize of maney & more especially" of John Winthrop, with whom Mayhew appears to have been acquainted and with whose son he was later an intimate friend and business adventurer.

Cradock was one of the great merchants of the kingdom who traded in all the seas. He is said to have invested in the trade with Persia and the East Indies and to have sent ships to the Levantine, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic provinces. He was heavily interested financially in the Massachusetts Company, under whose auspices John Endicott was exercising the chief authority over a small colony at Salem. As early as the spring of 1629 Cradock was instrumental in sending over shipwrights, gardeners, coopers, cleavers, and a wheelwright to the new plantation, and there is evidence that in this year was established his great private estate at Medford on the banks of the Mystic.

The many interests of Cradock in New England required supervision and this he accomplished from time to time by the appointment of an agent or factor to have general oversight and charge of his shipping, fishing, trading, and plantation interests.

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One such factor was Philip Ratcliffe, who early clashed with the Puritan leaders in the colony, and being censured by the local court, was returned to England minus his ears by judicial decree. Sometime thereafter Thomas Mayhew arrived in the "Bay." This event is fixed by contemporaneous records in the year 1631, and as Ratcliffe was summoned before the colonial authorities in the summer of that year, it is thought that the purpose of Mayhew's coming to New England was to fill the place left vacant by Ratcliffe.



CHAPTER III

THE MERCHANT

Immediately upon his arrival in the "Bay" Thomas Mayhew became identified prominently with the social and political life of the country. He was throughout the duration of his residence in Massachusetts one of the foremost merchants in the colony that was founded by members of the wealthy mercantile class of Old England, from which stratum of society it derived many of its leaders in the early days of settlement.

Johnson, in his "Wonder Working Providence," published in 1654, writes with serious profundity:

The richest Jems and gainfull things most Merchants wisely venter :
Deride not then New England men, this Corporation enter :
Christ call for Trade shall never fade, come Cradock factors send :
Let Mayhew go another move, spare not thy coyne to spend.
Such Trades advance and never chance in all their Trading yet :
Though some deride they lose, abide, here's faine beyond mans wit.

Thomas Mayhew's first known New England residence was at Medford on the environs of Boston. Medford at this time was the private plantation of Matthew Cradock and did not have the status of township standing. The plantation, with its green meadows and stately forests, lay on the north bank of the Mystic, situate upon a grant of thirty-five hundred acres. Here Cradock impaled a park where cattle were kept until it could be stocked with deer.

On an early map Medford is delineated as a cluster of six buildings. That one of these buildings was to a degree pretentious may be inferred by the fact that it is mentioned in the records as "Madford house." It was here that Cradock's chief agents lived and Thomas Mayhew in the course of time.

As Cradock's factor Mayhew became the head of a large corps of employees, occupied in furthering Cradock's business interests in numerous and diverse activities.

In 1634, Mayhew erected a water mill in Watertown, referred to by a contemporary as an "excellant" mill. This Mayhew eventually purchased for himself, which "brought him great profit." In a letter addressed to the "worshipfull John Wyntropp," Mayhew requests the

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use of Winthrop's team "a day or two, to hellpe carry the timber for building the mill at Watertown." The mill, which was the first in Watertown, was built at the head of tide-water on the Charles River at Mill Creek, which was a canal partly or wholly artificial, leaving the river at the head of the falls, where a stone dam was built.

Mayhew also requested of Winthrop delivery of certain hemp for calking "the pynnase," from which it may be gathered that he was engaged in shipbuilding.

The construction of ships comes early into the history of the Mystic plantation. The town of Medford was at one time noted for shipbuilding. Cradock sent over skilled artisans to promote the industry and as early as 1632 they had a vessel of one hundred tons on the stocks. In the year following a ship of three hundred tons and another of sixty tons were built. It may not be doubted that smaller vessels, such as pinnaces, galleys, and snows were launched upon the Mystic tides that flowed by the banks of the Medford plantation.

The smaller of these vessels were engaged in the coastwise trade, the larger in a three-cornered trade with the ports of Catholic Europe, the mother country, and the plantation on the Mystic.

The market for fish was poor in the mother country due to the fact that English merchants sent out their own fishing fleets. As fish was the staple article of New England export, trade necessarily sprang up with the Catholic countries of south Europe. There the New England ships would take on cargoes of wines and oils for Britain. Arrived in England these would be exchanged for clothing, food, and supplies needed in New England.

The fishery was one of the first and most flourishing trades established in the New World. It was the corner-stone of New England prosperity. Captain John Smith referred to its possibilities as a trade of more solid value to the country than the richest mine the King of Spain possessed in Spanish America. Cradock is said to have maintained fishing stations at Medford, Marblehead, and Ipswich. At Medford was a great weir which had come into the possession of Cradock and Governor Winthrop. Here "land fish" were taken, *i. e.*, fish caught without the use of boats. The weir was at the outlet of Mystic Lake, where today High Street, Medford, crosses the Mystic River at what is known as the Weir Bridge.

Something of Thomas Mayhew's activities as merchant, miller, plantation steward, and shipbuilder is expressed in a letter to the

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younger John Winthrop. In this Mayhew tells of a voyage to the Isles of Shoals "to buy 80 hogsheads of prouission" and reports that upon his arrival he "fownd noe such thinge as vnto me for trueth was reported: to procure 8 hogsheads of bread I was fayne to lay out one hundred pownds in ruggs & coates vnnecessarily: and for pease I got but 1 hogshead & $\frac{1}{2}$, whereof I sowed certain bushnells. Had things beene free at the coming in of this vessel, I woulde haue had a greater share of what she brought, yett I confesse, as matters hath beene carried, I haue not ought against that which hath beene donne."

Continuing, he writes, "I haue made out th accompt betweene vs. Concerning the Bermuda Voyadge and accompting the potatoes at 2*d*. the corne at 9*s*. per bushell, the pork at 10 *li*. per hogshead, orrengees and lemons at 20*s*. per c, wee two shall gaine twenty od pownds."

Winthrop, an accomplished scholar, a member of the Royal Society, and a governor of Connecticut, was the friend most dear to Mayhew throughout life. Him he addressed as "Deseruedly Honoured Mr. John Wynthropp, and my loueing Friend" and "my approued Freind."

Meanwhile, Cradock, in London, had become dissatisfied with the results of Mayhew's factorage. Like the London merchants who had financed the "Mayflower" pilgrims, Cradock was imbued with the belief that his investments in the new hemisphere should produce great revenue. But North America was not India, nor did it contain the wealth of the Caribbeans. The sterile and forbidding shores of New England produced timber, and in adjoining waters fish were caught in abundance, but in the markets of the home country such commodities did not bring the prices of an East Indian cargo.

Dissatisfied, Cradock became thoroughly convinced that the lack of "great returnes" was attributable to "vyle bad dealinge" on the part of Mayhew. In lengthy letters to the senior Winthrop, Cradock poured forth his grievances, real and imaginary, going so far as to intreat Winthrop to take steps to make Thomas Mayhew account for Cradock's property in New England, which the London merchant valued at 11,500 pounds, besides increase of "Cattell," improvement of grounds, "& proffitt by the labors of seruants," set off against charges and losses. Cradock "truely" hoped Mayhew would give him reasonable satisfaction, and in so doing, says Cradock, "I ame confydent it will doe himselfe a great deale of right."

Immediately Cradock sent over a new agent, one Joliffe, who reported in regard to Mayhew's accounts, "that what is not sett downe

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is spent." "Most extremely I am abused," bewailed Cradock, "My servants write they drink nothing but water & I have in an account lately sent me Red Wyne, Sack & aqua vitae in one yeere about 300 gallons, besides many other intollerable abuses, 101£ for tobacco etc. My papers are misselaid, but if you call for the coppies of the accounts sent me & examine vpon what ground it is made, you shall fynd I doubt all but forged stuffe." Cradock complained that bills came almost daily to him of one kind or another. By these his mind was much disquieted, as he thanked God never anything did in the "lyke" manner before.

Continues he, "When it shall appear howe he hath dealt with me, you & all men shall see it I am persuaded will hardly thinke it would be possible that a man pretending sincerity in his actions could deale so vilely as he hath & doeth deale by me."

"Yeet," writes Cradock again, "what shall I say, Mr. Mayhew is approved by all."

Not alone Winthrop, but Sir Henry Vane, the then governor of the colony, was favored with letters from the London merchant.

Mayhew's version of this controversy cannot be presented with much wealth of detail. His story is gleaned imperfectly from Cradock's letters, from the conduct of compeers, and collateral circumstances. Cradock himself mentioned the good reputation which the factor held. Rather testily he had referred to Captain Pearce, the trusted confidant of the leaders of the Massachusetts Colony in England and America as one who was a Mayhew "well-willer."

Men in New England who knew Mayhew personally rallied to his aid, including the "heavenly minded" Haynes, himself a merchant. Cradock "marvels," as he expressed it, that Mr. Haynes, a former governor of the colony and the son of a privy councillor in England, should "drawe" himself "into such a buseynes," but is "perswaded" that Mr. Haynes is laboring under a misapprehension as to Mayhew's dealings and will be enlightened when the factor's methods are "unmasked."

The gist of Cradock's spleen was business losses. He had invested many thousands of pounds in the new plantation, yet his New England interests totaled in the debit column. Wounded in his pocketbook, his soul writhed in a torment of pain. Upon Mayhew he turned with all the frenzy of a mind "much disquieted." Mayhew's cardinal sin was a failure to live up to the expectations of his employer. There can be

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little doubt but that Mayhew was honest. The entire course of his life is a demonstration of a rugged integrity.

It may be that Mayhew made business errors and failed to report with sufficient detail to the satisfaction of Cradock. More than this the evidence does not sustain.

It must not be forgotten that Cradock's source of information was Joliffe, a man anxious to secure Mayhew's position, as he did.

Steps taken by Winthrop to make Mayhew "answerable" are not known. The judicial records of the colony disclose that court action was not pursued. This was a day when no controversy was too small to solicit the solemn attention of the magistrates. It is probable that the local governor of the colony paid small heed to the cry of the English merchant. It is not known that Mayhew suffered anything from the controversy other than that his position as the New England representative of the London merchant was not renewed upon the expiration of contract. His social and political prestige suffered nothing in the eyes of his colleagues who better understood the difficulties of his tasks and the expenditures necessary to further new and extensive operations in a pioneer country.

The letters of Cradock contain one of the few attacks upon Mayhew's private character, remarkable in that he was a man long and strenuously before the public, whose varied career as merchant, governor, manorial lord, and Indian missionary extended over a period of fifty-one years in America.

In later years Cradock had business dealings with Mayhew, an indication that he no longer believed in the charges he had been so hasty in bringing.

The termination of Mayhew's employment as factor necessitated his removal from Medford. He took up residence in the nearby village of Watertown, where already he had business interests. Here, a few miles outside the principal town of Boston, the merchant resided the following seven or eight years, continuing his identity in colony affairs and enlarging his business and landed interests.

He was one of the great landowners of the colony. He held a large farm in Watertown of two hundred and fifty acres and three tracts of "upland," totaling more than one hundred and twenty acres. In addition he possessed thirty acres of meadow at the "westpine meadows" in the township.

The other large landowners at Watertown were Sir Richard Sal-

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tonstall, the Rev. George Phillips, Robert Feake, Gentleman, and John Loveran.

Mayhew also owned for a time the Oldham farm of five hundred acres located at the junction of the Charles River and Stony Brook in the present town of Waltham, and the so-called Bradstreet farm of an equal number of acres in Cambridge Village, now Newton.

At Watertown the former factor continued his commercial activities and the operation of the mill which by this time had come into his ownership, as well as the fish weir which had been constructed by the town a number of years before. The fishery in the Charles River was one of considerable importance. Wood, the early chronicler, testifies that at this weir were taken "great store of Shads and Alewives. In two Tydes they have gotten one hundred thousand of those Fishes."

Not far removed from the mill and weir was the proprietor's home lot of twelve acres with residence and orchard.

To span the Charles River in this center of commercial activity, Mayhew constructed a bridge, the first and most important in Watertown. It was usually called the Mill Bridge or the Great Bridge. Although successful as a structure of use, it proved a failure to its builder as a means of financial remuneration.

As early as 1641 its sponsor applied to have granted him the right to charge tolls. The application was referred by the colonial legislature to the governor and two magistrates to settle for seven years. But after some dickering, the privilege was refused, and by some unknown process of logic it was determined that the bridge should "belong to the Country" and that Mayhew should have in return for his investment and enterprise a tract of three hundred acres of land, which was voted him without thanks. The transaction was closed to the satisfaction of all but Mayhew. The colony reaped the fruits of private enterprise and, as has been aptly stated, "Mayhew got a lot of land in the woods thirty miles west of Boston" for his pains, in what is now Southboro and Framingham, on the north bank of Hopkinton River.

It is not known exactly under what arrangements, if any, the builder undertook the construction of the bridge, but it is apparent that the paternalistic government of the colony did not favor private enterprise and monopolies.

The outcome of the bridge episode was of special grief to Thomas Mayhew for the reason that the years 1640 and 1641 were a time of financial depression.

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Matters reached a state where the General Court of the colony took a hand and passed an act that no man should be compelled to satisfy any debt, legacy, fine, or other payment, in money, but that creditors should accept satisfaction in corn, cattle, or other commodities because of "a great stop in trade & comerce for want of money."

Late in 1640 came the news that the Scots had invaded England in rebellion against the efforts of Charles I to force Episcopacy upon their people. The sending to New England of supplies fell off abruptly. Through the colony spread the news that the calling of a parliament and the possibility of a thorough reformation was imminent in England. The convention of the Long Parliament and the uprising of the Puritans in civil war was soon to come. Many of the settlers in New England decided to return to England. Others, despairing of supplies from the home country under the circumstances, and doubtful of the opportunity to earn a living should they return, moved southward, where subsistence was more easily secured than in the sterile soil of Massachusetts.

To effect removal a great many estates were put upon the market at low prices that the emigrants might raise quick cash. "These things," writes Governor Winthrop, "together with the scarcity of money, caused a sudden and very great abatement of the prices of all our own commodities." The price of corn and livestock, two staple articles of exchange, dropped sharply, "whereby it came to pass that men could not pay their debts, for no money nor beaver were to be had," and he who the year prior had been worth 1,000 pounds could not now, concludes Winthrop, raise 200 pounds.

The times were difficult for a man involved in as many enterprises as Thomas Mayhew. Bills and debts became pressing. An orgy of mortgages ensued. Between 1639 and 1643 the mill at Watertown, the fish weir, the Bradstreet farm, the Watertown farm, and other miscellaneous tracts of land and properties were either mortgaged or sold.

Something of the merchant's efforts to raise money he recounts to Winthrop, a fellow victim, who suffered reverses at the time from which he never fully recovered. Mayhew was threatened with having goods distrained by the government for failure to pay a tax. At the same time the colony owed him more than seventy pounds, which he had been attempting to collect for a year and a half. Mayhew could not see equity in it.

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Writes he, "I may safely say that if I had had my money as was then fully intended, being then 100 li., it had donne me more good, in name & state, then now wilbe made whole with double the money." Continuing, he writes, "Mony is verry hard to gett vpon any termes. I know not the man that ca ffurnish me with it . . . when I was syck & in necessitie, I could not gett any of the Tresurer." In conclusion, he adds briefly, "I delight not to compleyne."

The letter was carried to the governor by the constable, whom, says Mayhew, "I thinke he comes vnto yow for counsell" in the matter. Developments are not known. Perhaps Winthrop joined in Mayhew's view that there was no "equitie" in the matter and legal process was abandoned.

In the words of the merchant's friend, Daniel Gookin, the time had come when it pleased God to frown upon Mayhew "in his outward estate."

In a new and undeveloped country still in the pioneer state, where life was mainly agricultural and piscatorial, and men found it necessary to till the soil and build with their hands to eke a livelihood, the trials of the entrepreneur and capitalist were many and fraught with peril even under the most favorable circumstances.

Winthrop, Senior, Cradock, Mayhew, Oldham, and others found New England a source of financial loss. The era of great mercantile wealth and the growth of rich and powerful families with fortunes grounded on foundations of exports and imports was not to come for another quarter of a century.



CHAPTER IV

THE LEGISLATOR

In the early days of the Massachusetts Colony politics were, as in England, a profession pursued by gentlemen. Citizens of the best brains and education were called upon to serve the country in its several branches as a matter of civic duty. An office of trust, whether great or small, was an office of honor. A wealthy merchant of Boston expressed the spirit of the day when he questioned in his diary his worthiness to exercise the office of corporal of militia.

The name of Thomas Mayhew appears on the records of the colony as early as March 6, 1632, on which day he filed a report as chairman of a committee appointed to settle the boundaries of Charlestown and Cambridge. In July of the following year he was appointed by the General Court to act as administrator of the estate of Ralph Glover.

For reasons unknown the merchant failed to become a freeman for a number of years. Whether he was unwilling to throw off allegiance to the Church of England, or whether with that caution which was characteristic of him he was not yet ready to cast his fortunes with the new colony, cannot at this day be said.

In the spring of 1634, however, he applied and was admitted a Freeman of the company of the Massachusetts Bay, entitled thereby to actively participate in the government of the colony as an elector and to hold offices of public trust. In the list of candidates admitted at this time but six are accorded the title "Mr.," a prefix then conferred with care, and denoting the possessor to be a man of rank. Three of these men of quality were the celebrated clergymen, Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, and Samuel Stone. The others were William Brenton, a member of an ancient and wealthy English family; Captain William Pierce, the distinguished voyager and shipmaster, author of New England's first almanac; and Thomas Mayhew.

Says the historian of Watertown, "For the ensuing 13 years, it appears by the Colonial Records, that few, if any, other persons so often received important appointments from the General Court" than Thomas Mayhew.

The status of a Freeman is one of interest. It is commonly known that the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New

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England was chartered by royal patent as a trading company. In the establishment of the colony in America the administration of the trading company became the government of the colony. The board of directors of the company, known as Assistants, became the magistrates, and the stockholders or Freemen the electors.

Of two thousand inhabitants in the colony in 1630 not more than a dozen had political competence. Not until the year following was the first class of Freemen admitted after the transfer of the charter to the New World. Freedom soon became restricted to colonists who held fellowship with one of the churches in the jurisdiction.

A small percentage of the population had become voters. These met in the stockholders' meeting of the company, where the higher officers of the colony were elected. The Freemen growing unwieldy in number for mass meetings, it was determined that the several plantations should send Deputies instead. In time the stockholders' meeting became the supreme legislative body of the colony.

On the day of his admission to Freedom, Mayhew, as a welcome, was fined by the General Court for a breach of its order against "imployeing Indeans to shoote with peeces." Mayhew had employed Indian servants for hunting purposes, perhaps to provide provisions for Cradock's numerous employees under his care, or for animal fur. That the offense was not heinous is gathered by the further order of the General Court that the Court of Assistants who had illegally, as they deemed, given Mayhew permission to do the act complained of, should pay a part of the fine levied. This is an early example of the control of the Freemen of the colony assembled in General Court over the jurisdiction of the magistrates.

On the same day a committee of the court was appointed to bargain with Mr. Mayhew and Mr. Stevens, or either of them, for the building of a seafort at Boston for the defense of the colony: the court agreeing to perform whatever bargain the committee might strike "for manner & time of payem^t." Mayhew's connection with this enterprise is thereafter veiled in obscurity. It may be that a "manner & time of paym^t" were not satisfactorily arrived at.

All in all, Thomas Mayhew, honored with the title "Master," fined as a miscreant for permitting Indians to shoot with "peeces," and consulted as an engineer, appears to have been busily occupied at his first attendance at the General Court as a Freeman.

A few weeks later he was intreated by the court to examine what

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hurt the swine kept by the men of Charlestown had done among Indian "barnes" of corn on the north side of the Mystic, the inhabitants of Charlestown promising to give the Indians satisfaction in accordance with his findings in the matter. Already he was a man of influence with the Indians, a phase in life for which he was to become famous.

An example of the paternalistic character of the Massachusetts government and its control of private trade is found in an act of the General Court passed the succeeding year. This statute provided that no person should buy commodities of any ship coming within the jurisdiction of the colony without license first obtained from the governor, under penalty of confiscation of goods so purchased or their value. The act then proceeded to authorize Mayhew and certain other merchants in the colony, "or any one of them," to board any ship that had lain twenty-four hours at anchor and discovered to be a friend, to take note of what commodities it had for sale.

The boarding merchant was then to report the results of his observations to his fellow licensees, the majority of whom were at liberty to buy such commodities as they should judge to be useful to the country. It was provided that goods purchased should be landed by the merchants and stored in some magazine near the place where the ship lay at anchor, and that at any time within the space of twenty days after the landing, and notice given the several towns, sales should be made from the stock to any inhabitant within the jurisdiction, of such commodities as might be needful. The act concluded with a maximum profit specified to the merchant, "& not above."

An incident in the life of the colony at this time in which Mayhew played a part was that which has been made famous by Hawthorne: the cutting of the red cross of St. George from the King's colors by John Endicott for the reason that it savored of popery. This picturesque incident, more widely known than any other one event in early New England history, threw the colony into a furor.

The cross in the flag had early troubled the tender conscience of the Puritan exile. Whether this flaunting symbol of "Anti-Christ" should be carried in the flags of the militia had early been referred to the ministers at Boston for decision, but the clergy being divided in opinion, the question was deferred to another meeting. Meantime Roger Williams, who could split a theological hair or create a political schism better and with more eloquence than his worst persecutor ever hoped to do, continued to express his opinion that the cross should be

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discarded. Endicott, inspired by the young cleric's logic, on the green at Salem, before the assembled train band, with his own sword, had purged the ensign of Old England of its stigma, and the embattled militia men had proudly marched away with the amputated remains unfurled to freedom's breezes. The scruples of the yeomen who had refused to follow the flag in its former sinful condition were satisfied. But not so the government. The problem involved a magnitude too great to be solved by a Caesarian operation. Such means savored of treason. For a time it was ordered that all ensigns should be laid aside. The ministers rallied to the harassed administration and promised to write to the most wise and godly of their faith in England for advice.

Complaint was made to the General Court that the King's colors had been defaced. "Much matter was made of this," writes Winthrop, "as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature, in defacing the king's colors; though the truth were, it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England by the pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a reluke of antichrist."

Endicott was hailed before the Court of Assistants to answer for his act, but the court was unable to agree to any conclusion in the premises. The entire question was deferred to the next meeting of the General Court, convened at Newton. The question came early to the attention of that body. A committee of thirteen Freemen, including Thomas Mayhew, was appointed to consider Endicott's act and "to reporte to the Court" how far they judge it "sensureable." After one or two hours' time, the committee returned to the floor of the court and rendered its report:

The commission^rs chosen to consider of the act of M^r Endicott concerning the col^{rs} att Salem did reporte to the Court that they apprehend hee had offended therein many wayes, in rashness, vncharitablenes, indiscrecon, & exceeding the lymitts of his calling, wherevpon the Court hath sensured him to be sadly admonished for his offence, w^{ch} accordingly hee was, & also disinabled for beareing an office in the comon wealth, for the space of a yeare nexte ensuing.

This report Winthrop amplifies in his journal saying the committee found Endicott's offense to be rash and without discretion in that he took upon himself more authority than he had without advice of court; uncharitable because, although he considered the cross to be a sin he

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contented himself in reforming it only at Salem, taking no step to reform it elsewhere; and that he laid a "blemish" upon the rest of the magistrates in intimating that they would admit of idolatry. A heavier sentence was not levied, explains Winthrop, because the court was persuaded the captain had done the act out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent.

In the end the military commissioners of the colony ruled that the cross of St. George as a device upon the national colors should be left out of the flags carried by the militia, and that the ensign flown at the King's fort in Boston Harbor should bear the sovereign's arms in substitution.

Endicott, in later years, in his capacity as a Commissioner of the United Colonies, was able to exercise considerable influence in connection with the activities of the Indian mission at Martha's Vineyard, then under Mayhew's supervision. There is nothing to show that Endicott harbored any grudge against Mayhew as a consequence of service on this committee. In fact, considering the enormity of the offense of mutilating the nation's flag, the sentence of the court was innocuous. The entire proceeding was a play to the British gallery. The Britons were watching the Puritans of New England with suspicious eyes and charging them with sedition.

In September, 1636, Thomas Mayhew was elected for the first time a Deputy to the General Court. This dignified body of lawmakers and judges recruited its membership from the wealthy and landed proprietors of the colony, its members representing the higher level of society.

At the time of his election the new Deputy was about forty-three years of age.

For the ensuing eight years Thomas Mayhew was returned to the General Court at nearly every session, being a member of at least fifteen courts during that period. Upon occasion he was fined for absences, it being voted once that "The fines of this weeke are agreed to bee given to George Munnings who lost his eye in the countryes servise."

As a Deputy he was appointed to many important committees in company with the leaders of the colony. His name appears as a member of committees appointed to lay out land grants ordered by the General Court, to judge and establish boundaries between the several towns, to levy tax rates, to audit the books of the colony's treasurer, to adjust accounts between individuals, and similar duties.

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With the husband of the "heretic," Anne Hutchinson, he was ordered by the Court of Assistants to gather up the debts and estate of Captain John Oldham, recently murdered by the Indians at Block Island. The murder of Oldham, a prominent merchant, was a chief cause in bringing on the Pequot War, the first of the Indian wars of New England.

When the judicial system of the colony was revised, Thomas Mayhew was one of three gentlemen appointed to hold court for Watertown to hear and determine all causes not exceeding twenty shillings in amount. Business had grown apace in the colony with the increase of population, and although lawyers were looked upon as fathers of strife and were practically nil in the colony as a profession, the calendars of the law courts, nevertheless, had become choked with petty actions, and merchants found themselves at great expense in pursuing debtors and in adjusting accounts among themselves.

An important committee on which the deputy and judge served was one appointed by the General Court from its membership to consider a letter received by it from the Indian sachems Canonicus and Pesecus, of the Narragansetts. The members were ordered "to returne theire thoughts & conclusions" to the "howse" for action.

Canonicus was the ancient sachem of the restless Narragansetts of Rhode Island. Pesecus was his nephew, who ruled with him as a sort of sachem-coadjutor on account of the former's great age. Pesecus' brother, Miantonomo, had been slain by the chief Uncas, outcast leader of a band of malcontent Indians, and the Narragansetts were prepared to embark upon the customary war of retaliation and extinction. The move was frowned upon by the Massachusetts government.

Samuel Gorton, a settler, who for his "damnable errors" had been banished from the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, is charged as the inciting influence behind the activities of the Narragansetts. Writing over the marks of the chiefs Canonicus and Pesecus, Gorton had addressed a letter to the Massachusetts authorities, pleased at the opportunity to bait his former persecutors. In the letter surprise is expressed that the Massachusetts authorities should disapprove of the war, and with ingenious reasoning the writer suggests, in light of the fact that the Narragansetts had recently submitted themselves to the protection of the English crown, that any difference between the Massachusetts government and the Narragansetts should be referred to the

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King for settlement on the theory that the settlers and the Narragansetts were fellow subjects of a common sovereign.

The submission of the Narragansetts was made directly to that great and mighty prince, Charles, King of England, at the suggestion of some of Gorton's followers for the reason that both the Gorton faction and the Narragansetts feared to come under the sway of their neighbors to the north. The Massachusetts leaders were jockeyed into the position where they appeared in the light of attempting to control, with overbearing strength, the conduct of others of his Majesty's loyal subjects.

The committee of the General Court perceived the delicate hand of Gorton in the epistle, or thought they did, and two messengers were hastily dispatched to Canonicus to convey the court's answer, with instructions to query the Narragansett chiefs if they "did own" the letter, by whose advice they had done as they wrote, and why they countenanced counsel from such evil men as Gorton and his followers. These diplomats were illy received by the Narragansett's chief, who compelled them to wait two hours before giving them audience in his wigwam. Entering at length, the envoys found Canonicus stretched upon a couch from which he failed to arise. He would give them but few grudging words. After four hours of this treatment, Pesacus removed the party to an "ordinary" wigwam, not suitable for the reception of English ambassadors, where a conference was held through most of the night. That it was unsuccessful may be gathered from the fact that the Narragansetts, with the Mohawks and the Pocomoticks, betook themselves to the warpath against Uncas in a long drawn war in which Uncas received support from the English. This assistance he repaid in later years by siding with the colonists against King Philip. The merits of the war is a contested bit of history and the exact part played by Gorton's men cannot now be estimated with impartial accuracy.

During all the time that Thomas Mayhew was playing a rôle in the affairs of the colony, he was prominent in the smaller sphere of town affairs at Watertown. Immediately upon taking up residence in the town he was elected one of eleven selectmen empowered to "dispose of all the Civill Affaires of the Towne for one whole yeare." The members elected constituted the legislative body of the town, and exercised also judicial powers in the enforcement of local ordinances, sitting as a police court. The office of selectman Mayhew held a number of years, at times acting as chairman of the board.

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He was one of two townsmen appointed by the town to make a rate for the discharge of town obligations covering in part charges for "fencing ye burying place," and for the support of "ye Poore."

In the midst of stirring events in England and depression in New England, came the great event in the life of Thomas Mayhew that was to change the entire tenure of his future—the opportunity to acquire the title and sovereignty of the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket and those adjacent, to become like William Penn and Lord Baltimore, on a smaller scale, the proprietary of a colony in America.



CHAPTER V

THE LORD OF THE ISLES

In the September of 1641 appeared at Boston, as General Deputy to the Right Honorable the Earl of Stirling, one James Forreth, with authority from his principal to dispose of lands for the colonization of Long Island and parts adjacent.

William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, had for some time been endeavoring to colonize the vast domains granted him upon the division of the territories of the Council for New England. Stirling was an eminent Scotch poet of ancient family. A favorite of the King, he held the post of Secretary for the Kingdom of Scotland. He was the recipient of prodigious gifts of land. He received from the New England Company the lands of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Stirling planned the settlement of these territories by the sale of baronies to gentlemen of rank who would contract to place on the soil of their grants a certain number of inhabitants. For the furtherance of this enterprise the King created a new order, the hybrid Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, each member of which was to be a little more than a knight and a little less than a baron. Every purchaser of a barony was entitled to the orange tawny ribbon of the new order upon payment of requisite fees.

Although the new titles were conferred upon a number of gentlemen, and the royal pocket reaped a harvest each time the royal sword dubbed a baronet, the scheme as a means of settlement failed. The bleak fields of New Scotland bloomed with naught else than knights and passed into the possession of the French, leaving the landless proprietors of Nova Scotia with the orange tawny ribbon of their order and a title derided by the older nobility.

Of Stirling, an early satirist made the comment that "It did not satisfy his ambition to have a laurel from the Muses, and be esteemed a King amongst Poets, but he must be King of some New-found-land; and like another Alexander indeed, searching after new worlds, have the sovereignty of Nova Scotia. He was borne a Poet, and aimed to be a King; therefore he would have his royal title from King James, who was born a King, and aimed to be a Poet."

After the Seigniorship of New Scotland might be said to have ceased

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to exist, so far as Stirling was concerned, he, or his son, was granted another gift of land in the New World with which to experiment.

In the charter of this grant the new lordship was delineated as embracing within its boundaries all that part of the mainland of New England adjoining the late New Scotland on the south, from the river St. Croix along the sea coast to Pemaquid, and up that river to the Kennebec and the river of Canada, to be called the county of Canada, together with Long Island to the west of Cape Cod, thereafter to be titled the Isle of Stirling, "with all & singular, havens, harbours, creeks, and Islands, imbayed and all Islands and Iletts lying within five leagues distance of the Maine being opposite and abuttinge vpon the premises or any part thereof not formerly lawfully graunted to any by speciall name."

Another great adventurer in the New World contemporary with Alexander was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a hero of the war in France; like Stirling, a kingly favorite and a prominent member of the Council for New England. It was Gorges who had been instrumental in procuring from that company a charter for the Pilgrim founders of Plymouth Colony.

In 1622 Gorges and Mason were granted the territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, extending inland sixty miles. Upon a division of this grant in 1629 the northern part between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers fell to the lot of Gorges, and was named by him New Somersetshire, after his home county in England. Ten years later Gorges was able to procure the King's confirmation to this territory. By the terms of the royal patent, vice-regal powers of government were conferred upon Gorges, who was to act as Lord Palatine of the Province of Maine, the name under which New Somersetshire emerged in the royal christening.

Sir Ferdinando, remaining in England, sent over his nephew, Thomas Gorges, to act as local governor. Richard Vines, a gentleman sent out for trade and discovery, was already in the country.

At Boston, Stirling's emissary, James Forrett, came into contact with Thomas Mayhew, and being ready always to further his master's interests and to encourage the colonization of his lands, negotiations were opened with the Puritan merchant to accept a grant of one or more of the unsettled islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and those adjacent, eastward of Long Island; a part of the domain claimed by Stirling.

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Martha's Vineyard, the largest and most fertile of these islands, had already been described in print by a number of early explorers, although Nantucket was not so well known. With a purchaser in sight it may be assumed that Stirling's agent pictured in glowing terms the forest-clad island of Martha's Vineyard, with its belt of hills to the north, its rolling plains and wild moors, its salt ponds leading to the sea, its cliffs at Nashaquitsa two hundred and twenty feet high, and the vast solitude of beach along the south shore where the waters of the Atlantic roll eternal. Perhaps with the book written by the historian of the Gosnold expedition before him as a text, he pictured the "chiefest trees" of this island which are beeches and cedars, the latter "tall and straight, in great abundance," and described the luxuriant flora which crowded the island from the waters of Vineyard Haven to the great south beach, from the multi-colored cliffs at Gay Head to the pasture lands of Chappaquiddick, the "Cypress trees, Oakes, . . . Elmes, Beech, Hollie, Haslenut . . . Cotten trees," high timbered oaks, "their leaves thrice so broad as ours," and walnut trees in abundance; cherry trees that "beareth" fruit like a cluster of grapes, "forty or fifty in a bunch," and sassafras trees in "great plentie all the Island over."

Further the agent recounted how strawberries grown there were red and sweet and "bigger than ours in England," and raspberries, gooseberries, and huckleberries, and an "incredible store of Vines" extending even into the wooded parts of the island so dense that Gosnold's men could not "goe for treading upon them"; the vines from the presence of which the island took its name.

In surrounding waters nature, too, was lavish. Here whales, porpoises, cod, mackerel, herring, lobsters, crabs, muscles, and other fishes habitated in splendor and abundance. Oysters were found, and the succulent clam in shallow shores and coves.

To this endowment of flora and fauna Stirling's exclusive sales agent was able to add healthful breezes that swept in from the Atlantic on all sides. The location was one ideal for the maintenance of life and the settlement of colonies.

And to clinch the deal, where else in America could a man, not of the high council with the King, become the feudal proprietary of a group of islands, to rule like Alexander of Ross, Lord of the Isles, king of all he surveyed?

The arguments were convincing. As proprietary, Mayhew fore-

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saw how he could sell or lease the lands of his domains and gain a comfortable livelihood for himself, the main end of all such grants. Here, too, he could found a family with hereditary privileges, and restore the prestige of the Mayhew name. The colonization of these unsettled islands afforded an opportunity to restore a waning fortune, weakened by the prevailing business depression. The vastness of the project intrigued. We are told by Mayhew's grandson that nothing but the largeness of the grant induced the merchant to essay the settlement of these distant islands inhabited by unfriendly and murderous Indians, as current knowledge had it.

After proper deliberation the Watertown merchant concluded to accept in part the opportunity to become the William Penn and Lord Baltimore of a New England barony. Choosing to purchase Nantucket Island, Forrett executed a patent to the merchant and his son, authorizing them to "plant and inhabit" that place and other "small Islands adjacent," designating thereby Muskegat and Tuckernuck isles, and to set up a government upon the islands similar to that established in the Massachusetts.

Ten days later a second instrument was drawn up which amplified Mayhew's territorial jurisdiction and authorized him to plant and inhabit also Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands.

Meanwhile, in a manner unknown, Richard Vines, the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, became cognizant of the transactions pending between Forrett and the Puritan merchant. Vines, who was the trusted overseer of the Gorges interests in Maine and a councillor of the province, was at times a visitor to Boston. His opportune arrival in the metropolis during the negotiations may have been chance, but it is more probable that Mayhew, unconvinced of Stirling's title, had communicated with Vines relative to the Gorges claim. Mayhew refers to Vines as one he "then had much interest in."

Vines was a cavalier and Episcopalian and, although he had considerable trouble with the Massachusetts authorities in respect to encroachments in Maine, appears to have been on friendly terms with a number of the Puritan leaders. Mayhew and he, doubtless, had become acquainted through overlapping mercantile interests. It is difficult otherwise to account how Vines could have so quickly become aware of what was being done at Watertown and Boston. Vines "interrupted," says Mayhew, and presented for consideration the Gorges

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claim to the islands, showing Mayhew his master's patent—which would denote that he had come armed for the express business at hand.

The merchant was convinced by Vines "and Thomas Gorges, who was then Governor of the Province of Maine," that the right to the islands "was really Sir Ferdynandoe's Right." From Vines he, accordingly, procured a second grant to the islands Capowack and Nautican, the deed running from "Richard Vines of Saco, Gentleman, Steward General for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight and Lord Proprietor of the Province of Maine," to "Thomas Mayhew, Gentleman, his agents and associates."

Capowack was an Indian name sometimes applied to Martha's Vineyard, and Nautican is thought to be the name left Nantucket by the Norsemen during their venturesome voyages in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

It is not believed that Stirling had legal claim to any of these islands. His grant from the New England Company, confirmed by the King, purported to grant, among other tracts, islands lying within five leagues distance of the mainland, being opposite and abutting upon the premises of any part thereof. The islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket lay fifty to eighty miles east of Long Island and were not within the terms of the grant. But the geography of the New World was not an exact science in the seventeenth century. In accordance with well established precedence, where doubt existed, Stirling's agent claimed in his master's behalf all that a liberal conscience would permit, thereby demonstrating himself a true and faithful servant. It was Mayhew's belief throughout life that his best title was derived from Gorges.

Writing of these transactions in later years, he says:

It came to pass, that Mr. Forrett went suddenly to England before he had showed me his Master's Pattent whome afterwards I never saw; Some Yeares after this came over one Mr. Forrester, furnished with Power, who was here with me, and told me he would cleare up all Things, and that I should be one of his Counsel; but he from hence went to Long Island, and from thence to the Dutch, where the Gouernor put him in Prison, and sent him a Prisoner into Holland, as I heard and I never saw him more.

Then follows the significant statement, "Soe wee remained under Gorge."

Consideration is not mentioned in the several grants, but it is known

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that the new proprietor paid forty pounds for his rights from Stirling, and we have his own words that he paid Gorges "a Some of Money" for the islands Capowack and Nautican. Gorges appears to have made no claim to the Elizabeth Islands and Mayhew's title to these "many faire Islands" was derived from Stirling alone.

It is noticeable that ten days elapsed between the execution of the two Sterling deeds. In the interim it is thought Thomas Mayhew, or someone in his behalf, made a hurried trip to Nantucket in an attempt to secure Indian rights, but that the purpose of the visit was not affected in so short a time. After the visit the new proprietor concluded to purchase the entire group with a hope of obtaining from the Indians gradually what could not at once be procured.

Both Gorges and Stirling reserved annual quit-rents to be paid by Mayhew in feudal fashion, but effort was made by neither to collect this tribute. The distant isles of the sea, far flung from the shores of Maine, were soon forgotten by the Gorges proprietors, who were busy defending their rights elsewhere, and the several Earls of Stirling, whose rapid succession of deaths left little time for attention to islands that constituted but a small fraction of their family's great landed holdings. In fact, the first Earl of Stirling was dead at the time of Forrett's grant to Thomas Mayhew.

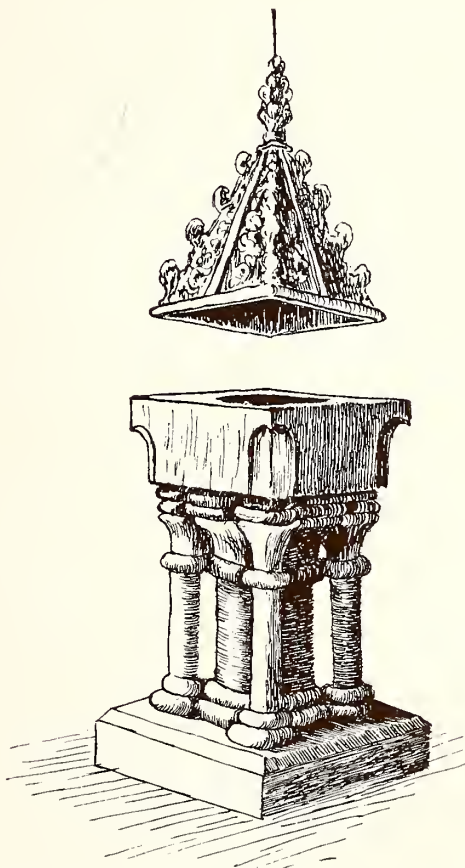
The proprietary granted Thomas Mayhew comprised sixteen islands, constituting at the present day two counties and eight townships in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The islands of Martha's Vineyard, with an area approximating one hundred square miles, and Nantucket with an area of about forty-seven square miles, made up the bulk of the grants. Lesser islands were Tuckernuck, nearly two square miles in area, and Muskegat, three hundred acres, which with Nantucket and two small islets known as the Gravelly Islands, constitute the present county of Nantucket.

To the westward of Martha's Vineyard lie the Elizabeth Islands, named in honor of the Virgin Queen by Gosnold the explorer. This chain of a dozen islands, large and small, are principally: Nunnamesett, two miles long by one-half mile wide, Monohanset, Uncatena, Naushon, Weepecket, Pasque, Cuttyhunk, Nashawena, Penekese, and Gull Island, a small islet. Territorially these form the present town of Gosnold, and together with Martha's Vineyard and the island of No Man's Land constitute the County of Dukes.

For more than two centuries a number of the Elizabeth Islands

April 1893
Thomas the son of Matthew who was
baptized the first day

PARISH RECORD OF BAPTISM OF THOMAS MAYHEW



STONE FONT USED AT THE BAPTISM OF
THOMAS MAYHEW

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have been maintained as country seats by distinguished masters, including members of the noted families of Winthrop, Bowdoin, and Forbes. On Cuttyhunk the explorer Bartholomew Gosnold, in 1602, established the first English settlement in this region of North America. A granite shaft on the island now stands to perpetuate the memory of this event. Penikese Island was for a time the location of Professor Louis Agassiz's school of comparative zoölogy known as the Anderson School of Natural History, immortalized by Whittier in his poem, opening with the lines:

On the isle of Penikese,
Ringed about by sapphire seas,
Fanned by breezes salt and cool,
Stood the Master with his school.

One of the earliest medical men in the country to conduct a hospital for inoculation against the smallpox was Dr. Samuel Gelston, who opened a hospital for that purpose on one of the Gravelly Islands, before the Revolution.

The islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are lonely isles of the sea, yet their names have been heard in every port of all the oceans. At Nantucket in particular was nourished the American whale fishery, which in the full vigor of its maturity startled the world with the scope of its activity and the extent of its daring. From Nantucket nurseries sprang a race of hardy and daring seamen in whose veins flowed the blood of the sea kings of Saga days. These were the Norsemen of New England. In frozen waters north and south their keels plowed beyond the known limits of navigation; under the blazing light of the tropics they pursued the great leviathan of the deep in wide seas never before traversed by vessels of a civilized country. "Exploring expeditions followed after to glean where they had reaped."

To the merchants and mariners of Nantucket must be accredited the brilliant development of the golden days of American whaling, an epoch of big game hunting on turbulent waters.

So identical was maritime life with the thrift and prosperity of the island that a Nantucket goodwife asked no better fortune than "a clean hearth and a husband at sea."

The men who bore the names of Coffin, Folger, Bunker, Starbuck, inherited names of seamen as great as ever stepped between the stem and stern of a ship.

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Gone are the fleets of the Golden 'Forties, the many hundreds of sail that explored distant waters and carried "the name and fame of Nantucket" into unknown seas, where a harvest was gleaned in blubber and oil. The stern, hardy, brave, workaday race that flew the American Flag first in an English port after the Revolution of 1776, that opened seas into which flowed the commerce of the civilized world, and discovered islands in the South Pacific before scientists dared to venture, is no more.

In silent graves the captains lie, upon the sea-girt Island of Nantucket, or far away in Pacific waters where aeons of tides surge over their bones. Their names are given to the world wherever strange little islands lie on maps like isolated dots. The flow of water on sandy shores was their lullaby in childhood, its unceasing surge is their requiem.

Overshadowed by her neighboring island in the commercial aspect of the fishery, Martha's Vineyard, too, has been the nursery of a hardy race of seamen, amphibious men able to plow the waters and the land with equal facility. Grizzled mariners have come home to spend the twilight of life upon a farm in bucolic safety to reap fields of hay and shear flocks of sheep.

Martha's Vineyard, unlike Nantucket, is agricultural to a degree and whaling has not been its sole life. It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that a great proportion of its male population found its way to the sea.

Although the majority of whaling ships in the heyday of the industry were owned and registered at Nantucket and New Bedford, a great number of them were commanded by Vineyard men, who were considered the best navigators and whalemens in the world. Due to the bar that rendered dangerous access to the harbor of Nantucket, Edgartown on the Vineyard was for many years the port of Nantucket, and at Edgartown wharves nearly all the Nantucket whaling ships unloaded their cargoes and fitted out fresh voyages.

J. Hector St. John, the eighteenth century traveler, observes in his account of a visit to the Vineyard a lack of drunkenness and debauchery on the part of returned seamen. "On the contrary," writes he, "all was peace here, and a general decency prevailed throughout; the reason, I believe is, that almost everybody here is married, for they get wives very young; and the pleasure of returning to their families absorbs every other desire. The motives that lead them to the sea are

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very different from those of most other seafaring men. It is neither idleness nor profligacy that sends them to that element; it is a settled plan of life, a well-founded hope of earning a livelihood." "Here I found without gloom a decorum and reserve, so natural to them, that I thought myself in Philadelphia," adds the Pennsylvania author.

After the decline of the whale fishery in eastern ports, Vineyard captains, sailing from San Francisco, pursued the industry in its last brilliant glow among the icebergs of the Arctic.

Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are now the "Summer Isles" of the vacationist. They have for many years been popular watering places. Their hospitable shores know annually thousands of pleasure loving people who come to boat, swim, fish, and ride, to walk quaint streets and view dwellings that have housed generations of elders, judges, merchants, and sea captains, clustered about with the traditions of the salt water aristocracy. The nobility of its olden days was not that of the Sacred Cod, but the Royal Whale, the kingly mammal which, when cast up by the sea upon his shores, the sovereign claimed a share.

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Every year visitors listen to the legend that the islands were once the property of a lord who, like King Lear, saw fit to apportion them among his daughters. The story goes that Rhoda took Rhode Island, Elizabeth took the Elizabeth Islands, Martha took Martha's Vineyard, and as for the remaining island, Nan-took-it. The credulous should be warned that this interesting bit of romance cannot be traced with certainty back of 1870.

Martha's Vineyard has another claim to fame better supported. It is believed by such eminent authorities as Edward Everett Hale and the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge to be the island scene of Shakespeare's play, "The Tempest." Gosnold's voyage was sent out by the Earl of Southampton, a patron of the arts, with whom Shakespeare was friendly. It is said that the trees, plants, fish and animal life of the island in the play are described in the very words used by John Brereton in his "Brefe Relation" of Gosnold's voyage, and that whole phrases from the tract are reproduced and fitted to Shakespearean blank verse.

In the years following Gosnold's voyage these almost fabled islands off the coast of North America fired the imaginations of men. Throughout all England they were a popular subject of conversation. Walter Raleigh fitted out an expedition under Martin Pring which brought

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back sassafras; Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain John Smith sent out vessels in search of gold. The Plymouth Company was formed. Then came the "Mayflower" Pilgrims and the great Puritan migration to the adjoining coasts, "that strange, psalm-singing race of amphibious fighters, who alike could shatter the Armada and the squadron of Prince Rupert at Marston Moor."

America was born.



CHAPTER VI

THE CHILDREN OF THE FOREST

A number of early writers have left detailed descriptions of the appearance and habits of the Indians who inhabited the woods and shores of New England and the islands of the Mayhew proprietary at the coming of the white settlers.

The habits and customs of the red man and his mode of life were strange to the eyes of the European fresh from the civilization of the old hemisphere, and still more strange to the ear of the skeptic at home. It is not to be marveled at that narrations of the new country early appeared in print which touched with detail the native inhabitants of the land.

Among the better known of these accounts mention may be made of Josselyn's "Account of Two Voyages to New England" and William Wood's "New England Prospect." Both of these are written in a lively tone with an ambition to entertain the stay-at-home in England. Josselyn's reputation as an observer is not highly rated, but fortunately the New England Indian was described by other than dilettant writers. Missionaries went among a number of the Indian tribes and in their writings is found a minute and faithful portrayal of the red man in his native surroundings.

Daniel Gookin's "Historical Collections of the Indians of Massachusetts" is one of the best of the early narratives, presenting as it does a continuous uninterrupted story of Indian life and character.

Gookin exercised for many years civil supervision over the Indians of Massachusetts who acknowledged English government. As superintendent of Indians and as a magistrate sitting in determination of their disputes, he was in a position to gain an accurate first hand knowledge of the Indian psychology. Gookin's history bears the hall mark of years of conscientious observation and the attitude of a friendly mind. It is the standard Puritan account of the Indians of New England.

Better authorities cannot be found to picture the seventeenth century Indian as he actually was than Gookin and the several missionaries, John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., Matthew Mayhew, and others; some, if not all, of whom went among the Indians, slept in their wig-

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wams, sat in their councils, spoke their language, and won their confidence in spiritual and civil affairs.

Unlike Cooper and Longfellow, their observations are photographic likenesses of the New England Indian of pioneer days, not conclusions drawn from tradition or studies made two hundred years after the landing of the Pilgrims. The missionaries were sober, observant, unromantically minded men, writing what they knew to be the truth after intimate association with all ranks of Indian life. In their writings one finds little to justify the prosy thoughts of the literati of the nineteenth century.

Although later studies by students among isolated tribes disclose traits substantially akin to those which characterized the red man of New England in the seventeenth century, a difference, nevertheless, existed. More than two hundred years of contact, occasional or otherwise, with traders, frontiersmen, and missionaries had left their mark, in some respects good, in others bad.

To deduce by belated observations among distinct tribes living under different geographic conditions what the Indian of New England was like before he was "corrupted" by European civilization seems a ridiculous thing in view of the fact that we have contemporary accounts accurately penned by qualified observers. A number of missionary tracts were written while the Indian was still "untouched and unspoiled by the European," to borrow a sonorous phrase from the philanthropic literati.

The abstractions of ethnological speculation pursued along modern lines of philosophic appreciation by certain students would appear visionary to the early settlers and missionaries who came into rugged contact with the untutored savage.

Roger Williams, whose knowledge of the Indian nature was so great that he was able to exercise a tremendous influence in their affairs, could only speak of them as "a few inconsiderable pagans, and beasts, wallowing in idleness, stealing, lying, whoring, treacherous witchcrafts, blasphemies, and idolatries."

Gookin, who suffered persecution by his countrymen for his friendliness to the Christianized Indians in time of Indian war, described the natives as very brutish and barbarous, "not many degrees above beasts."

The Reverend John Wilson referred to them, we are told with compassion, as the most sordid and contemptible part of the human species, while the great Hooker said of them that they were the veriest

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ruins of mankind upon the face of the earth. Even the saintly John Eliot, whose labors and sacrifices among the Indians became a household word, could speak of them only as "the dregs of mankind."

It was Parkman who said, "The benevolent and philanthropic view of the American savage is for those beyond his reach. It has never yet been held by any whose wives and children have lived in danger of his scalping knife."

He is lovingly referred to as a child, but he was a man bloodthirsty and revengeful to the point of horror, and only a child in his lack of mental development.

The literati have found it easier to write of the Indian in the conventional style than to present him in sober words. It is not the first time truth has been prostituted for the sake of a well turned sentence or the repetition of a poetic thought. There is not much about the Indian that is romantic to one who must associate with him. He is only romantic to the cloistered student, the detached tourist, or the novelist.

To gain an accurate picture of the Indian of New England in the early years of the seventeenth century, one's mind must be purged of many preconceived notions implanted by the "Leather-Stocking Tales" and "Hiawatha."

Such works are executed with applications of Turner-like colors by word artists of vivid imagination. They seize a few of the Indian's most picturesque qualities, his dignity, his lust for freedom, his contempt for manual labor, his vaunted prowess as a hunter, and by the use of adjectives, establish a literature. Throughout the whole civilized world the concept of the Indian character promulgated by this school has taken permanent hold of the imagination of the reading public. These tales are often read in the earlier years of life. They lend so indelible an impression on the juvenile mind that, while individuals in years of discretion may cast out these Cooper-colored lithographs of brain thought, no amount of denials will ever erase their colorful lines in the minds of the masses.

James Fenimore Cooper was born more than a century and a half after the "Mayflower" sought refuge in the harbor at Cape Cod. Cooper is said to have made a study of the Indians, but his studies were among the Indians of the Six Nations, who are considered a superior group, and who had for centuries been in contact with the whites.

In order that he might better study their habits, Cooper is said to

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have followed numerous Indian delegations that passed his house in upper New York on their way to interview the Great Father at Washington. He saw the Indian at his best, in councils of oratory. If there was any one thing in which the Indian excelled, it was oratory, mainly an oratory that pictured himself in glowing colors and belittled his enemies. We are told by missionaries that the Indian was so eminently satisfied with his own inherent goodness that it was difficult at times to inculcate in him a fear of damnation. Hell he conceived as a fitting punishment for his enemies, but something apart from himself.

The Indians of the plains and of upper New York and Canada are the Indians most studied by the literary authorities as remnants of the aboriginal inhabitants of America. But the whooping Indian of the plains pursuing herds of buffalo upon ponies were not the Indians of New England seen by the missionaries Eliot, the Mayhews, Bournes, and Tupper. The Indians of New England appear to have been a far less romantic race than the Indians of Cooper and Longfellow.

The "Puritan Indians" did their hunting with ineffectual weapons, arrows pointed with bits of crude stone or eagle's claws. Thus armed the huntsman was able to wing an occasional unsuspecting bird, more often by attributes of stealth and cunning than with the full lunged boldness of open spaces. With the psychological development of a child, the red man could concoct a jungle of living beasts pursued by mighty hunters out of a picture copy-book.

Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, who lived in the middle of the eighteenth century, suggests in his history of Massachusetts the possibility that the Indians of New England were inferior to tribes residing elsewhere. Tales that came to him of Indians to the north plentifully endowed with virtue, dignity, courage, and hardihood, did not coincide with his own personal observations. One suspects the farther away the Indian, the more noble his qualities appeared.

As time diminished the Indian ranks and his menace grew less, the more he was romanticized in wild west shows, motion pictures, and poetry by effete descendants of the hardy pioneers, or those whose ancestors waited until the country had been made safe for the immigrant. To the city dweller, the author, and the poet, there is something romantic about outdoor life and communion with nature; and so long as the individual is surrounded with all the conveniences of civilization, nor goes without them for any length of time, the illusion is not dispelled.

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It is not the purpose here to decide whether the Indian has received the treatment justly his due in the many years that have passed since the establishment of the United States government. It may be said in passing that a recent Indian writer has said that the red man had little to complain of in his relations with the colonists, but that the cause of his disgruntlement has arisen largely since the advent of Federal supervision.

The following description of the American Indian of the seventeenth century is confined to the Indians of New England, and is grounded on contemporary sources, in main the writings of Gookin, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., Matthew Mayhew, and Roger Williams.

The aborigines whom the early settlers found inhabiting the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were members of that great race known as the Algonquin, to which family the numerous New England tribes mainly belonged. In southern New England these tribes were united into a number of great confederacies. One of these, the Pawkunnawkutts, claimed a tract bounded laterally by the Taunton and Pawtucket rivers for some distance, in the present county of Bristol, Rhode Island, and held sway along the shores of Buzzard's Bay.

It was this nation that claimed fealty of the Indian's of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. There were nine separate cantons or tribes holding membership in this confederation, each governed by its own petty sachem, but all subject to the great sachem of the Wamponoags, the dominant tribe of the confederation.

Of the Pawkunnawkutts it is said they "were a great people heretofore. They lived to the east and northeast of the Narragansitts; and their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty sagamores; as the sagamores upon the island of Nantuckett, and Nope, or Martha's Vineyard, of Nawsett, of Mánnamoyk, of Sawkuttukett, Nobsquasitt, Matakees, and several others, and some of the Nipmucks. Their country, for the most part, falls within the jurisdiction of New Plymouth Colony. This people were a potent nation in former times; and could raise, as the most credible and ancient Indians affirm, about three thousand men. They held war with the Narragansitts; and often joined with the Massachusetts, as friends and confederates, against the Narragansitts. This nation, a very great number of them, were swept away by an epidemical and unwonted sickness, An. 1612 and 1613, about seven or eight years before the English first arrived in those parts to settle the colony of New Plymouth."

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Wamsutta, chief of this confederacy and elder brother of the famed King Philip or Metacomet, once attempted to sell his rights to the island of Martha's Vineyard to a merchant of Rhode Island.

Wamsutta and Philip were sons of Mattasoit, the great chief of the Wampanoags. Following the practice of the Indians that if any of their sachems or neighbors died who were of their name they should lay down that name as dead, the eldest son of Wamsutta appeared at Plymouth after his father's death with the request that English names be given him and his brother.

The request was granted. Wamsutta received the name of Alexander, the great conqueror of the world, which doubtless pleased the vanity of the Indian king. Upon Metacomet was bestowed the name of Philip.

Wamsutta died within a year after his succession to the office of chief sachem, and was in turn succeeded by Philip.

An interesting story is told how Philip's home village at Mount Hope was pictured on European maps as the "seat" of King Philip, and how English publishers in preparing year books fell into the error or recounting the "interesting" fact that King Philip of Spain had a country seat in the wilds of America. The English annalists knew their *Almanac de Gotha*, but were weak on the orders of Algonquin nobility.

As early as 1665 Philip appeared at Nantucket in company with a large band of warriors for the purpose of killing a Nantucket Indian who had spoken the name of one dead, supposedly Philip's father or brother, in violation of Indian custom. In its several publications the story varies, but substantially it is told that Philip, landing at the west end of Nantucket, proceeded to travel along the shore under the protection of the bank, in order that his presence might not be divulged. But his approach and purpose were divined by one of the island Indians who sped ahead and warned the intended victim, Assassamoogh, known to the English as John Gibbs, in after years a noted Christian Indian and preacher of the gospel to his countrymen. Assassamoogh fled to the English settlement, where he sought protection, and where Philip appeared with his army, vastly superior in numbers to the handful of English settlers then resident on the island, and made demand for the delivery of the refuge. The English parried with Philip and after considerable persuasion and pow-wowing were able to buy him off, although the amount they were able to collect in so short a time was barely sufficient to appease the haughty Philip for his forbearance.

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Philip is known to have planned his war of extermination many years before 1675 and it is probable that he took advantage of the opportunity afforded him at this time to strengthen his claim of jurisdiction over the Nantucket Indians, but without success. At a town meeting the sachem Attaychat signified himself with all the Tomokom-moth Indians subject to the English government of Nantucket and that they did own themselves subjects to King Charles II "in the presence of Molocon, *alias* Philip Sachem of Mount Hope."

The territory of the Mayhew islands was divided into several governmental cantons. At Martha's Vineyard these were four in number: Chappaquiddick at the far eastern end of the island and Aquiniuh or Gay Head at the far western end, the former an island, or nearly so, and the latter a promontory connected by a narrow neck. The main body of the island was divided into two sachemships known as Nunne-pog and Takemmy, embracing roughly the present towns of Edgartown and Tisbury, respectively. Four chiefs or sagamores ruled these several divisions, which in turn were subdivided into petty sachemships, where ruled local magnates within defined limits.

There does not appear to have been any single chieftain on the island to whom the four great sachems yielded precedence, and it is probable that these head men were directly responsible to some chief on the main or to the great chief of the Wampanoags himself "in capite."

On Nantucket the native population was divided into two tribes. One tribe occupied the west end and was supposed to have come from the mainland by way of the island of Martha's Vineyard. The other lived at the east end and is said to have come directly across the Sound from the mainland.

Nantucket was divided into three or perhaps four primary sachemships. The senior sachem or prince when the English came to the island was Wannochmamock, who was sachem more particularly of the northwest part of Nantucket, but who, with an Indian named Nickanoose, exercised general control over all the Indians of the island. He and Nickanoose are termed "head sachems," but it is believed that Wannochmamock was senior in rank, and that Nickanoose ruled coadjutor on account of the former's great age.

The home life of the Indian was simple and largely nomadic. Upon Martha's Vineyard the tribes lived in several villages or towns. These were of no permanency, composed as they were of loosely con-

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structed wigwams, which their owners moved about as they willed in accordance with the food supply and the season. Josselyn tells of having seen half a hundred wigwams together on a piece of ground, where they showed "prettily" yet within a day or two, or a week, were all dispersed. Each tribe, however, moved freely only within the confines of its particular sachemship. The Indians of New England were not nomadic in the degree popularly believed.

The principal village in Nunnepog was on the shores of the Great Herring Pond, near Maschachket, while that of Takemmy was on the Great Tisbury Pond. Chappaquiddick and Gay Head each had its chief village. Within the territorial limits of each petty sachem smaller communities or abiding places of more or less permanence existed.

The Indian wigwams, described by the younger Mayhew, were made of small poles like an arbor covered with mats; "their fire is in the midst, overwhich they leave a place for the smoak to go out at." They did not use skins for a covering as the animals of the island were not numerous enough for that purpose.

To the Indian mind, life on the Vineyard, although it lacked animals necessary to make it a "happy hunting ground," was somewhat idyllic. Nature had been bountiful in her lavishment of wealth. Its sandy soil responded favorably to the cultivation of squashes, beans, and maize. Shellfish lay in profusion on the shores, and fish and eels abounded in surrounding waters. For this reason the island supported a larger population for the area than did the mainland.

The fact that the islanders had not been smitten by the plague which had swept the mainland a few years before the coming of the "Mayflower" is attributable, in part, to the fact that the Indians were better nourished and less susceptible to plagues than their brothers on the main.

The native population on the several islands at the time of the first settlement is generally estimated at Martha's Vineyard to have been not less than 3,000 and at Nantucket 1,500. Accounts have set the figure at Nantucket as high as 3,000. Matthew Mayhew, grandson of Thomas, estimates the number of adult persons on both islands at about 3,000, in reference to which he states, "I have taken the more particular care to make an exact computation, that I might vindicate Mr. Cotton Mather from the imputation of over reckoning, when in the life of Mr. Eliot he reckons the number supposed on Martha's Vineyard professing the Christian religion, to be sixteen hundred."

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It is difficult at this late day to do more than generalize the disposition of the island Indians. A number of early writers describe the Algonquins as a courteous and well disposed people, yet warlike and revengeful. Brereton describes the Vineyard Indian as courteous and gentle of disposition, yet these Indians are known to have killed a number of English seamen, and it is of record that at Nantucket a number of sailors and others wrecked upon its shores were murdered by the natives.

The lawyer Lechford reports that the Indians of Martha's Vineyard were very savage and Josselyn tells us that while he was in the country certain Indians at Martha's Vineyard seized a boat that had put into a cove and killed the men on board and ate them up in short time. It may be inferred that the island Indian was relatively courteous and well disposed, considering his state of savagery, but that his good nature was more or less subject to barometrical disturbances. He was not above an occasional massacre, either for the purpose of fulfilling the fine exactments of revenge which constituted the aboriginal code of honor, or as a bit of legitimate warfare to vary the monotony of life. The lust of battle was as much a part of the Indian's life as the cry of the chase.

The earliest record of warfare at the Vineyard is a record of the white man's perfidy, and the brutality that followed may be cited as an example of the Indian's exactment of revenge. One Captain Edward Harlow sailing from England in 1611 touched at the island where he "tooke" two savages, one of whom was known by the name of Epenew. In the course of time Epenew came into the possession of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who it will be remembered, was much interested in the colonization of America. Observing a similarity of language, Gorges had the native lodged with another Indian servant. Epenew was a bold, artful, and cunning individual. With the servant he contrived a plan of escape which hinged on the Englishman's lust for gold. Ascertaining that this was what the English wanted most, the natives assured Gorges that it was to be found in abundance at a certain place on Martha's Vineyard.

Gorges was not entirely duped. He suspected Epenew's good faith. However, he fitted an expedition under command of Captain Hobson, which set sail within the year, carrying Epenew and two other savages under strict surveillance. Coming to the harbor at Martha's Vineyard, where Epenew was to make good his undertaking, the prin-

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cipal inhabitants of the place came aboard, some of them brothers of Epenew, and others near relatives. These were kindly entertained by the captain, and before departing in their canoes, the natives assured the captain that they would return the following morning for the purpose of trade. Meantime Epenew had privately plotted with his friends to effect an escape.

Upon the morrow, at the appointed hour, the natives appeared in twenty canoes, but laid off the vessel at some distance without closer approach. Failing to respond to the captain's invitation to board, Epenew was ordered forward to where the captain was standing, to speak to his friends. Evading his guards he stepped forward quickly and calling to the natives in English to come aboard, slipped over the side of the vessel. Although caught hold of by an Englishman, he effected a release, being a strong and heavy man.

No sooner was he in the water than the natives in the canoes discharged a volley of arrows toward the ship. The attack was returned by the fire of the English, who also attempted the life of Epenew. In the exchange of fire, some of Hobson's men were wounded and a number of the Indians killed and wounded. Epenew, says Sir Ferdinando, was carried away by the rescuing party "despight of all the musquet-teers aboard, who were, for the number, as good as our nation did afford."

A Captain Thomas Dormer, in the employ of Sir Ferdinando, later touched the Vineyard, where he met with Epenew who "laughed at his owne escape."

In the words of Gorges, "This savage was so cunning, that, after he had questioned him [Dormer] about me, and all he knew belonged unto me, conceived he was come on purpose to betray him; and [so] conspired with some of his fellows to take the captain; thereupon they laid hands upon him. But he being a brave, stout gentleman, drew his sword and freed himself, but not without 14 wounds."

It is probable that Gorges was wrong in his thought that Epenew feared recapture. It is more feasible to believe that the attack upon Dormer resulted from a desire by Epenew to be revenged for his late captivity, and that in accordance with Indian custom he had resolved that the first white man should atone for his capture. It is believed that this is the last time that the soil of Martha's Vineyard was stained with human blood, for from that day to the present no Indian has been killed by a white man nor white man by an Indian.

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Much of the bloodshed at Martha's Vineyard arising out of the Epenew incident was aggravated by the capture by Captain Thomas Hunt of twenty-four natives in the vicinity of Cape Cod a number of years prior. Hunt was a commander in an expedition under Captain John Smith, the famous explorer, more famed in school books as the object of the grace of Pocahontas than as the admiral of New England. Hunt's conduct was contrary to the orders of Smith, who was greatly incensed over the conduct of his subordinate. The Indians long remembered the conduct of Hunt, and it was a factor in their early plot to massacre the settlers of Weston's Colony, to which conspiracy the Capawock or Martha's Vineyard Indians were party.

The Indians of Nantucket appear to have been more ferocious than their Vineyard kinsmen if numbers of extant accounts of brutalities and bloodshed are accepted as a criterion.

Tradition recounts how a feud was engendered by the tribes of west and east Nantucket arising out of a difference as to a boundary line dividing the territories of the tribes, and that bloodshed was avoided only by the love of a maiden princess of one tribe for the son of the ruler of the opposing tribe.

More serious than this Hollywood drama of native life was the murder of the crew of a shipwrecked vessel cast on the island during the government of Thomas Mayhew, and the murder of an Indian youth in the same manner while returning to Harvard College after a visit with his father at Martha's Vineyard. Nantucket in early days was not so healthful a retreat for strangers as it is today.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the tractability of the Indian, there is uniformity in the accounts respecting his personal appearance. It is agreed that the aborigine was tall in stature and well formed, that his skin was olive or copper in color, not so much by the science of nature as by the constant application of oil and grease and exposure to the elements, and that his hair was black and straight.

A companion of Gosnold has left us the first known description of the island Indians: "These people as they are exceedingly courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seen; so for shape of bodie and lovely favour I thinke they excell all the people of America; of stature much higher than we; of complexion or colour much like a dark Olive; Their eie browes and haire blacke, which weare long tied up behinde in knott, whereon they pricke feathers of fowles, in fashion of a crownet; some of them are black

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thin beared; they make beards of the haire of beasts; and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our sailors, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red colour they judged to be none of his owne."

"They are quicke eied, and stedfast in their looks, fearelesse of others harmes, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of Saluages (not weighing their ignorance in good or will) may easily excuse: their garments of Deere skins, and some of them weare furies round and close about their necks."

Josselyn adds to this, "as the *Austreans* are known by their great lips, the *Bavarians* by their pokes under their chins, the *Jews* by their goggle eyes, so the *Indians* by their flat noses, yet they are not so much deprest as they are to the Southward."

A number of the early chroniclers were gallant gentlemen and interested in the Indian woman, whose complete subjection to her "lazier" husband was to them a matter of amazement and comment.

Witness the admiration of Brereton for the island squaws: "Their women (such as we saw), which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eie-browes, haire, apparell, and manner of wearing, like the men, fat, and very well favoured, and much delighted in our companie."

And likewise writes jovial "John Josselyn, Gentleman," "The men are somewhat horse-fac'd, and generally faucious—*i. e.*, without beards: but the women, many of them, have very good features; sel-dome without come-to-mee, or *cos amoris*, in their countenance; all of them black-eyed; having even, short teeth, and very white; their hair black, thick, and long; broad brested; handsome, straight bodies, and slender, considering their constant loose habit; their limbs cleanly, straight, and of a convenient stature,—generally as plump as part-ridges; and, saving here and there one, of a modest deportment."

William Wood approaches the subject of universal interest diplomatically thus: "To satisfie the curious eye of women-readers, who otherwise might thinke their sexe forgotten, or not worthy a record, let them peruse these few lines, wherein they may see their owne happiness, if weighed in the womans balance of these ruder Indians, who scorne the tuterings of their wives, or to admit them as their equals, though their qualities and industrious deservings may justly claime the preheminance, and command better usage and more conjugall esteeme,

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their persons and features being every way correspondent, their qualification were more excellent, being more loving, pittifull, and modest, milde, provident, and laborious then their lazie husbands."

It is the woman who does the camp work and tends the fields. So improvident is the male that she must even hide the corn crop from her master's inquisitive gaze, else he would eat the seed reserved for future crops, if he but knew where to find it. The Indians would raise large crops of corn and sell it to the English with an eye so little to the future that ere another crop could be harvested, they would be obliged to buy it back at much higher rates.

The male was accomplished only in fishing, eating, and sleeping. When he deigned to fish, in order that it might not smack of labor, but be classed as a purely athletic pastime, his wife needs must trudge along and bait his hooks; and be the weather hot or cold, waters calm or rough, she must dive "sometimes over head and eares for a Lobster," which often shook her hands with a "churlish nippe" and bid her "adiew." A husband having caught fish at sea, will bring it as far as he can by water, whereupon the wife must fetch it home by land.

"These womens modesty drives them to weare more cloathes than their men, having alwayes a coate of cloath or skinnes wrapt like a blanket about their loynes, reaching downe to their hammes which they never put off in company. If a husband has a minde to sell his wives Beaver, petticoate, as sometimes he doth, shee will not put it off until shee have another to put on." It is doubtful if a garment was worn before the advent of the European. It was customary for both sexes to wear the beech-clout only, indoors, and in early days it was not uncommon dress for both sexes out of doors.

The discontent of the Indian women became great after the arrival of the English for seeing the kind usage of the English to their wives. The native women much condemned their husbands for their comparatively hard lot and would "commend the English for their love" for their women, while the Indian husband, on the other hand, commended himself for his wit in keeping his wife industrious and did much condemn "the English for their folly in spoyling good working creatures." When the Indians see "any of the English women sewing with their needles, or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, Lazie squaes! but they are much the kinder to their wives, by the example of the English," we are told.

In domestic life the Indian took many wives and put away wives

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frequently upon occasions other than adultery and wives left husbands upon grounds of displeasure or dissatisfaction: In the words of an early bard:

each one is granted leave,
A wife or two, or more, for to receive.

The Rev. Thomas Shepard, described in a foreword to an early tract as "a minister of Christ in New England, so eminently godly and faithfull, that what he here reports, as an eye or an eare witnesse is not to be questioned," recites the instance of an Indian who propounded the question which of two wives he should put away upon his adoption of the Englishman's moral code. He informs that his first was "barren and childlesse, the second fruitfull and bearing him many sweet children . . . if hee puts away the first who hath no children, then hee puts away her whom God and Religion undoubtedly binds him unto, there being no other defect but want of children; if he puts away the other, then he must cast off all his children with her also as illegitimate, whom he so exceedingly loves." It is not known how the ingenuity of the Puritan mind met this puzzling query in ethics and religion.

Roger Williams attributes the multiplicity of wives to two causes, first the desire of riches because of the fact that the women did all the farm work and second their long "sequestering themselves from their wives after conception, until the child be weaned, which with some is long after a yeare old." The same authority adds, however, a knowledge of many couples having lived together twenty, thirty, and forty years.

Revenge was a cardinal attribute of the Indians, they being not "unmindful of taking vengeance upon such as have injured them or their kindred, when they have opportunity, though it be a long time after the offence was committed."

They were much given to lying and "speaking untruths" and stealing, especially from the English, who had something to steal.

In personal sanitation, they were lax. "Tame Cattle they have none," chortles Josselyn, "excepting Lice, and Doggs of a wild breed," Hutchinson, the famous governor of Massachusetts, writes, "I have seen a great half naked Indian sitting at a small distance from the governors and commissioners of several of the colonies, in the midst of a conference, picking lice from his body for half an hour together, and cracking them between his teeth," One of the first laws made by

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the Christian Indians laid a penalty of one cent upon each louse cracked by an Indian with his teeth. Le Jeune, the Jesuit, tells us that the Iroquois ate the fleas and lice with which they were infested, not for any food value the vermin might contain, but in a spirit of revenge for the annoyance the insects had occasioned them.

The Indian did not bathe. Instead he annointed his body with oil. Says Hutchinson, "More dirty, foul and sordid than swine, being never so clean and sweet as when they were well greased." But we are assured by another observer that the use of oil on the body was their best antidote against the "Musketoos" and stopped the pores of their bodies against the nipping winter's cold.

A naturally improvident people, the Indians were greatly given to gambling, and were willing to play away all they had, says Gookin with the restraint of a Puritan speaking of sin. But the livelier Wood ventures greater detail. Admiringly write he: "And whereas it is the custome of many people in their games, if they see the dice runne crosse or their cards not answere their expectations: what cursing and swearing, what imprecations, and raylings, fightings and stabbings oftentimes proceede from their testy spleene. How doe their blustering passions, make the place troublesome to themselves and others? But I have knowne when foure of these milder spirits have sit downe staking their treasures, where they have plaied foure and twentie hours, neither eating drinking or sleeping in the Interim; nay which is most to be wondered at, not quarreling, but as they came thither in peace so they depart in peace; when he that had lost all his wampompeage, his house, his kettle, his beaver, his hatchet, his knife, yea all his little all, having nothing left but his naked selfe, was as merry as they that won it."

Continues Gookin: "And also they delight much in their dancings and revellings; at which time he that danceth (for they dance singly, the men, and not the women, the rest singing, which is their chief musick) will give away in his frolick, all that ever he hath, gradually, some to one, and some to another, according to his fancy and affection. And then, when he hath stripped himself of all he hath, and is weary, another succeeds and doth the like: so successively one after another, night after night, resting and sleeping in the days; and so continue sometimes a week together."

The Indian has been pictured as a mighty warrior and a great hunter. But the attributes of stealth and cunning, rather than physical courage, underlaid both callings. As a soldier the Indian was subject

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to no particular discipline. In an unorganized manner he stole upon his enemy when his presence was unsuspected and massacred until the tide of battle had turned, or his lust for blood was satiated, whereupon he would melt into the forest as silently as he had come.

His hunting before the advent of the musket constituted attempts to lure deer and other wild animals into pitfalls. He would build miles of fencing so arranged as to narrow at one end, where his trapped prey, caught in a net or pit, was slaughtered by his captor with all the picturesqueness of a butcher in the slaughter-house. He would kill a moose by running him nigh to exhaustion in the deep snow, whereupon he would stab him to death with a short spear.

Stoicism is a popularly believed Indian trait that seems to stand the test of contemporary research. Ordinarily no braver than the white man, the Indian was more unflinching in pain. Roger Williams tells us that the toothache was the only pain that would force their stout hearts to cry.

The missionary in various parts of the world has been ridiculed for his attempt to clothe the naked savage, the result not meeting with the approval of aesthetic eyes on account of combinations affected. It is not known that any great attempt was made to force European garments upon the Indian. The Indian was attracted by the novel apparel of the English and in time sought to wear much of it of his own accord. In the use of European clothes he did not subject himself to the vacillating dictates of fashion. So strange were they to him and so happy was he in his new possessions that in a rain he is known to have stripped them off in order to keep them dry while he exposed his skin to the elements.

Before the coming of the settlers the Indian costume was simple because his limited mentality had conceived nothing better, not because he had ideas concerning the healthful qualities of a skin exposed to nature.

The male wore "a paire of Indian Breeches to cover that which modesty commands to be hid, which is but a peece of cloth a yard and a halfe long, put between their gronings tied with a snakes skinne about their middles, one end hanging downe with a flap before, the other like a taile behind." In the winter time the more aged of them wore drawers "in forme like Irish trouses" and shoes cut out of hide. In winter most of them carried a "deepe furr'd Cat skinne, like a long

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large muffle," which they shifted to that arm that lay most exposed to the wind.

Thus clad the Indian bustled "better through a world of cold in a frost-paved wilderness, than the furred Citizen" in a warmer clime. They like not to be imprisoned in our English fashion, thinks Wood, "they love their owne dogge-fashion better (of shaking their eares, and being ready in a moment) than to spend time in dressing them, though they may as well spare it as any men I know, having little else to doe."

What the Indian lacked in costume he remedied by painting or tattooing his body. The heraldry of the Indian was emblazoned upon his body. The "better sort" are described as bearing upon their cheeks portraitures of bears, deer, moose, wolves, and fowls such as the eagle and hawk. Others have round impressions down the outside of their arms and breasts in form of mullets or spur-rowels.

One early writer reproves the squaws for use of that "sinful art of painting their Faces." The women were especially addicted to this practice and the men also, says Gookin, especially when marching to their wars, making themselves thereby as they conceived more terrible to their enemies. The face might be daubed a bright vermillion or painted a black and white, one part of the face one color and the other another, "very deformedly."

The young men and soldiers wore their hair long on the one side, "the other side being cut short like a screw; other cuts they have as their fancie befooles them, which would torture the wits of a curious Barber to imitate."

A great sagamore with a humming bird in his ear for a pendant, a black hawk on his occiput for his plume, "Mowhackees" for his gold chain, good store of wampum begirthing his loins, his bow in his hands, his quiver at his back, with six naked Indian "spatterlashes at his heeles for his guard" thinks himself little inferior to the great khan; "hee is all one with King Charles. He thinkes hee can blow downe Castles with his breath, and conquer kingdoms with his conceit." In this state he can see no equal, till comes the dawn of a night of adverse gaming, during which he is robbed of his conceited wealth and left with nothing till a new taxation of his subjects furnishes him with a fresh supply.

The Indian diet was not noted for any balance of food values, nor did its preparation involve any of the finer subtleties of the culinary

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art, although one authority is informed by his readings that the Indians to the south "would not eat a Spaniard till they had kept him two or three dayes tender, because their flesh was bad."

In England, observes a writer, the Indians eat little, whether "it be to shew their manners, or for shamefastnesse, I know not; but at home they will eate till their bellies stand forth, ready to split with fullness." Their table conduct is described "as all are fellows at football, so they all meete friends at the kettle, saving their wives, that dance a Spaniell-like attendance at their backes for their bony fragments."

The peculiarities of a people are often expressed in burial ceremonies. When the life of an Indian had expired, those about the corpse would break into throbbing sobs and deep fetched sighs, "their grieve-wrung hands, and teare-bedewed cheekes, their dolefull cries, would draw teares from Adamantine eyes, that be but spectators of their mournfull Obsequies." The "glut" of their grieve being past, they commit the corpse of the deceased to the ground, "over whose grave is for a long time spent many a briny teare, deepe groane, and Irish-like howlings."

The mourners knew nothing of rings and scarves or other niceties of the seventeenth century civilization, or of the Prince Albert coat of a later day. Instead, on their faces, they wore a "black stiffe paint."

The missionary Experience Mayhew speaks of black faces, goods buried, and the howlings over the dead of Indian burials.

Mention has been made of a number of Indian traits and practices, some of them bad, others ridiculous to the modern reader, just as characteristics of our own ancestors in various ages appear preposterous in the light of evolution, and as our present civilization will appear tomorrow.

Of good qualities the Algonquin had a share. Yet even these were oftimes the results of his improvident nature. With equanimity he gambled away his worldly wealth, for his wealth was little and easily replenished. Yet it was a virtue that he was ready to communicate his wealth to the mutual good of another: "he that kills a Deere, sends for his friends and eates it merrily: So he that receives but a piece of bread from an English hand, parts its equally betweene himselfe and his comrades, and eates it lovingly." He was as willing to part with his mite in poverty as his treasure in plenty. The thrifty Puritan settler

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must have viewed the improvidence of the Indian and his neglect of the future as something well-nigh irreligious.

Credit is accorded the American Indian that the women of the English had little to fear of sex relations. Perhaps unkindly it was the explanation of one contemporary that the English women had nothing to fear on this score as the Indian had his choice among his own women.

The story is told of the capture of three white women by members of the Pequot tribe. One of the women, fearing the consequences of her predicament, bit and scratched her captor so heartily that in retaliation he slew her with a blow from his tomahawk. The other two women were carried into camp, where the Indians offered their persons no abuse, but questioned them as to whether they could make gunpowder, a commodity greatly desired by them and only illegally purchased from the whites. Finding that their captives were not versed in the art any more than their own squaws, and convinced, says the narrator, that they would fall abundantly short in industry compared with the native women, and being of little attraction physically, as the Indian esteemed "black beyond any color," the English women were released.

The besetting sin of the Indian was drunkenness. Before drunkenness was introduced among them, "Nothing unclean or filthy, like the heathen's feasts of Bacchus and Venus, was ever heard of amongst any of them."

Prior to the advent of the white man, the Indian drank nothing but water. This was not because he was a sober individual, but because of the pertinent fact that he had no drink that would intoxicate. He had never stumbled upon the receipt of an intoxicating liquor. A people who did not know how to boil food was not likely to distill spirits. After the arrival of the Europeans some few of the Indians, who were ordinarily not enterprising, planted orchards and made cider. Many of the Indians became lovers of strong drink, aqua vitae, rum, brandy, and the like, and were greedy to buy it of the English.

The sale of liquor to Indians was strictly prohibited in the Massachusetts Colony, but there existed those among the Europeans who were willing to sell what the Indian greatly demanded. Bootlegging became a profession early in American life. And the Indian with his rugged love of freedom, demanded the right to exercise his personal liberties even unto extinction, which was what nearly happened.

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Although whipped for drunkenness, the Indian would seldom report the source of his supply.

In the words of Gookin, the Europeans, "especially the English in New-England, have cause to be greatly humbled before God, that they have been, and are, instrumental to cause the Indians to commit this great evil and beastly sin of drunkenness."

The Indian was a creature of passion and self-indulgence. But these traits alone do not account for his whole-hearted submission to the evils of over-indulgence in drink. The Indian nature was tinged with melancholy. He lived in constant dread of bewitchment. He saw evil spirits about him in every stick and stone. A prey to mental fears, he suffered from causes over which he had no control. A drought, a thunder, a comet, everything in nature typified the wrath of an angry god. The Indian was afraid. He sought solace in the burning liquor that made him forget for a time the shadow that hovered in his mind.

The Indian was heavily endowed with arrogance, self-esteem, and lordly pride. A manifestation of these attributes was the dignity inherent in him. His pride was quickly wounded and his suspicions easily aroused. A trader who chanced to smile in the course of a barter with an Indian was sure to lose his deal.

The Indian was a great orator. In unstudied eloquence he has at times rivaled the lofty flights of the Greeks and Romans. Red Jacket was declared by Governor Clinton to be the equal of Demosthenes. Jefferson called the best known speech of Logan, the Mingo chief, the height of human utterance, but the full originality of this speech is rightfully questioned.

The aborigine's poetic eloquence and love of mysticism adapted him to the white man's religion, and those who became its converts have filled the pages of missionary lore with speeches surprising to the ear of one not versed in its history. In prayer he is said to have exceeded the expectations of Eliot. Matthew Mayhew tells of a speech by a pow-wow heard by a kinsman who said had it been to the true God, it exceeded any prayer he had ever heard.

But with the weakness of orators, the speech of the Indian was verbose and prolix. His recitations upon occasion became so tediously minute that even the long suffering Eliot was obliged to cut him short.

It is an antithesis of character that although an orator, the Indian was not talkative. Out of the circle of council he spoke seldom and then with much gravity.

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The religion of the American Indian was a primitive psychology. Polytheistic in nature, it was untempered by philosophy. Before the advent of the European the Indian had not attained the spiritual level that perceives god as a moral preceptor. His gods were mere dispensers of good and evil fortune, more often evil. Not to suffer the anger of a god, was to be happy. The joy of moral exaltation was to him unknown.

The various tribes worshipped different gods, the sun, moon, earth, or fire, "and like vanities." Yet generally, says Gookin, the Indian acknowledged one supreme doer of good and another that was the great doer of mischief. The god of evil they dreaded and feared more than they honored and loved the god of good.

A knowledge of the religion of the Indians on the Vineyard has been preserved in the writings of the younger Thomas Mayhew. Upon his coming among them, writes he, "they were mighty zealous and earnest in the Worship of False gods and Devils; their False gods were many, both of things in Heaven, Earth, and Sea: And they had their Men-gods, Women-gods, and Children-gods, their Companies, and Fellowships of gods, or Divine Powers, guiding things amongst men, besides innumerable more feigned gods belonging to many Creatures, to their Corn and every Colour of it." These lesser gods Roger Williams compares in principle to the St. George, St. Paul, St. Dennis, and the Virgin Mary and similar "saint protectors" of the Roman Catholic faith.

"The Devil also with his Angels," continues the younger Mayhew, "had his Kingdom among them, in them; account him they did the terror of the Living, the god of the Dead, under whose cruel power and into whose deformed likeness they conceived themselves to be translated when they died; for the same word they have for *Devil*, they use also for *Dead Man*, in their Language: by him they were often hurt in their Bodies, distracted in their Minds, wherefore they had many meetings with their Pawwaws (who usually had a hand in their hurt) to pacify the Devil by their sacrifice and get deliverance from their evil." They had, continues the writer, "only an obscure Notion of a god greater than all, which they call Manit, but they know not what he was, and therefore had no way to worship him."

Josselyn well expresses the Indian knowledge of immortality with the statement that they have "some small light" of the soul's immor-

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tality, "for ask them whither they go when they dye, they will tell you pointing with their finger to Heaven beyond the white mountains."

The concept of the Great Spirit is largely a manifestation of the white man. Romance and tradition has painted an august conception of an Indian deity, a great spirit, omniscient and omnipresent, which has deceived many a reader into believing that the Indian possessed a high type of religion. We are called upon to admire, says Parkman, in the untutored intellect of the Indian, a thought too vast for Socrates and Plato.

Thomas Cooper, a half-blooded Gay Head Indian, born about 1725, once gave a description of the Indian form of worship at Martha's Vineyard. "Whenever the Indians worshipped," said he, "they always sang and danced, and then begged of the sun and moon, as they thought most likely to hear them, to send them the desired favor; most generally rain or fair weather, or freedom from their enemies or sickness." The *Dancing Field* at Christiantown was one of the places of congregation for such ceremonies.

The Indian priests were called Pow-wows, famed to later generations of Americans as medicine men. These exercised a potent influence in all the phases of life, religion, peace, war, and health. As an institution the pow-wows were the most picturesque feature of the red man's life. They maintained a strange and powerful influence over their superstitious fellow-tribesmen.

Betaking themselves to exorcism and necromatic charms, they were credited with bringing to pass many strange things. One is reported to have made water burn, rocks move, and trees dance. Not only were strange stories of the sorceries of the pow-wows confidently confirmed by Indians, but examples of their powers are seriously recounted in print by educated Englishmen whose reputations for veracity stand unimpeached. It is probable that a number of the pow-wows had stumbled upon certain elemental truths of chemistry and physics. It was fear of the pow-wows that the early missionaries were obliged to break rather than the power of sachems and sagamores.

The pow-wows professed the possession of imps through which they were able to perform their miracles. Says the younger Thomas Mayhew, "The *Pawwaws* counted their Imps their Preservers, had them treasured up in their bodies, which they brought forth to hurt their enemies, and heal their friends; who when they had done some notable Cure, would shew the Imp in the palm of his Hand to the

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Indians who with much amazement looking on it, Diedied them, then at all times seeking to them for cure in all sicknesses, and counsel in all cases."

The pow-wows exercised their craft both by bodily hurt and by "inward pain, torture, and distraction of mind." Their greatest influence was psychological. The superstitious Indian so lived in fear of the pow-wow's power that once told by a pow-wow that he was bewitched he would begin to suffer the most terrible mental pains and bodily symptoms. In this way account may be made for paralysis, lameness, and other impotencies inflicted by the pow-wows.

To effect their purposes the pow-wows were wont to use a bone, which was sometimes shot into the Indian, so they claimed, by a serpent coming directly towards the victimized man in the house or in the field, looming a shadow about him like a man. Matthew Mayhew adds that they oft formed a piece of leather like an arrow-head, tying a hair thereto, or using the bone of a fish, over which they performed certain ceremonies, to let the bewitched know his fate. The terrified victim, seeing the sign, would become seized with fears and distractions, convinced that in time the bone and hair would enter his body and begin its work of bewitchment.

Another method employed by the pow-wows was to pretend to seize something of the spirit of the one they intended to torment while it wandered in the victim's sleep, which spirit they would represent to keep in the form of an imprisoned fly, and accordingly as they dealt with the fly, so fared the body it belonged to. The power of a pow-wow over a victim whose spirit he kept in such close captivity need be no more than hinted.

The pow-wows, being able to create harm and disease, were also able to cure such evils. This they accomplished with "horrible outcries, hollow bleatings, painful wrestlings," and smittings of their bodies, and similar antics so extreme that Governor Winslow described them as combining the attributes of physician, priest, and juggler. They would make extraordinary motions with their bodies for so long a time that they would sweat until they foamed, continuing thus for hours stroking and hovering over the sick until cured or beyond repair. The pow-wows made use also of herbs and roots which they sometimes applied externally, combining medicine with psychology and witchcraft. They were known upon occasion to set bones.

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The ritual of a seance has been described in the following language:

The parties that are sick or lame being brought before them, the Pow-wow sitting downe, the rest of the Indians giving attentive audience to his imprecations and invocations, and after the violent expression of many a hideous bellowing and groaning, he makes a stop, and then all the auditors with one voice utter a short Canto; which done, the Pow-wow still proceeds in his invocations, sometimes roaring like a Beare, other times groaning like a dying horse, foaming at the mouth like a chased bore, smitting on his naked breast and thighs with such violence, as if he were madde. Thus will hee continue sometimes halfe a day, spending his lungs, sweating out his fat, and tormenting his body in this diabolical worship; sometimes the Devill for requitall of their worship, recovers the partie, to nuzzle them up in their divellish Religion.

Such was the religion of the American Indian. Peter Oliver, antagonistic to the Puritans and all their works, with a spleen so far developed as to enable him to attack the missionary activities of John Eliot, well expresses the popular misconception of the Indian religion. Writes he of the red man, "His very religion, though incomplete, was gentle and harmonious. It was the religion of Nature. He saw the Great Spirit in all his glorious works, and they furnished him with an adequate ritual. And he, too, could find language in which to express his adoration of the mysterious God; not invisible, for had he not expressed himself in flowers, in streams of running water, in the lightning and the tempest? He could Worship and praise as well as his white brothers, for the voice of nature sounded fresh in his ears, and he echoed her truths in strains of glorious eloquence."

In similar outbursts of eloquence is the Indian religion rarified by the imaginative white man. Only a joyous Cooperite could metamorphize the terrible howlings of the pow-wow and his uncouth gestures into paeans of "glorious eloquence," and call the indescribable mental anguish of bewitched Indians a "gentle and harmonious" religion. The Indians did not worship nature. They feared nature.

Much has been written of what the white man may learn from the Indian. But sober investigation renders it doubtful if there are many attributes found in the better class of redskins that the better class of Caucasians do not possess. There is too great a tendency to compare the best of primitive people with the dregs of the white race in picturing the nobility of the aborigine.

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Talk is made of the Indian's good sense in the way of simple living and mastery of the outdoors. But the truth is the Indian ate to excess when his larder was full and lived in starvation when it was depleted. The healthful virtues of wigwam life, apparent at first blush, fade upon deeper thought. Life in a foul, smoke-laden wigwam, where the occupants breathed over and again the stench of human bodies crowded in small areas, coupled with the sudden shock of a body thrust from such an atmosphere into the chilling winds of a New England winter, vitiated the constitution of the Indian and made him a victim of plague and a prey to consumption.

It is said with unction that through the Boy Scout and Camp Fire Girl movements the young people of today are learning the wisdom of the first American and emulating his noble qualities. That these great movements are affording the youth and girlhood of today an immeasurable benefit no thinking person denies, but it is a sad commentary on the accuracy of romantic thought that Camp Fire Girls should be called upon to adopt Indian names in their struggle to make life a thing of beauty, happiness, and romance, when it is recalled that the Indian woman was so pitifully the slave and inferior of her lordly master, good only to bear countless children and to perform menial tasks. The pioneer mothers in nameless millions from Copps Hill Cemetery in Boston to obscure mounds in the Rocky Mountains must turn in their graves.

Longfellow sang the song of Hiawatha, the picture of an "extinct tribe that never lived," Scholarly, urbane, he penned only the beautiful in life for the benefit of the Victorian public. He avoided the shadows of reality. He lived in a famed old mansion in Cambridge and taught in the classic halls of Harvard. He was the epitome of all that made conservative New England culture in the nineteenth century. Had Longfellow spent a night with Wood in an Indian wigwam or sat by the side of Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, while a brave buck sat cracking lice with his teeth, the world would have lost Hiawatha.

(To be Continued)

Courts and Lawyers of New England*

BY HERBERT PARKER, LL. D., BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS



THE Royal Charters from Which the Constitutions of the New England States Are Derived: Their Evolution and Development: Their Adoption by the Several States: The Relation to the Federal Constitution upon Admission of the States to the Union: The Pre-State History of Massachusetts Constitutional Law.

The constitutional form of government as originally adopted by the States of New England, as they emerged from their condition as colonies or provinces to that of self-governing sovereign states, is to be traced first to the Royal Colonial Charters, intended for the foundation or creation of new settlements in alien lands, and at least as much for the development of new fields of trade and of commerce. These charters were, however, in the latter details of their structure and form themselves derived from the specialized regulations of the English Trade guilds, whose organized features of administration are to be again traced to the Middle Ages and beyond, even to the corporate creations of the law of the Roman Empire. (Bryce: "The American Commonwealth," 1888, Chap. XXXVII.) Principles of administration and political government of such continuous and persistent existence, have preserved and still retain unimpaired vitality and virtue, reflected in the permanency through the unwavering will of the American people of our fundamental scheme of State and, indeed, as well, of national constitutional government.

Upon the Declaration of Independence the colonists suffered no transformations or substitutions of faith nor of character, nor, indeed, of their conception of the elemental principles of government upon which they were to found and maintain a State, and so to preserve as well their own and their descendants' liberties. They did not become a new people when they ceased to be subjects of the Crown of England and assumed the responsibilities of self-governing citizens of the American Republic.

*This article forms Chapter I of a four volume work of the same name by Mr. Parker, which is appearing early in 1931 with The American Historical Society, Inc., as publishers.—Ed.

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They did not denounce or repudiate the cardinal features underlying the scheme of the English form of constitutional government. They substituted the State for the Crown, but retained as the basis of their continuing governmental institutions, the active qualities and even the phrases of their Royal Charters and of Parliamentary enactments. There was no translation of their written principles of government into any foreign tongue. In the very accents of English speech, a scheme of government long existent in their home land, coming at the time of our Revolution to its world-wide recognition and forecasting its later dominion over the seven seas, was, before the brief days of the English Commonwealth, brought hither, over the western ocean by loyal English subject colonists, to our New England shores, where, nurtured by the characteristic loyalty of the conservative English race, it took new vigor from the new soil in which it was planted, new strength from the hardships of a harsher environment and from the conflicts with the savage defenders of their own territorial and ancestral possessions. Faith in the traditions and the justice of the English law, stern and merciless as it then was, reviewed in our present day retrospect, an abiding belief that a new England, of the bone and blood of that old England, was to be established upon these American shores, and extending westward, in the language of the Royal grants—"from the Atlantic and Western Ocean on the east part, to the South Sea on the west part," built and founded upon the imperishable precepts of the English laws, animated the hearts and inspired the thought of both New England and Virginia colonists. Heartened by their forecast of a greater England, of which they and their children were to be part, ardently hoping, striving, defending their frontier forts and the churches of their religion here in New England, our forefathers, from their earliest colonial days, as devoutly adhered to the forms and authority of the English law and the inherited covenants of Royal English government, as they did to their hard won territorial domains and their political rights, as, in their vision of the far distant future, they beheld the boundaries of their new domains extending beyond any limits set by monuments of stone or fortress walls, ever advancing with the vanguard of the champions of their faith, ever further toward unconquered lands, westward over the crest of frowning mountain heights, guarding their secret treasure houses of power and of wealth incalculable, and looking down upon boundless fertile plains to be peopled by their offspring, or by followers or associates of their hopes and

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beliefs. So these first strong hearted, high purposed adventurers and crusaders, forecast that ever widening English conquest of new lands, the extermination, or conversion of pagan aborigines, to the regeneration of the Cross, by the might and right of English law in this new continent. Already, at the time of their first migration, either to Virginia, or to New England, England had won her place as ruler of the seas, already attaining dominion over the far places of farthest voyagers. Under her government and under her conquering flag, the colonists foresaw their own safety, nor dreamed of any renunciation of their loyal obedience to their King and Parliament, under such protection of home laws, and in confident reliance in the capacity of free God-fearing men to establish and maintain a State powerful in its sovereignty, yet safeguarding and preserving the liberties of its citizen subjects, under a form of constitutional government, which had been tried and tested by conflicts between feudal lords and peasants and between the King and his barons, and which had confirmed the accepted authority of the Crown, and defined the field of its exercise of power, but has also endowed the subject with his conscious and recognized inalienable rights as a freeman.

In pride and hope, and resolute belief inspired by such reflections, they set their feet upon our New England soil, devoutly erected their churches and built their sentinel block houses. From these foundations, from the text of the holy Christian scriptures, and of these Royal Charters, with the blessing of God as one reverently believes, the American Commonwealth and Republic has come to its reality in the living faith and devotion of its free citizens of today, and of tomorrow, and in the authoritative written precepts of its constitutional law.

The world and age wide impulse and influence of these Royal English charters are impressively revealed as we turn the pages of the past three centuries of the history of men and of nations.

The Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company was conferred by her royal hand in 1599, and those letters patent of King James to "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America" in the year 1620. (See "The Compact with the Charter of the Colony of New Plymouth," published by order of the General Court, 1836.)

Upon the Charter of Elizabeth has been built the splendid and on the whole beneficent rule of the English Empire in the East, where-



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under uncounted millions of those who otherwise had been abject slaves to the caprice or cruelty of absolute despots, have come to know something of the protection and enlightenment of the might and justice of the English law, through whose mandates, and by its warriors and ministers, Clive, Hastings, Wellington, Dufferin, Curzon and Reading, the destinies of the myriad races of the Indian hills and torrid plains, from the Gates of the Khyber Pass to the Koromandel Coast, have been now for these three hundred fateful years, protected, guided and controlled.

Westward from the Cape Cod of Captain Smith, northward by the rocky shores, through whose portals the Kennebec and the Penobscot yield their waters to the sea, we follow from its planting in Plymouth the development of that germ of a new national creation which was embodied within the prophetic words of the Charter of that ill-fated King, whose death by the bloody decree of his own people was nearly contemporaneous, if not coincident, with the dawning of the days of a truer liberty of a self-governing people, in the New as well as in the Old England.

The dominant, significant and surviving features of the Massachusetts charters of King James and of King Charles the First, live in their creation and definition of that frame of government, conferred by those royal grants upon "the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America," and in the recitals of the Charter of King Charles, of 1628, to "The Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay in New England," to which on the fourth day of March, in the fourth year of the reign of that monarch, the great seal of England was attached, and the sovereign will made manifest by the hand of his minister Wolseley. (See "Ancient Charters and Colony and Province Laws of Massachusetts," published by order of the General Court, Boston, 1814.)

There is manifest occasion to examine the text of these momentous documents, instinct with their reflection of conditions and environment of their own day, and vibrant with unconscious prophecies, within whose words are inscribed the declaration of birthright and inheritance not alone of the citizens of our own New England but as well as of our American people.

Though our theme is rather of the institutions of the law and of its jurisdiction, yet we are first to note the territorial domains and prop-

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erty rights which passed by the grace of King James, the English King, to Sir Henry Rosewell, and his associates, grantees of King James under his earlier charter, including in its territorial grants that vast area defined as

all that part of America, lying and being in breadth, from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctial line to forty-eight degrees of said northerly latitude inclusively, and in length of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands from sea to sea,

to the Council at Plymouth in the county of Devon, and by the grant of King Charles to the grantees of that Council, to Sir Henry Rosewell and his then and future companions in the enterprise—the “Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay of New England,”

all that part of New England in America aforesaid, which lies and extends between a great river there, commonly called Monomack, alias Merrimack, and a certain other river there called Charles River, being in the bottom of a certain bay there, commonly called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts bay, and also all and singular those lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the space of three English miles on the south part of said Charles river, of or any or every part thereof; and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the space of three English miles to the Southward of the southernmost part of said bay called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts bay, and also all those lands and hereditaments whatsoever, which lie, and be within the space of three English miles to the northward of said river called Monomack, and every part thereof, and all lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the limits aforesaid, north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there, from the Atlantic and western sea and ocean on the east part, to the south sea on the west part; and all lands and grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishings and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the said bounds and limits, and also all islands lying in America aforesaid, in the said seas or either of them on the western or eastern coasts or parts of the said tracts of land,

and conferring governmental powers and as well preserving the vested rights of the grantees and their associates, heirs and successors, the charter proceeds:

and all jurisdictions, rights, royalties, liberties, freedoms, immunities, privileges, franchises, preëminencies and commodities whatsoever,

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which they the said council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, (had acquired by grant of King James) for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America. . . . To have and to hold the said part of New England in America, . . . and all the said . . . jurisdictions, franchises, royalties, liberties, privileges, commodities, hereditaments and premises whatsoever, with the appurtenances unto the said Sir Henry Rosewell

and his associates, heirs and assigns. It is to be observed that King Charles was not unmindful of the filial ties and obligations of Royalty nor of the complacent fellowship of Christian monarchs, for by this charter he carefully provided:

That if the said lands, islands or any other the premises hereinbefore mentioned, and by these presents intended and meant to be granted, were at the time of the granting of said former letters patent, dated the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of our said dear father's reign aforesaid, actually possessed or inhabited by any other christian prince or state, or were within the bounds, limits or territories of that southern colony then before granted by our said late father, to be planted by divers of his loving subjects in the south part of America, That then this present grant shall not extend to any such parts or parcels thereof, so formerly inhabited, or lying within the bounds of the southern plantation as aforesaid, but as to those parts or parcels so possessed or inhabited by such christian prince or state, or being within the bounds aforesaid shall be utterly void, these presents or anything therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And in pious recognition of the needed blessing of the Almighty in the foundation of all plantations here or hereafter, these letters patent further avow that

forasmuch, as the good and prosperous success of the plantation of the said parts of New England aforesaid intended by the said Sir Henry Rosewell . . .

and his associates

to be speedily set upon, cannot but chiefly depend, next under the blessing of Almighty God, and the support of our royal authority upon the good government of the same, To the end that the affairs and businesses which from time to time shall happen and arise concerning the said lands, and the plantation of the same may be the better managed and ordered, We have further hereby of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, given, granted and confirmed, . . . unto our trusty and well beloved subjects . . . and all such others as shall hereafter be admitted and made free of the company and society

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hereafter mentioned, shall from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter be, by virtue of these presents, one body corporate and politick in fact and name, by the name of the Governor and Company of Mattachusetts Bay in New England, and them by the name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England, one body politick and corporate, in deed, fact, and name,

Proceeding further, the charter ordains and establishes that form of government with its several officials and with definitions of their powers which in substance still survive in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and so it is by the King's Charter proclaimed that

. . . . Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and grant, that from henceforth for ever, there shall be one Governor, one Deputy Governor, and eighteen Assistants of the same company, to be from time to time constituted, elected and chosen out of the freemen of the said company which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general business and the government of the people there.

And further the charter recites:

And further, we will, and by these presents do ordain That the governor of the said company or in his absence the deputy governor shall give order for the assembling of the said company to consult and advise of the businesses and affairs of the said company, and that the said governor, deputy governor, and assistants shall once every month, or oftener assemble and hold and keep a court or assembly of themselves, for the better ordering and directing of their affairs, and that any seven or more persons of the assistants, together with the governor, or deputy governor so assembled shall be a full and sufficient court or assembly of the said company, for the handling, ordering, and despatching of all such businesses and occurrences as shall from time to time happen, touching or concerning the said company or plantation; and that there shall or may be held by the governor and seven or more of the said assistants upon every last Wednesday in Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michas terms one great general and solemn assembly, which four general assemblies shall be styled and called the four great and general courts of the said company; in which said great and general courts the governor, and such of the assistants and freemen of the said company as shall be present, or the greater number of them so assembled shall have full power and authority to choose, such and so many others to be free of the said company and body

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and to elect and constitute such officers as they shall think fit . . . ; and to make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the said company, and for the government and ordering of the said lands and plantation, and the people inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them from time to time shall be thought meet, so as such laws and ordinances be not contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England.

And, says the charter :

Our will and pleasure is . . . that yearly, once in the year, . . . the governor, deputy governor, and assistants . . . and all other officers of the said company shall be, in the general court or assembly . . . newly chosen for the year ensuing by such greater part of the said company. . . .

Further defining the political and civic rights of the members of the company, the charter continues :

. . . . we do . . . ordain and declare, and grant to the said governor and company, and their successors, that all and every the subjects of us, . . . which shall go to and inhabit within the said lands and premises . . . and every of their children which shall happen to be born there, or on the seas in going thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of the dominions of us, our heirs or successors, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England.

The charter further recites :

And we do . . . give and grant to said governor and company, and their successors . . . and such of the assistants and freemen of said company . . . as shall be assembled in any of their general courts . . . to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes and ordinances, directions, and instructions, not contrary to the laws of this our realm of England . . . according to the course of other corporations . . . whereby our said people, inhabitants there, may be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation, may win and incite the natives of (the) country, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the christian faith, which in our royal intention, and the adventurers free profession, is the principal end of this plantation.

In adequate terms, powers and authorities are conferred upon the officials elected and prescribed, to enforce the laws and maintain their authority, and it is declared

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that these our letters patent shall be firm, good, effectual, and available to all intents and constructions of law, according to our true meaning hereinbefore declared, and shall be construed, reputed, and adjudged in all cases most favourably on the behalf, and for the benefit and behoof of the said governor and company and their successors.

And in these words lie the promises and covenants of the King to and with future subjects of England, dwelling in the new America, which compacts, as we shall see, in the later years, King, Parliament and Colonists, recognized, though under divergent interpretations and constructions, as definite forms of constitutional government, indeed as constitutions in themselves.

Of this we have an early illustration in the Declaration of the General Court respecting their Charter Rights, as reported by its committee, June 10, 1661:

The Court's Declaration of their Rights by Charter, in 1661:

At the Sessions of the Generall Court, held at Boston the 10th of June, 1661. The Answer of the Committee unto the Matters proposed to their Confederation by the honourable Generall Court.

I. Concerning our Liberties

1. We conceive the patent (under God) to be the first and mayne foundation of our civil polity here, by a governour and company, according as is therein exprest.

2. The governor and company are, by the patent, a body politique in fact and name.

3. This body politique is vested with power to make freemen, &c.

4. These freemen have power to choose annually a governor, deputy governor, assistants and their select representatives or deputies.

5. This government hath also power to fett up all forts of officers, as well superiour as inferiour, and point out their power and places.

6. The governor, deputy governor, assistants and select representatives or deputies, have full power and authority, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people here, whether inhabitants or strangers, both concerning ecclesiastical and civil, without appeals, excepting law or lawes repugnant to the lawes of England.

7. This government is privileged, by all fitting means, (yea if neede be) by force of armes, to defend themselves both by land and sea, against all such person or persons as shall, at any time, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of the plantation, or the inhabitants therein, besides other privileges, mentioned in the patent, nor here expressed, &c.

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8. We conceive any imposition prejudicial to the country, contrary to any just law of ours (not repugnant to the lawes of England) to be an infringement of our right. (Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 455, 3rd Ed.)

From the broken faith of later Kings and Parliaments in the keeping of these compacts came their unsought translation into American Constitutions, through revolution and the separation of the American English from the mother country.

Whatever of regret the Massachusetts Bay Colonists may have felt, however grave may have been their fears for their own liberties, and the fate of their institutions and plantations, none the less it is true that the forfeiture of their old Colonial charter in 1684 resulted in a distinct advance, by another stage in evolution, toward the establishment of what later became in essential structure the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and, as we shall see, of the other New England States, through the letters patent of William and Mary in 1691, known as the Province Charter. This document invites the interested and instructive examination of every student of the law, not only of the old Massachusetts Bay Province, and of the Commonwealth in succession, but as well of students of basic law of our American Republic, and we New Englanders may here with just pride remember that our forbears were most vigilant guardians of this precious muniment of their faith.

The fathers of New England were intellectually active to a degree which did not disturb the repose of their contemporaries to the southward. ("Liberty, Union and Democracy," Wendell, p. 44.)

And this we may assert without disparaging the honorable fame of the patriots of the old Dominion, or of those of Georgia or of the Carolinas, for none would deny them actual and indispensable participation in assertion of American Colonial rights, or in the defense of the practical and civil liberties of every English subject, whether resident by the storied shores of the James River, as it drifted seaward, through the mists of tradition, in "tide water" Virginia, or by the placid meadows that border the riverside farms of ancient Middlesex in old Concord town, or, indeed, by the borders of that Elysian Field, where King John set his seal to that immortal compact, to which every race of mankind who have come to know the liberties of freemen, look as to the foundation stone, the very altar, on which they find the

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promise and assurance, whence has come the reality of their own emancipation and enfranchisement. Every essential structural feature of a scheme of government which survives within, and animates the several constitutions of the New England States, may be found in this Provincial Charter, proclaimed almost a hundred years before the acknowledgment of the independence of all the former English Colonies from the rocky headlands of Passamaquoddy Bay by the borders of the still English province of New Brunswick, southward to the sands and bays of the Carolina coasts and to the wide reaches of the estuaries that mark the shores of Georgia. Their Majesties, William and Mary, were indeed careful in their new grant, though conferring upon the freeholders of the Province, the initial powers of legislation and of official appointments to distinctly reserve to the Crown, an absolute veto of all legislative enactments and control of appointments, through their required approval by the King's minion, the Royal Governor.

Thus the new charter reaffirmed the restraints of its predecessors, permitting the enactment only of such laws by the General Court

as they shall judge to be for the good and welfare of our said province or territory, and for the government and ordering thereof, and of the people inhabiting, or who shall inhabit the same, and for the necessary support and defense of the government thereof.

(So as the same be not repugnant or contrary to the laws of this our realm of England)" (Charter and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, published by order of the General Court, Boston, 1814.)

a reservation of legislative control, forecasting that restraint emanating from the authority vesting by the State and Federal Constitutions in the Courts of Last Appeal.

This Province Charter cites the granting and the vacating in 1684 by writ of *scire facias* of the Colonial Charters of James and of Charles the First, under which latter grants the new charter recites that colonies and plantations had been founded and established. A wider territorial jurisdiction is brought within the field of this later charter, than was embraced within the boundaries of the Patents of James and Charles, which in latitude had extended from a line three miles to the northward of River Merrimack southward to a line three miles south of the Charles, and seaward by the coasts and islands beyond the southernmost part of Massachusetts Bay. By the charter of their

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Majesties, William and Mary, the new jurisdiction included under the new designation of "The Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England,"

"the territories and colonies commonly called or known by the names of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay and colony of New Plymouth, the province of Main, the territory of Accada, or Nova Scotia; and all that tract of land lying between the said territories of Nova Scotia and the said province of Main, be erected, united and incorporated; And we do by these presents unite, erect and incorporate the same into one real province by the name of our province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England; and . . . do give and grant unto our good subjects, the inhabitants of our said province or territory of the Massachusetts Bay, and their successors, all that part of New England in America. . . .

formerly included in the charters of James and of Charles First

and extending as far as the outermost points or promontories of land called Cape Cod, and Cape Malabar, north and south, and in latitude, breadth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth and compass aforesaid throughout the main land there, from the said Atlantic or western sea, and ocean on the east part towards the south sea, or westward as far as our colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the Narragansett country: And also all that part and portion of main land, beginning at the entrance of Piscataway harbour, and so to pass up the same and into the river of Newichwannock, and through the same into the furtherest head thereof, and from thence northwestward, till one hundred and twenty miles be finished, and from Piscataway harbour mouth aforesaid northeastward along the sea coast to Sagadehock, and from the period of one hundred and twenty miles aforesaid to cross over land to the one hundred and twenty miles before reckoned upon into the land from Piscataway harbour through Newichwannock river, and also the north half of the Isles of Shoals, together with the Isles of Capawock and Nantuckett near Cape Cod aforesaid, and also the lands and hereditaments lying and being in the country or territory commonly called Accada, or Nova Scotia, and all those lands and hereditaments lying and extending between the said country or territory of Nova Scotia and the said river of Sagadehock or any part thereof; and all lands . . . lying within the said bounds and limits aforesaid. . . . To have and to hold . . . to our said subjects the inhabitants of our said Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England.

Among the confirmations by the Province Charter of property rights it is notable, and as will later be more fully realized, that estates then held by

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any person or persons, or bodies politick or corporate, towns, villages, colleges or schools

shall be by them

forever hereafter held and enjoyed, according to the purport and intent of such respective grant,

As we review what we may designate as the terrain upon which the development of the laws and the jurisprudence of New England find its source and environment, we are to observe that all our present New England, save the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut, fell within the borders defined by this Province Charter. In the pages following we shall note the grants by charter or otherwise wherever title to Rhode Island and Connecticut lands came down, and there we shall have within our retrospective vision, the seed land of New England whereon were born or nourished those patriots whose works and words have made our history, and whose faith and valor have made our Nation—whose wisdom made our laws.

How mistaken in his conception of the spirit of his countrymen and of his time was that adventurous mariner, Captain John Smith, who, wearied by long and hazardous voyages, and by confinement as prisoner of war on French ships, on his return, recording his observations of the New England coasts avowed that he was too worldly wise to expect that any motive, other than the accumulation of wealth, would ever

erect there a commonwealth, or draw company from their ease and humours at home to stay in New England. (*A Description of New England, or the Observations and Discussions of Captain John Smith, London, 1616.*)

We turn to further examination of the Province Charter, to observe within its phrases, the definition of a scheme of Government which, in outline, sets forth every field of executive, legislative and judicial authority now existent and operative in the Constitutions and in the laws of New England, and, indeed of all the States of the American Union.

Let us read from the text of this ancient charter some of its prophetic provisions:

. . . . from henceforth forever there shall be one governor; one lieutenant or deputy governor; and one secretary of our said province or territory, to be from time to time appointed and commissioned by

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us and eight and twenty assistants, or counsellors, to be advising and assisting to the governor of our said province the said governor, with the said assistants or counsellors, or seven of them at the least, shall and may from time to time hold and keep a council for the ordering and directing the affairs of our said province. And further, we will that there shall and may be convened, held and kept by the governor for the time being, upon every last Wednesday in the month of May, every year, for ever, and at all such other times as the governor shall think fit and appoint, a great and general court, or assembly; which shall consist of the governor and council or assistants ; and of such freeholders as shall be elected by the major part of the freeholders, and other inhabitants of the respective towns or places, who shall be present at such elections; each of the said towns and places to elect two persons to serve for and represent them respectively in the said great and general court or assembly. The governor for the time being shall have full power to adjourn, prorogue and dissolve all great and general courts. Once in every year the aforesaid number of eight and twenty counsellors or assistants shall be by the general court of assembly newly chosen. And we do further grant and ordain, that it shall and may be lawful for the said governor, with the advice and consent of the council, to nominate and appoint judges, commissioners of oyer and terminer, sheriffs, provosts, marshals, justices of the peace, and other officers, to our said council and courts of justice belonging and further our will and pleasure is that all and every of the subjects of us, which shall go to and inhabit within our said province shall have and enjoy, all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of the dominions of us, as if they and every of them were born within this our realm of England and we do grant, establish and ordain that forever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all christians (except papists). And we do grant, establish and ordain that the great and general court shall for ever have full power to erect and constitute judicatories and courts of record, or other courts for the hearing, trying and determining of all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, plaints, arising or happening within said province.

And we do grant, establish and ordain, that the governor with the council or assistants, may do all that is necessary for the probate of wills, and granting of administrations concerning any interests or estate within our said province in case either party shall not rest satisfied with the judgment or sentence of any judicatories or courts wherein the matter in

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difference doth exceed the value of three hundred pounds sterling that then he or they may appeal to us, in our privy council.

Again there appears the insistent prohibition against the enactment of any laws

repugnant or contrary to the laws of this our realm of England.

The range of permitted legislation is in subject and substance as now limited under the constitutions of our several sovereign States of New England.

The Great and General Court is encouraged to provide such legislation as to so

dispose of matters and things whereby our subjects may be religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, protected and defended.

and so by their exemplary demeanor and conversation

win the Indians to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God.

As precedent and prototype of the constitutional executive veto, the charter declares that in the framing and passing of such orders, laws, statutes and ordinances

to be passed, made or done by the general court . . . or in council, the governor shall have the negative voice;

and that

without his consent

no such laws, statutes, ordinances or elections

or other acts of government whatsoever shall be of any force, effect or validity.

The reserved power of an ultimate royal veto, of course, finds no continuance, but its equivalent executive veto in the State constitutions.

The Governor, as by the State constitutions, is to be the chief in command of military forces of the Province. Recognition of the right of *habeas corpus* and restriction of the exercise of the law martial finds its initial expression by prohibition against any law or assumed authority to

transport any of the inhabitants of our said province or oblige them to march out of the limits of the same without their free and voluntary consent, or the consent of the great and general court

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(or to) grant commissions for exercising the law martial . . . without the advice and consent of the council or assistants of the same.

A further document, significant in our study of the survival or emergence of the constitutional form of government in the New England states, which is the subject of our study, is to be examined in the occasion and text of the so-called Explanatory Charter of King George, granted in the phrase of Royal condescension in 1726 (Charter and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1814, p. 38), a manifest evidence of royal apprehensions because of the aggressive sentiment of the province against repressive acts of Parliament or Royal interference through the Provincial Governor, with the local self-government, established in the spirit of the charters as in the faith of the people of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

By this Explanatory Charter, it further appears that the King, alarmed by the courageous exercise of the powers of leadership inherent in the office of the Speaker of the Great and General Court, sought to curb such threatening independence, and to compel submission to the Royal will, through the control of the Speaker's appointment by the King's henchman, the Governor of the Province. Thus the Explanatory Charter decrees, while pretending to affirm the full authorities and protections of the existing charter, that the power of local government is, nevertheless, to be abridged or diminished by making the Speaker of the General Court not a representative of the free holders who elect and constitute that assembly but a facile creature of the Crown. A further sinister menace to the liberties of the province appears in the prohibition against adjournment by the General Court, without the Governor's approval, for more than ten days. One may read in these provisions of King George's "special grace" some of the portents forecasting the overthrowing and disappearance of all Royal Charters, and of the substitution of constitutions of free and independent states, which still retain, in written text of their own liberties, the very phrases of Colonial and Province Charters, which declared the rights of the English freemen, but which succeeding Kings, in their dread of impairment of their Royal prerogatives, and Parliaments, terrified into submission, later foreswore and betrayed, whereby the English Colonies came to their freedom, and so a new nation came into existence.

In our review of the foundation upon which our New England

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constitutional law is erected, and of the sources from which it has come to its living realities, we may not pause to consider in detail the various patents and grants of territorial or plantation rights, issued by the so-called London or Virginia Company, or the grants and consequent brief settlements under patents of 1606 and of 1620 to Sir Ferdinando de Gorges, under the name of Council for New England, for those attempts at colonization were rather trading enterprises of commercial adventurers than, in purpose or in fact, features or incidents of the foundation of an organized or persistent scheme of administrative government from which our states came into existence; yet we shall refer again to these enterprises and to resulting conflicting territorial titles and jurisdictional controversies in our brief review of the constitutions of New Hampshire and of Maine.

As part of our annals, we may note some of these transient episodes in the picturesque statement of Hutchinson:

In 1603, De Monts obtained a patent from Henry the 4th of France for all the country from the 40th to the 46th degree, by the name of Cadie or Acadie. In 1604 De Monts ranged along the sea coast, from St. Lawrence to Cape Cod and to the south of it. He went far up the Kenebeck river, and into divers other rivers, bays and harbours.

In 1606, King James, the first, granted all the continent, from 34 to 45 degrees; which he divided into colonies, *viz.*, the Southern, or Virginia, to certain merchants of London; the Northern, or New England, to merchants of Plymouth.

In 1607, some of the patentees of the Northern Colony began a settlement at Sagadahoc. They laid the plan of a great state. The president died the first winter, which was extreme cold. Sir John Popham, his brother, the great promotor of the design, and Sir John Gilbert, the Admiral's brother, died the same year in Europe, and the next year, 1608, the whole number which survived the winter returned to England. Their design of a plantation was at an end. Both English and French continued their voyages to the coast, some for fishing and some for trade with the natives; and some feeble attempts were made by the French towards plantations, but they were routed by the English in 1613. There was no spirit in the people of either nation for colonization. (Hutchinson, "History of Massachusetts," 3d Ed., Vol. I, p. 10.)

But, says Governor Hutchinson,

God in his providence bringeth good out of evil. Bigotry and blind zeal prevailed among christians of every sect or profession. Each

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denied to the other what all had a right to enjoy, liberty of conscience. To this we must ascribe, if not the settlement, yet at least the present flourishing state of North America. (Hutchinson, "History of Massachusetts," 3d Ed., Vol. I, p. 11.)

We are directly concerned in our present studies only with the structure and upbuilding of a system of law and a scheme of popular constitutional government which, as we shall constantly observe, had its origin, in formulation at least, in the Royal Charters which we have briefly examined, and which reveal or reflect the high and far-seeing purpose of those grantees who, in the phrasing of their grants, sought to found and to nourish in the new fields of their great adventure and hope, a form and guarantee of a scheme of government which had already become a definite ideal in the minds of those Englishmen, who were, in the serious expressions of their faith and their exalted aims, designated as religious enthusiasts, non-conformists, separatists, but more generally under the name of Puritans whose avowals and whose conduct

marked the beginning of the rising tide of human aspiration for something better than the world had yet known. If this definition is vague, Puritanism itself was vague. In the reign of James I the word "Puritan" was regarded as a term of reproach. (Channing, "History of the United States," Vol. I, p. 271.)

This King, in his first communication to his first Parliament at Westminster, in 1604, when stating that he had found three religions, contemptuously classified the third as comprising the Puritans or novelists, who lurked—"within the bowels of this nation."

These, he said, did not differ from the Established Church in doctrine,

but in their "confused form of polity or parity; being ever discontented with the present government and impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh that sect unable to be suffered in any well governed commonwealth." (Channing, "History of the United States," Vol. I, p. 279.)

In our studies, we shall observe from its first appearance, before the first grant of an American charter, the stern and inflexible purpose of the Puritan exodus to the Massachusetts Bay. Our attention will be concentrated upon those settlements, those companies of English adventurers or zealots, if so any one wishes to call them, whose faith

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was centered in their devout religious beliefs and in their equally immutable faith that their only hope of stable government, with just recognition of liberties of English freemen, lay in the maintenance of the principles avowed in their charters, and reflected in the spirit of the English, manifest in the days just preceding the dawning of the civil war, and the Commonwealth or Protectorate of Cromwell.

Certain it is that of all the settlements of the Northern Colonists or traders, only those inspired or inflamed by the fervor of the Pilgrims and of the Puritans, fixed upon the teachings and the commands of the Holy Scriptures and the constitutional law of England, have survived, and they through the resolute and unfaltering courage and faith of the men and women, first coming to Plymouth and later to the shores of Massachusetts Bay. Says Governor Hutchinson:

Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America at this day, if religion had not been the great inducement, is doubtful. One hundred and twenty years had passed, from the discovery of the northern continent by the Cabots, without any successful attempt. ("History of Massachusetts," 3d Ed., Vol. I, p. 11, Note.)

It was left (says John Fiske) for religious enthusiasm to achieve what commercial enterprise had failed to accomplish. "The Beginnings of New England," 1902, p. 94, Riverside Press Ed.)

And before we enter upon the recital and review of the Colonial and Province Laws, wherein the freeholders set forth their rules and orders for the direct government of their fellows and of themselves, the sources to which they looked for their admonition and guidance were the Holy Scriptures and the Hebraic ordinances of the Old Testament, as, in October, the 27th, 1647, the General Court directed its committee, charged with the duty of drawing up the existing laws, to leave wide margins for references to the Scriptures. ("Ancient Charters, Colony Laws & Province Laws, of Massachusetts Bay," p. v.) And we are to note not alone the citation of these old Testament laws but the bodily transfer, or paraphrase of the Jewish Code, into the formulated criminal law of the Colonies in Chapter XVIII of the Colony Laws (*ibid.*, p. 58).

Even cursory reading of the charters, whose every aspect bears relation to our study of the laws of New England, calls attention to the impressive enunciation and assurance of a scheme of government, a recognition of the liberties of English subjects, little in harmony with the sentiments and opinions of the Stuart Kings, from whose hands at

William

the Son by the Grace of God of England, Ireland, France
and Wales, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. **TO OUR** Council and Justices
We direct that the Great and General Court one yearly if our Province of Massachusetts
be in New England in October next lastly convened the said for establishing of Judicial
and Court of Justice within Our Province except Justiciary, and some, named and sent down
thereof to have been before several times, either in obedience or otherwise by the General Assembly
and with Justiciary assistance and amendment of said laws, and abide in full force
with the end of the first Session of the General Assembly of Our Province, to be begun and
held upon the last Wednesday in May next anno 1607 and thereafter. **And** We have assigned
clerk do hereby to write the rules of said Court Justiciary of Our Province, and of
any or any three of you to receive, try and determine all causes and matters that shall be brought to the said
in said Court. With authority to use and exercise all power and jurisdiction belonging to the said
in said Court, and to do that which shall be just and equitable according to the same.
In witness whereof We have caused the Great Seal of Our Province of the
Massachusetts to be affixed to the present letters. **At the City of Boston** the 10th day of
December 1606. In the first year of Our said Grace.

By the Council of the Lieutenant
Governor and Council

Wm. Stoughton

Wm. Stoughton

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least, the documents issued. Some one capable of voicing, and in sympathy with the ideals of pre-Cromwellian days, must have had part in the phrasing of these instruments which certainly are in truth charters of the liberties of the English subjects, as, indeed, of those liberties now of world-wide recognition and veneration.

In an important sense the associates of the Massachusetts Company were builders of the British as well as of the New England Commonwealth. (Palfrey, "History of New England," Vol. I, p. 304.)

The authorship of the Royal Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, attributed, by suggestion at least, to "the eminent Puritan Councillor John White," by Palfrey, presents a very interesting line of inquiry. (Palfrey, "History of New England," Vol. I, p. 306.)

It is not too much to say that in the seventeenth century the entire political fortune of mankind was staked upon the questions that were at issue in England. (Fiske's "Beginnings of New England," p. 43, Riverside Press Ed.)

Within the very year within which the fated King set his hand to the Charter of 1628, in which the emigrants were granted the rights of legislation for themselves and were guaranteed the enjoyment of

all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any

English dominions, he had by the violent hand of lawless might, closed the doors of the English Parliament, not again to be opened for more than a decade of continuous suppression in England, of rights which in theory and fact lived only in the Puritan Colony of New England. Contemptuous of the high and resolute purpose of the Puritan emigrants which he had so little understood, but believing that their departure overseas was good riddance to pestiferous and persistent disturbers of his selfish enjoyment of the divine right of Kings, he bade them go with the passport of his charter, echoing that outburst of his father's impatience, who had declared,

I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land. Little did either of these arrogant monarchs foresee that from such planting of the seed of God-fearing freemen, in the rugged soil beyond the western ocean, there would come that later harvest time of human liberties. Little did he dream of that uprising of militant and victorious "rebels" upon whose standards were borne the very watch-

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words which had been written into the royal grants, in whose provinces the Colonists had been nourished, and had come to their strength. And so, by the words of their charters, falsely spoken, those Stuart Kings had by their own hands, sown the "dragon's teeth." (Palfrey, "History of New England," Vol. I, pp. 391, 393.)

The story of English Colonies in America reflects the last efforts of Royalty to maintain the false and moribund principle that the law is the will and the voice of the King.

During four centuries, we are told

The kings vainly endeavored to impose upon the English people the Continental view that law is the command of a sovereign to a subject, not the customs and usages of the people; an effort which proved futile, and by the eighteenth century did not survive even in the royal veto. (Stinson's "Federal and State Constitutions of the United States," Introduction, p. 4.)



The Expansion of New Hampshire---Chronological---From Provincial, State and Town Papers

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



THE present State of New Hampshire was allotted and settled mainly by the method of proprietary charters; the exception being the tiers of towns at the southern end, settled under the charter and jurisdiction of Massachusetts, from which they received quasi or informal incorporation.

The first known settlement in the territory was by David Thompson, at Odiorne's Point, in Little Harbor, near the present Portsmouth, where he had a grant of 6,000 acres, and built a house and established a fishing station in 1623. The second settlement, made soon after, was by Edward and William Hilton, fishmongers, of London, at Cocheco, later called Hilton's Point, but first mentioned in records of 1628; next called Bristol; about 1633, Northam, and by 1638, by its permanent name, Dover. In 1626, Thompson settled on Thompson's Island, in Boston Harbor, but his successors founded Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth. In 1622, Captain John Mason, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others obtained from the English "Council of Plymouth," a grant of land called the "Province of Maine," consisting of two sections: one from the Merrimac River to the Piscataqua; the other from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec. Mason had also a grant on March 9, 1622, extending from Naumkeag (now Salem, Massachusetts), to the Merrimac. November 17, 1629, their territory was extended without definite limits and named Laconia, supposedly from its numerous lakes; the part now in New Hampshire being conveyed to Mason alone, who being governor of Portsmouth in Hampshire, England, gave to it the name New Hampshire, though probably he never saw it, as he died in England in 1635. In 1631, William Chadbourne built for Mason the "Great House" at Strawberry Bank.

The upper course of the Merrimac was unknown; but was supposed to run in the same general easterly direction as the lower, and by the Massachusetts interpretation of her charter, she claimed three

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miles north of the source of the Merrimac; consequently all of the present southern New Hampshire was considered to be within her territory; and nearly all the early settlers of New Hampshire came from Massachusetts, and by choice were under Massachusetts government from 1641 to 1680, when the King took it as a royal province. In 1690, it rejoined Massachusetts; but in 1692 the King made it again a royal province, alone until 1699, but together with Massachusetts from 1699 to 1741. At the latter date the King's commissioners so defined the boundaries as to place New Hampshire entirely outside of the territory and jurisdiction of Massachusetts, which lost two tiers of towns, said to be twenty-eight in number at the time, but from which many others have been set off since. Two things concerning New Hampshire settlement deserve especial notice: first, the rule of granting townships by special town charters, after the model of colony charters; secondly, the order of Massachusetts General Court, September 27, 1642: "It is ordered that all the p(re)sent inhabitants of Pascataqua who formerly were free there, shall have the liberty of freemen in their severall townes to manage all their affaires, and shall each towne send a deputy to the Gen'all Court, though they bee not at present church members." (Records of Massachusetts, Vol. II, p. 21.) The same privilege was given to Maine settlers, in 1652.

To settle the conflicting claims of Massachusetts, the Masonian proprietors, and New Hampshire under separate government, many towns obtained charters from two or three of them. (See Albert S. Batchellor's *New Hampshire Town Charters*.)

In New Hampshire during the colonial period, as in Massachusetts, formal incorporation was neglected, and one has only dates of charter grants as a guide in many instances; or of regrants where the first grant was forfeited by neglect to settle within a reasonable period—usually five years—but in some cases from one year upward; forfeiture in poor soil being frequent. In a few instances we have only the date of official establishment of a settlement as a parish. The grants from the association which bought out the Masonian claims from Robert Tufton Mason, grandson of John Mason, for £1500, January 20, 1746, were merely deeds of land. The kings, through provincial governors, issued the charters containing the "fiat" incorporation of towns when New Hampshire was a royal province. Settlement before 1700 was confined to a few towns on or near the eighteen miles of seacoast in the southeast. The settlement of the basin of the Upper Connecticut

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River was due to the knowledge of it obtained by the soldiers marching through it in the Canada expedition during the French and Indian War, 1759, from Connecticut and Massachusetts. The town names in the charters were fixed by the grantor; sometimes under protest of the grantees. The following town lands were granted by the Masonian agent alone, though established by fiat of the provincial government, or the State: Alexandria, Allentown, Alton, Andover, Antrim, Danbury, Effingham, Freedom, Greenfield, Hill, Hooksett, Marlborough, Middleton, Moultonborough, Newbury, New London, Ossipee, "Society Land" (later divided into Antrim, Bennington, Deering, Francetown, and Hancock), Somersworth, Sutton, Tuftonborough, Windsor, and Wolfeborough. As a rule the Masonian proprietors concurred in or regranted previous grants made by Massachusetts or New Hampshire, since the Council for Plymouth could not enforce its vast claims. It divided its territory in February, 1635, and issued its last deed April 22, 1635, leaving Mason and Gorges to support their claims as best they might. In 1641, when the territory came under Massachusetts government, there were four independent settlements: Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter, in New Hampshire, and Kittery, in Maine, across the Piscataqua River, opposite Portsmouth. The order of establishment follows:

1. Portsmouth, settled about 1623 as Piscataqua (Indian Piscataquack), from Bristol, Exeter and Shrewsbury cities, and Dorchester and Plymouth towns—all in the west of England. About 1631, the settlement was known as Strawberry Bank. Incorporated by Massachusetts, May 28, 1653, as Portsmouth, "it being the River's mouth & a good harbour." Incorporated a city in 1849.

2. Cocheco, settled soon after Portsmouth; next called Bristol; about 1633, Northam; 1638, Dover; not incorporated, but named from Dover in County Kent, England. Incorporated a city, 1855.

3. Exeter, settled by the Rev. John Wheelwright and his companions and named, April 3, 1638, from Exeter in Devonshire, England. Indian name Squamscott.

4. Hampton, Indian Winnacunnet, as granted, 1635; incorporated May 22, 1639; named, September 4, 1639, from the old name of Southampton, England. Settled by the "Company of the Plough," led by Rev. Stephen Bachiller.

5. New Castle, or Great Island; set off by charter of May 30, 1693, "to be a Town Corporate."

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6. Kingston, set off from Hampton August 6, 1694, "that the same be a Town Corporate by the name of Kingstown."

7. Stratham (Winnicott), settled in 1693; incorporated from Exeter, March 14, 1716; named from Streatham parish, London.

8. Greenland, settled 1704, under a grant of 1703, as a parish of Portsmouth; made a district, March 18, 1721, having all the powers of a town except a representative; made a full fledged town, May 13, 1732; named from Francis Champernowne's estate on Great Bay, New Hampshire.

9. Chester, granted as Cheshire patent, ten miles square, August 26, 1700; incorporated as Chester, May 8, 1722; named from Chester City in Cheshire, England.

10. Barrington, incorporated by royal charter, May 10, 1722; named from John Shute, Viscount Barrington, by his brother, Samuel Shute, governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

11. Nottingham, incorporated May 10, 1722; named from Nottingham city and county, England.

12. Rochester, incorporated May 10, 1722; named from Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, died, 1724, as Earl of Clarendon; a city, incorporated 1891.

13. Londonderry, settled April, 1719, as Nutfield, by sixteen Ulster Scotch families; incorporated, June 21, 1722, and named from Londonderry, Ireland; Windham parish set off, February 25, 1740.

14. Rye parish of New Castle; incorporated April 13, 1726; named from Rye, town in County Sussex, England.

14. Hampton Falls, a parish of Hampton; set off in 1709; incorporated November 23, 1726.

15. Barnstead, grant May 20, 1727.

16. Epsom; incorporated May 18, 1727; named from Epsom in Surrey, England.

17. Chichester; granted May 20, 1727; settled in 1753; named from Chichester Borough in Sussex, England.

18. Gilmanton; granted May 20, 1727, to twenty-four Gilmans and one hundred and fifty-two others.

19. Bow; incorporated by New Hampshire, May 10, 1727; named from a bend in the river here.

20. Durham; in 1669 "Oyster River"; minister settled in 1718;

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incorporated from Dover, May 15, 1732; named from Durham, England.

21. Concord; Penacook grant, 1659; regrant, January 13, 1726; established by Massachusetts as Rumford, February 27, 1734; Concord, June 2, 1765; incorporated a city, 1853.

22. Kensington; incorporated from Hampton Falls, a parish, April 1, 1737; named from Kensington Borough in London.

23. Newmarket; a parish, December 15, 1727; incorporated from Exeter, August 26, 1737; named from Newmarket, County Suffolk, England.

24. East Kingston; set off from Kingston, November 17, 1738.

25. Windham; set off as a parish from Londonderry, February 12, 1742.

26. Winchester; established by Massachusetts as Arlington, June 16, 1739; incorporated as Winchester, July 2, 1753; named from Winchester in Hampshire, England.

27. Canterbury; grant, May 20, 1727; incorporated, March 19, 1741; named from Canterbury in County Kent, England.

28. Epping; set off from Exeter, February 13, 1741-42; named from Epping in County Essex, England.

29. South Hampton; incorporated, May 25, 1742, from parts of Amesbury and Salisbury, Massachusetts, and Hampton and Kingston, New Hampshire.

30. North Hampton; North Hill parish, November 17, 1738; incorporated from Hampton, as a town, November 26, 1742.

31. Brentwood; set off from Exeter, June 26, 1742; incorporated, October 1, 1744; named from Brentwood parish, Essex, England.

32. Nashua; incorporated from Dunstable; until 1741 considered as wholly in Massachusetts, as Dunstable, April 1, 1746; a town, 1753; named, December 8, 1836, from Algonkin Nashaway, "place between"; incorporated a city, 1853.

33. Merrimack; incorporated from Dunstable, April 12, 1746; named from the Merrimac River.

34. Hollis; as a precinct from Dunstable, 1739; a town, April 3, 1746; named from Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle.

35. Hudson; incorporated as Nottingham West, July 5, 1746; Hudson, July 1, 1830.

36. Pelham, from Dunstable and Dracut, Massachusetts; incor-

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porated, July 5, 1746; named from T. Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle.

37. Hampstead (Winniconnesset); incorporated from Haverhill, Massachusetts, January 19, 1749; named from Hampstead Borough in London.

38. Plaistow; incorporated from Haverhill, Massachusetts, February 28, 1749; named from Plaistow parish in County Essex, England.

39. Litchfield (Naticook or Brenton's Farms); incorporated from Dunstable, Massachusetts, 1734; by New Hampshire, June 5, 1749; named from Litchfield, Connecticut.

40. Newton; settled, 1720; incorporated from Hampton, as Newtown, December 6, 1749; Newton, July 10, 1846.

41. Salem; incorporated from Haverhill, Methuen, and Dracut, Massachusetts, May 11, 1750, as New Salem; named from Salem, Massachusetts.

42. Bedford ("Souhegan East," grant, 1734); incorporated, May 19, 1750; named from the Duke of Bedford.

43. Manchester; incorporated from Londonderry and Chester, as Derryfield, September 3, 1751; named Manchester, June 13, 1810; incorporated a city, 1846.

44. Westmoreland (Great Meadows, grant by Massachusetts, 1735); named from John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland; incorporated, February 12, 1752.

45. Walpole (Great Falls, Bellows-town); incorporated, February 13, 1752; named from Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford.

46. Richmond; grant, 1735; settled from Massachusetts and Rhode Island; incorporated, February 28, 1752.

47. Keene ("Upper Ashuelot"); incorporated, April 11, 1753; named from Sir Benjamin Keene; incorporated a city in 1873.

48. Swanzey ("Lower Ashuelot," grant, 1733); incorporated, July 2, 1753; named from Swanzey, now Swansea, Massachusetts.

49. Charlestown; incorporated, July 2, 1753; named from Sir Charles Knowles, of the British Navy.

50. Hinsdale ("Fort Dummer"); incorporated from Northfield, Massachusetts, as Hindsdale, September 3, 1753; named from Col. Ebenezer Hinsdale, a resident, and defender of the garrison there.

51. Somersworth; parish of Dover, 1729; incorporated, April 22, 1754; incorporated a city, 1893.

THE EXPANSION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

52. Sandown; incorporated from Kingston, April 6, 1756; named from Sandown on the Isle of Wight, England.

53. Pembroke ("Suncook," grant to Capt. John Lovewell, 1727); incorporated, November 1, 1759; named from the Earl of Pembroke, S. Wales.

54. Amherst ("Souhegan West," grant, December 1, 1759); incorporated, January 8, 1760; named from Lord Jeffrey Amherst.

55. Peterborough (Souhegan, grant by Massachusetts, 1737-38; by Mason proprietors, 1748); incorporated, Peterborough, January 17, 1760; named from the Earl of Peterborough; settled by Ulster Scots.

56. Danville; incorporated as Hawke, February 22, 1760; named from Admiral Edward Hawke; renamed Danville, June 18, 1836.

57. Boscawen; granted as Contocook, 1752; incorporated as Boscawen, April 22, 1760; named from Admiral Edward Boscawen.

58. Goffstown ("Piscataqua Township," grant, 1734); incorporated, June 16, 1761; named from Col. John Goffe.

59. Lebanon; settled from Lebanon, Norwich, and Mansfield, Connecticut; the first town settled north of Charlestown; granted, July 4, 1761.

60. Hanover; granted, July 4, 1761; named from George III, Duke of Hanover. Seat of Dartmouth College.

61. Lyme; granted July 8, 1761; named from Lyme, Connecticut.

62. Canaan; granted, partly to Canaan, Connecticut, grantees, July 9, 1761; and named from Canaan, Connecticut.

63. Plainfield; granted, August 14, 1761; named from Plainfield, Connecticut.

64. Chesterfield; grant, February 11, 1752; settled, 1761; named from fourth Earl of Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope.

65. Orford; granted, September 25, 1761; settled, 1765; incorporated, February 8, 1772; named from Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford.

66. Newport; settled from Killingworth, Connecticut; incorporated, October 6, 1761.

67. Marlow (Addison grant, 1753); incorporated, October 7, 1761; named from Marlow, Buckinghamshire.

68. Campton; grant, October 9, 1761; named from a camp made by its first two settlers, 1765.

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69. Holderness; New Holderness, grant, October 24, 1761; named from the Earl of Holderness; became Holderness, June 12, 1816.

70. Lyman; granted to twelve Lymans, November 10, 1761.

71. Wilton; settled from Danvers, Massachusetts, 1738; Mason grant, October 1, 1749; incorporated, June 25, 1762, and January 2, 1765; named from Wilton, England.

72. New Ipswich; granted by Massachusetts to Ipswich settlers, January 15, 1735-36; incorporated, as Ipswich, September 9, 1762; New Ipswich, March 6, 1766.

73. New Durham; incorporated, December 7, 1762; named and settled from Durham, New Hampshire.

74. Alstead ("Newton"); incorporated, August 6, 1763; named from Halstead, Essex.

75. New Boston; incorporated, February 18, 1763; named from Boston, Massachusetts.

76. Croydon; granted, May 31, 1763; named from Croydon, County Surrey.

77. Haverhill ("Lower Coos"); incorporated, May 18, 1763; named from Haverhill, Massachusetts.

78. Cornish; granted, June 21, 1763; settled from Sutton, Massachusetts.

79. Lancaster ("Upper Coos"); incorporated, July 6, 1763; named from Lancaster, Massachusetts.

80. Gilsum (Boyle grant, 1752); incorporated, July 13, 1763; named from Samuel Gil(bert) and Thomas Sum(ner), grantees.

81. Warren; incorporated, July 14, 1763; named from Admiral Sir Peter Warren, of the British Navy.

82. Lisbon; granted as Concord, August 6, 1763; Gunthwaite, 1768; Lisbon, June 14, 1824.

83. Sandwich; incorporated, October 25, 1763.

84. Candia ("Charmingfare," 1762); made a parish, December 17, 1763; named by Governor Benning Wentworth from Candia (Crete), where he was once a prisoner.

85. Plymouth; New Plymouth grant, July 15, 1763; named from Plymouth, Massachusetts.

86. Lincoln; by charter, January 31, 1764, "is incorporated into a township."

87. Benton; granted as Coventry, January 31, 1764; named

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from Coventry, Connecticut; Benton, December 4, 1840; named from Hon. Thomas H. Benton.

88. Lyndeborough ("Salem-Canada"); incorporated, April 23, 1764; named from Benjamin Lynde, large proprietor.

89. Raymond ("Freetown"); incorporated as Raymond, May 9, 1764.

90. Fremont; incorporated from Brentwood, as Poplin, June 22, 1764; renamed from John C. Fremont, July 8, 1854.

91. Newington; incorporated from Dover and Portsmouth, July, 1764; named from Newington, Middlesex; now in London.

92. Unity (Buckingham); incorporated, July 13, 1764.

93. Weare ("Beverly-Canada," or Robinstown); incorporated, September 21, 1764, and named from Hon. Meshech Weare.

94. Claremont; incorporated, October 26, 1764; named from the seat of Lord Robert Clive.

95. Piermont; granted, November 6, 1764; first settled, 1768.

96. Hopkinton, New Hopkinton; settled from Hopkinton, Massachusetts, 1740; incorporated, January 10, 1765.

97. Dunbarton (Stark's Town, grant to Archibald Stark, 1752); incorporated, August 10, 1765; named from Dunbarton (Dum-), Scotland.

98. Conway ("Pigwacket"); granted and settled, October 1, 1765; named from Henry S. Conway, English Secretary of State.

99. Deerfield; incorporated from Nottingham, January 8, 1766; named from abundance of deer.

100. Lee; incorporated from Durham, January 16, 1766.

101. Acworth ("Burnet"); incorporated, September 19, 1766; named from Lord Acworth.

102. Tamworth; incorporated, October 14, 1766.

103. Albany; granted as Burton, November 8, 1766; named, July 2, 1833, from Albany, New York.

104. Eaton; granted, November 7, 1766.

105. Groton; granted as Cockermouth, 1761, 1766, and January 24, 1772; Groton, December 7, 1796.

106. Chatham; granted February 7, 1767; named from William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

107. Rumney; settled, 1765; granted, March 18, 1767.

108. Atkinson; incorporated from Plaistow, September 3, 1767; named from Theodore Atkinson, a proprietor.

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109. Rindge ("Rowley-Canada," S. Monadnock); incorporated, February 11, 1768; named from Daniel Rindge, a proprietor.
110. Salisbury (Baker's Town); incorporated, March 1, 1768.
111. Madbury; incorporated from Dover and Durham, May 26, 1768.
112. Seabrook; incorporated a parish from Hampton, June 3, 1768; descriptive.
113. Mason (Mason grant, 1749); incorporated, August 26, 1768; named from John Mason, early proprietary of New Hampshire.
114. Temple; incorporated, August 26, 1768.
115. Henniker (New Marlborough); named from John Henniker, M. P.
116. Meredith; incorporated, December 30, 1768; named from Sir William Meredith.
117. Bath; settled, 1765; incorporated, March 29, 1769.
118. Surry; incorporated, March 9, 1769, from Gilsum and Westmoreland; named from County Surrey, England.
119. Brookline; incorporated, as Raby, March 30, 1769; named Brookline, December 1, 1798.
120. Sanbornton; settled, 1765, by Sanborn et al.; incorporated, March 1, 1770.
121. Wolfeborough; incorporated, July 9, 1770; named from Gen. James Wolfe.
122. Stratford; grant of 1762, as Woodbury, forfeited; reincorporated, January 15, 1770; as Stratford, May 16, 1773.
123. Dublin; "Monadnock" grant, November 3, 1749; incorporated, March 29, 1771, and named from Dublin, Ireland.
124. Woodstock; grant, 1763, as Peeling forfeited; incorporated, as Fairfield, December 17, 1771; named Woodstock, June 19, 1840.
125. Lempster; settled, 1770; incorporated, January 21, 1772; for Leominster.
126. Dorchester; third and permanent grant, May 1, 1772.
127. Francestown; incorporated, June 8, 1772; named from Frances Deering, wife of Gov. John Wentworth.
128. Franconia; granted as Morristown, June 8, 1772; named Franconia, 1782.
129. Hillsborough; incorporated, November 14, 1772; named from Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough, or Col. John Hill.

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130. Loudon; incorporated from Canterbury, January 23, 1773; named from the Earl of Loudoun, Scotland.

131. Northwood; originally North Woods; incorporated parish from Nottingham, February 6, 1773.

132. Success; granted, February 12, 1773; never incorporated; population 200 in 1900; none in 1930.

133. Cambridge; granted, May 19, 1773; population, five in 1910; one in 1930.

134. Fitzwilliam; incorporated, May 19, 1773; named from the second Earl Fitzwilliam; later, Wentworth-Fitzwilliam.

135. Jaffrey; incorporated, August 7, 1773; named from George Jaffrey, of Portsmouth.

136. Deering; incorporated, January 17, 1774; named from Frances Deering, wife of Gov. John Wentworth.

137. Nelson; incorporated as Packersfield, February 22, 1774; named Nelson, June 14, 1812, from Lord Horatio Nelson.

138. Millsfield; granted, March 1, 1774; named from Thomas Mills; population twelve in 1910; thirty-three in 1930.

139. Kilkenny; granted, 1774; named from Kilkenny, Ireland; population forty-seven in 1900; none in 1930.

140. Wakefield; incorporated, August 30, 1774.

141. Warner; incorporated, September 3, 1774; named from Col. Jonathan Warner.

142. Stoddard; settled by Ulster Scots as Limerick; incorporated, November 4, 1774, and named from Col. Samson Stoddard, a grantee.

143. Landaff; incorporated, November 11, 1774; named from Llandaff, Wales.

144. Wentworth; incorporated, November 1, 1776; named from Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, 1741-67.

145. Washington (Camden grant, 1772); incorporated, December 13, 1726; named from Gen. George Washington.

146. Marlborough; settled as New Marlborough, from Marlborough, Massachusetts; incorporated, December 17, 1776.

147. Antrim; set off from Cumberland, in 1761 called "Society Land"; incorporated, March 22, 1777; named from Antrim, Ireland.

148. Moultonborough; incorporated, November 27, 1777; named from Col. Jonathan Moulton, one of the sixty-two grantees, in 1761.

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149. New Hampton; incorporated from Moultonborough; named by Col. J. Moulton, earlier of Hampton, New Hampshire.

150. Middleton (Middletown grant, 1749); incorporated, March 4, 1778.

151. Effingham (Leavittstown grant, 1749); settled in 1768; incorporated, August 18, 1778; named from Thomas Howard, second Earl of Effingham.

152. Enfield; incorporated, August 17, 1778; named from Enfield, Connecticut.

153. Grafton; incorporated, November 11, 1778; named, 1769, from Augustus Henry Fitzroy, third Duke of Grafton.

154. Hill; Mason grant, 1753, to Chester men; incorporated as New Chester, November 20, 1778; named later from Gov. Isaac Hill.

155. Newbury (Dantzic grant, 1753); incorporated, November 27, 1778, as Fishersfield; named Newbury, January 14, 1837.

156. Andover; New Breton grant, 1751, 1771; incorporated, June 25, 1779, as Andover, probably from Andover, Massachusetts.

157. New London; Alexandria Addition, regrant 1773 as Heideburg; incorporated and named from London, England, June 25, 1779.

158. Hancock; incorporated, November 5, 1779; named from Hon. John Hancock, of Massachusetts, a proprietor.

159. Northumberland; Stonington grant, 1761; named, 1771, from County Northumberland, England; incorporated, November 16, 1779.

160. Northfield; incorporated from Canterbury, June 19, 1780.

161. Sunapee; incorporated as Wendell, April 17, 1781; named Sunapee, from Lake Sunapee, July 12, 1850.

162. Thornton; grant, October 21, 1768; incorporated, November 24, 1781; named from Matthew Thornton, signer of the Declaration, a grantee.

163. Pittsfield; incorporated from Chichester, March 27, 1782; named from William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, friend of the colonies.

164. Alexandria; incorporated, November 23, 1782.

165. Dalton; part of the Apthorp regrant of 1770; incorporated as Dalton, November 4, 1784; named from Hon. Tristram Dalton, of Massachusetts.

166. Littleton; the other part of the Apthorp grant, made to Moses Little, and incorporated, November 4, 1784.

THE EXPANSION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

167. Sutton; first settler, 1767; incorporated, April 13, 1784; named from Sutton, Massachusetts.

168. Ossipee ("New Garden"); incorporated, February 22, 1785; named from the neighboring Ossipee tribe of Indians.

169. Langdon; incorporated from Charlestown and Walpole; incorporated, January 11, 1787; named from Gov. John Langdon.

170. Bradford; settled as New Bradford, 1771; as New Bradford, incorporated, September 27, 1787.

171. Sullivan; incorporated from Gilsum, Keene, Stoddard, and Nelson, September 27, 1787; named from Gen. John Sullivan, of New Hampshire.

172. Bridgewater; incorporated from Hill, February 12, 1788.

173. Grantham; incorporated as New Grantham, February 5, 1788; Grantham, June 12, 1812; named from Thomas Robinson, Baron Grantham.

174. Bartlett; incorporated, June 16, 1790; named from Gov. Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire.

175. Orange; granted as Cardigan, February 6, 1769; incorporated as Orange, June 18, 1790.

176. Greenfield ("Lyndeboro' Gore"); incorporated, June 15, 1791.

177. Sharon ("Peterborough Slip"); incorporated, June 24, 1791.

178. Goshen; incorporated from Sunapee, Lempster, Newbury, Newport, Unity, and Washington, December 27, 1791; named from Goshen, Connecticut.

179. Hebron, from Cockermouth and Plymouth; incorporated, June 15, 1792; named from Hebron, Connecticut.

180. Milford; incorporated from Amherst and Hollis, January 16, 1794.

181. Springfield (Protectworth grant, 1769); incorporated, January 24, 1794.

182. Brookfield; incorporated from Middleton, December 30, 1794.

183. Stark; incorporated as Piercy, January 9, 1795; named, December 8, 1832, from Gen. John Stark, of New Hampshire; earlier from Capt. Thomas Piercy.

184. Danbury; incorporated from Alexandria, June 18, 1795.

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185. Tuftonborough; settled, about 1781, and named from John Tufton, *alias* Mason, early proprietor; incorporated, December 17, 1795.

186. Stewartstown; grant, 1770, to John Stewart; incorporated as Stuart, December 22, 1795; Stewartstown resumed, December 24, 1799.

187. Colebrook (Coleburne); grant, 1770, to Sir George Colebrook; incorporated, June 14, 1795.

188. Alton, "New Durham Gore"; incorporated, June 16, 1796.

189. Jefferson; incorporated, 1792, as Hebron; named, December 8, 1796, from Thomas Jefferson.

190. Columbia; incorporated as Cockburne (from grant 1770 to Sir James Cockburne), December 16, 1797; renamed Columbia, June 19, 1811.

191. Center Harbor; incorporated from New Hampton, December 7, 1797; named as the middle one of three harbors.

192. Farmington; incorporated from Rochester, December 1, 1798.

193. Windsor; originally "Campbell's Gore"; incorporated, December 27, 1798; population twenty-two in 1930.

194. Bethlehem; Lloyd's Hills grant, 1774; incorporated as Bethlehem, December 27, 1799.

195. Jackson; incorporated as Adams, December 4, 1800, from President John Adams; named Jackson, July 4, 1829, for President Andrew Jackson.

196. Milton; incorporated, June 11, 1802, from Rochester.

197. Ellsworth (Trecothick grant, 1762); incorporated, June 16, 1802, and named from Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Chief Justice of United States.

198. Mount Vernon; incorporated from Amherst, December 15, 1803; named from Washington's residence at Mount Vernon, Virginia.

199. Whitefield; granted, July 4, 1774; incorporated, December 1, 1804.

200. Dixville; granted, 1805, to Gen. Timothy Dix, father of Gov. John Dix, of New York; twenty-five population in 1930.

201. Wilmot; incorporated from New London, Hill, and Kearsarge Gore, June 18, 1807; named from Dr. Wilmot, popular English author.

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202. Gilford; incorporated from Gilmanton, June 16, 1812.
203. Roxbury; incorporated from Nelson, Keene, and Marlborough, December 9, 1812.
204. Troy; incorporated from Marlborough and Fitzwilliam, January 23, 1815.
205. Bristol; incorporated from Bridgewater and New Chester, now Hill, June 24, 1819.
206. Strafford; incorporated from Barrington, June 27, 1820; named from William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, but directly from Strafford County, in which it lies.
207. Shelburne; incorporated, December 31, 1820.
208. Hooksett (Isle-on-Hooksett); incorporated from Chester, Dunbarton, and Goffstown, July 2, 1822.
209. Randolph (Durand grant, 1772); incorporated, June 16, 1824; named for John Randolph, of Virginia.
210. Milan (Paulsbourg grant); incorporated, December 16, 1824; named from Milan, Italy.
211. Derry; incorporated from Londonderry, July 2, 1827; named from the old name of Londonderry, Ireland.
212. Franklin; incorporated from Andover, Northfield, Salisbury, and Sanbornton, December 24, 1828; named from Benjamin Franklin; incorporated a city, 1894.
213. Berlin (Maynesborough grant, December 31, 1771, to Sir William Mayne); incorporated, July 1, 1829, and named from Berlin, Prussia; incorporated a city, 1897.
214. Waterville; incorporated, July 1, 1829; population twenty-three in 1930.
215. Freedom; incorporated as North Effingham, June 16, 1831; named Freedom, December 6, 1832.
216. Allentown; granted to children of Gov. Samuel Allen, 1722; incorporated, July 2, 1831.
217. Carroll (Bretton Woods grant, February 8, 1772); incorporated, June 22, 1832.
218. Gorham ("Shelburne Addition" grant, 1770); incorporated, June 18, 1836.
219. Errol; incorporated, December 28, 1836; population two hundred and eleven in 1910.
220. Pittsburg ("Indian Stream"); incorporated, December 10, 1840; fifteen population in 1920.

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221. Bennington; incorporated from Deerfield, Fremont, Greenfield and Hancock, 1842.
222. Auburn; incorporated from Chester, June 25, 1845.
223. Dummer; incorporated, December 19, 1849; named from Gov. Dummer, of Massachusetts.
224. Rollinsford; incorporated from Somersworth, July 3, 1849; named from the Rollins family.
225. South Newmarket; incorporated from Newmarket, June 27, 1849.
226. Madison; incorporated from Eaton, December 17, 1852; named from President James Madison.
227. Clarksville (Dartmouth College grant, 1769); incorporated, June 30, 1853; named for Benjamin Clark.
228. Monroe; incorporated from Lyman, July 13, 1854; named from President James Monroe.
229. Laconia; incorporated from Meredith, July 14, 1855; named from the Laconia grant, 1629, to Mason and Gorges; a city, 1893.
230. Belmont; incorporated as Upper Gilmanton, June 29, 1859; renamed from August Belmont, June 24, 1869.
231. Webster; incorporated from Boscawen, July 4, 1860; named from Daniel Webster; population fifty-one in 1930.
232. Ashland; incorporated from Holderness, July 1, 1868; named from Ashland, the home of Hon. Henry Clay.
233. Tilton ("Sanbornton Bridge"); incorporated from Sanbornton, June 30, 1869; named from Nathaniel Tilton, first settler.
234. Harrisville; incorporated from Dublin and Nelson, July 2, 1870; named from Bethuel Harris, manufacturer here.
235. Greenville; incorporated from Mason, June 28, 1872.
236. Livermore; incorporated, July 11, 1876; named from Livermore family; population twenty-three in 1930.
237. Easton; incorporated from Landaff, July 20, 1876.
238. Hubbard.

Several townships in mountainous Coos County have very small population; and the "New Hampshire State Directory and Gazetteer" for 1919 has, as unorganized townships: Bean's Purchase, Carlisle, Chandler's Purchase, Crawford Purchase, Newfield; only the first had population. New Hampshire has ten counties; five of which were formed March 19, 1771, by the last royal governor, John Wentworth,

THE EXPANSION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

in office 1767-75, and are named for his titled friends: Cheshire, from the Earl of Cheshire; Grafton, from A. H. Fitzroy, third Duke of Grafton; Rockingham, from Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham; Strafford, from William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; Hillsborough, from Col. John Hill, Earl of Hillsborough. Coos County was set off from Grafton County, December 24, 1803; Merrimack from Rockingham and Hillsborough, July 23, 1823; Sullivan from Cheshire, July 5, 1827; Belknap and Carroll from Strafford and Grafton, December 22, 1840. Eleven cities: Manchester, incorporated in 1846; Portsmouth, 1849; Concord and Nashua, 1853; Dover, 1855; Keene, 1873; Rochester, 1891; Laconia and Somersworth, 1893; Franklin, 1894, and Berlin, 1897. Population of New Hampshire 465,293 in 1930. Land area, 9,031 square miles.



Voorhees and Allied Families

BY M. M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



AN VOORHEES, a locality name, meaning "from before Hees," is a small village of Drenthe, Holland, containing, in 1660, nine houses and about fifty people. About a quarter of a mile off was the town of Ruinen which, including the suburbs, had a population of 1,976 inhabitants. In America, the following forms of the name have been recorded: Van Voorheesen, Van Voorheeze, Van Voorhuysen, Van Voorheese, Van Voorhase, Van Voorhaise, Van Voorhouse, Van Voirnies, and numerous forms where the Van has been dropped: Voorhis, Voorheis, Voris, Vorus, Voorhees, Vorhes. The spelling now quite universal in the New Jersey branch is Voorhees, excepting in Bergen County, where Voorhis is used. Some branches in Oyster Bay, Long Island, Dutchess County, New York, and Bergen County, New Jersey, retain the "Van."

VOORHEES (VAN)

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th gules, a tower d'or opened of the field, 2d and 3d, argent, a tree eradicated vert.

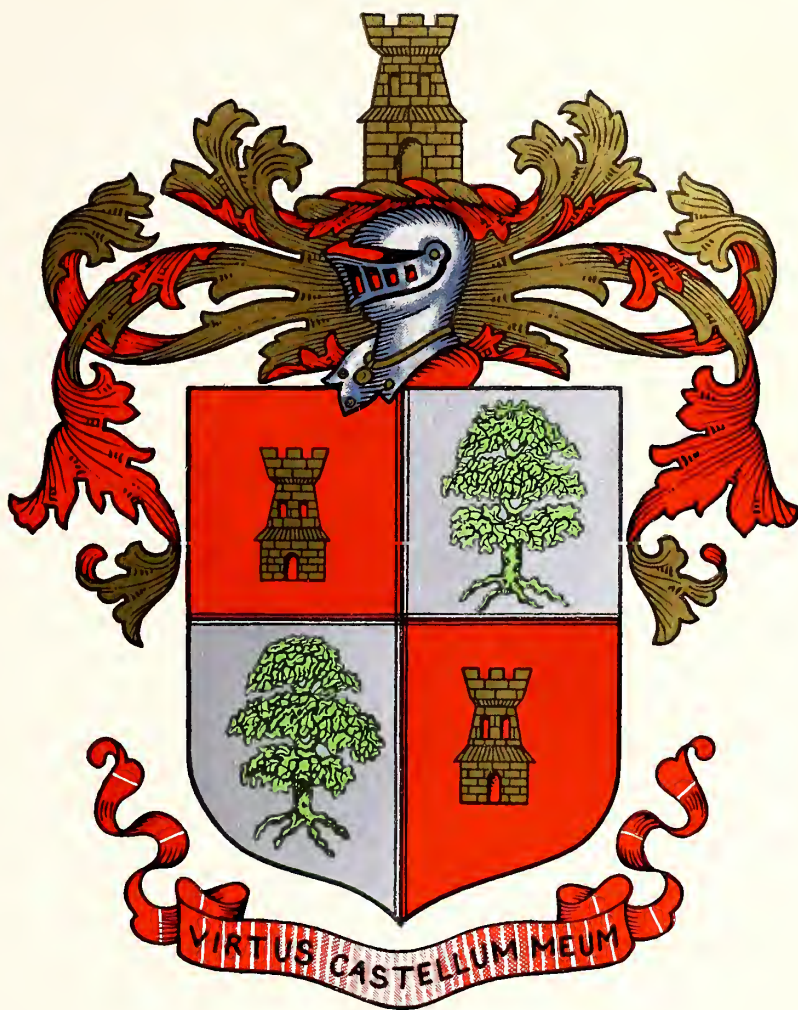
Crest—A tower d'or.

Motto—*Virtus castellum meum.*

(Elias W. Van Voorhis: "Genealogy of the Van Voorhees Family in America or the Descendants of Steven Coerte Van Voorhees of Holland and Flatlands, Long Island" (1888), Vol. I, pp. 4-5.)

The Voorhees family of America is of Holland Dutch ancestry. The form of surnames after the Holland families came to America was more or less a matter of family choice, so that we find this name, like others, an incorporation of the hereditary name (explanatory, usually, of a man's immediate paternal ancestry) adjusted, or often omitted, and replaced by the name of his locality in the mother country, Holland. So for Coert Albertse (son of Albert), who dwelt "in front or before" Hies or Hees, a small village about a quarter of a mile from the town of Ruinen, province of Drenthe, we have Coert Albertse Van (of) Voor (before) Hies or Hees; and Van Voorhies, Van Voorhees, Voorhies and Voorhees, are to be found among the names of his descendants in America, today.

The only source to which we can trace the name of Coert is to Albert, his father (the grandfather of the immigrant ancestor), so that we do not



Voorhees (Van)



VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

know the real family origin. The majority of Netherlanders who settled permanently in America were of the industrial classes, while the most distinguished families who held important positions in the new settlements were largely from the burgher class in Holland.

Peter Stuyvesant, the only governor who remained in New Netherlands, was the son of a minister in Friesland; and the only patroon who settled on his estates in the New World, Killiaen Van Rensselaer, was a merchant of Amsterdam. The Voorhees name had gone from Long Island to New Jersey, to Pennsylvania, to Central New York, to the Middle West, and to the Pacific Coast. Many of the name have been of great service in the growth of the country, both politically and in lines of scientific endeavor; as well as attaining positions of importance in law, the ministry, and the field of literature.

(Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 3, 4, 7. "Somerset County Historical Quarterly," Vol. VII, pp. 163, 171.)

(Ancestry in Holland)

1. *Coert Albertse Van Voorhees*, of the Province of Drenthe, Holland, son of Albert Van Voor Hees, first of the name, was born before 1600, and died about 1684. He resided "before" the village of Hies or Hees, near the town of Ruinen, Province of Drenthe, Holland. He had brothers and sisters living in various parts of Holland. Children, born probably at "Voor Hies," in Holland: 1. Steven Coerts, of whom further. 2. Hilbert Coerts. 3. Jan Coerts. In 1684 lived on father's homestead. 4. Albert Coerts, of Bethuyn, died before 1699 in Aeltyn. 5. Wesvel Coerts, of Veeninge, died before 1699. 6. A daughter, died before 1699. 7. A daughter, died before 1699.

(E. W. Van Voorhis: "Ancestry of Major William R. Van Voorhis," pp. 9, 10, 11.)

(The Family in America)

1. *Steven Coerts Van Voorhees*, son of Coert Albertse Van Voorhees, was born probably near the village of Hees, Drenthe, Holland, in 1600, and died February 16, 1684, at Flatlands, Long Island, New York. He was probably the ancestor of all bearing the name in Long Island and New Jersey. In April, 1660, he came from Holland in the ship "Bontekol" (or "Spotted Cow"), with Captain Lucassen. With him were his wife and all but two of his children, Merghin and

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Hendrickyn. Some years later, Hendrickyn came to live in Flatlands, Long Island. November 29, 1660, Steven Coerts Van Voorhees purchased a farm at Flatlands, Long Island, and settled there. In 1664, he was magistrate, and in 1675 and 1683 his name appears on the assessment rolls of Flatlands, Long Island. He and his wife were members of the Dutch Church in Flatlands, in 1677. He married (first) in Holland, and (second), before 1677, Willempie Roelofse Senbering, born in 1619 and died in 1690, daughter of Roelof Senbering. Children, all born of first marriage in Holland: 1. Merghin Stevense, died October 28, 1702, in Dwingels, Holland; married (first) Roelofs; (second) Remelt Willemse. 2. Hendrickyn Stevense, married (first), in Holland, Jan Kirstead; married (second) Albert Albertse Terhune, of Flatlands, Long Island, and Hackensack, New Jersey, who died in 1705. 3. Coert Stevense, born in 1637; died in 1702, will dated August 26, 1677; married, before 1664, Marretje Garretse Van Cowenhoven. 4. Lucas Stevense, of whom further. 5. Jan Stevense, born in 1652, will proved November 20, 1755, married (first), March 17, 1678, Cornelia Reniers Wizzel-pennick; married (second), October 8, 1680, Femmetje Aukes Van Nuyse, daughter of Auke Janse Van Nuyse. 6. Albert Stevense, born in 1654; married (first) Barrentje Willemse; married (second), April 24, 1681, Tilletje Reniers Wizzel-pennick; (third) Helena Van de Schure. 7. Altje Stevense, born in 1656; married, in 1673, Barrent Jurianz Ryder (or Van Ryden). 8. Jannetje Stevense, born in 1658; married (first) Jan Martense Schenck, died in 1689; married (second), February 29, 1690, Alexander Sympson. 9. Abraham Stevense, married Altje Struycker, daughter of Jacobus Gerritsen and Ida (Huybrechts) Struycker.

(E. W. Van Voorhis: "Ancestry of Major William R. Van Voorhis," pp. 17, 18. E. W. Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhis Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 15-24. "Somerset County Historical Quarterly," Vol. VII, pp. 163-64.)

II. Lucas Stevense Van Voorhees, of Flatlands, Long Island, was born in 1650, in Hees, Drenthe, Holland, and died, in 1713, at Flatlands, Long Island. He was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church at Flatlands, Long Island, in 1677, and an elder in 1711. He was on the assessment rolls in 1675 and a magistrate in 1680. Apparently, he resided in Hackensack, New Jersey, in 1685, as his name appears on Dutch Church records there, yet in 1687 he took the oath of allegiance in Flatlands, Long Island.

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Lucas Stevense Van Voorhees married (first) Catherine Hansen Van Noortstrand, daughter of Hanse and Jannecker Garretse (Van Loon) Van Noortstrand. He married (second), January 26, 1689, Jannetje Minnes Faddans, daughter of Minne Johannis and Rensie Faddans. He married (third), in 1703, Catherine Van Dyck. Children: 1. Eldert Lucasse, will proved April 17, 1722; married Styntje Hendricks, daughter of Hendrick Hermanse. 2. Jan Lucasse, baptized February 19, 1675; married (first), October 10, 1699, Anna Van Duyckhuysen, daughter of Jan Teunissen and Achia or Agatha (Stoothoff) Van Duyckhuysen; married (second), March 5, 1704, Mayke R. Schenck, daughter of Roelof Martense and Annatie (Pieters) Schenck; married (third), January 25, 1737, Jannetje Remsen, daughter of Jacob and Gertrude (Vanderbilt) Remsen. 3. Stephen Lucasse, baptized September 16, 1677. 4. Hans Lucasse, baptized September 7, 1679; married, May 17, 1715, Neeltje Nevius, daughter of Pieter and Jannetje Roelofse (Schenck) Nevius. 5. Jannetje Lucasse, baptized December 25, 1681, died April 17, 1758; married, June 24, 1704, Martin R. Schenck. 6. Willemetje Lucasse, born April 25, 1686, died September 30, 1774; married, June 5, 1709, William Couenhoven, of Flatlands, Long Island. 7. Catryntje Lucasse, married, May 3, 1712, Roelof Nevius, of the Raritan River, New Jersey. 8. Elsje Lucasse. 9. Reinsche Lucasse, married, May 22, 1715, Johannes Nostrand, of Flatlands, Long Island. 10. Willemetje Lucasse, baptized November 15, 1694; married, August 27, 1715, Martin Nevius, of Flatlands, Long Island, and Marlboro, New Jersey. 11. Albert Lucasse, born May 10, 1698, died October 28, 1734; married (first), May 10, 1720, Arrejeantje Ditmars; (second), in 1722, Catryntje Cornell. 12. Roelof Lucasse, died in 1751; married (first), April 26, 1714, Helena Stoothoff; (second) Margreta Cortelyou. 13. Minne Lucasse, of whom further. 14. Abraham Lucasse, married Neeltje Cortelyou, daughter of Jacques Cortelyou, of New Utrecht, Long Island. 15. Teuntje Lucasse, baptized January 26, 1707, in New York City.

E. W. Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 13-14.)

III. Minne Lucasse Van Voorhees, son of Lucas Stevense and Jannetje Minnes (Faddans) Van Voorhees, was born in Flatlands, Long Island, New York, and died in 1733, will dated September 20,

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1733, proved November 15, 1733. He removed from Flatlands, Long Island, to the vicinity of New Brunswick, New Jersey. In 1717 he was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church there. In 1720 he owned a large tract of land on the south side of Raritan River, including the mills on Lawrence Brook. In his will, his name appears "Minne Van Vorhinss," and his six children are mentioned. Minne Lucasse Van Voorhees married (first), April 25, 1717, Antje Wyckoff, daughter of Gerrit Pieterse and Catherine (Nevius) Wyckoff. He married (second) Mrs. Lammetje (Stryker) Wyckoff, daughter of Gerrit Janse and Styntje Gerritse (Dorland) Stryker, of Six Mile Run, New Jersey, and widow of John Wyckoff. Children, probably all born in New Brunswick, New Jersey: 1. Lucas, baptized March 29, 1718, will proved April 9, 1791; married Catrina Vandervoort and lived near New Brunswick, New Jersey. His son, Peter, was the noted Revolutionary captain killed by Captain Simcoe's men. 2. Garret, of whom further. 3. Minne, baptized November 25, 1722, will proved April 20, 1780; married Mary. 4. Johannes, baptized March 28, 1725; married Femmetje Vanderveer. 5. Elizabeth, married Martin Roelofse Schenck. 6. Abraham, born September 16, 1730; married Maria Van Doren, daughter of Jacob Van Doren, was, in 1752, in Neshanic, New Jersey; in 1766, of Millstone, New Jersey; and about 1792, removed to Reading, Ohio. 7. Catherine, married Johannes Van Harlingen. 8. Roelof.

(E. W. Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. I, p. 15; Vol. II, pp. 461, 481, 482, 486.)

IV. Garret Minnes Van Voorhees, son of Minne Lucasse and Antje (Wyckoff) Van Voorhees, was born May 13, 1720, probably near New Brunswick, New Jersey, and died about 1785. He resided at Middlebush, Somerset County, New Jersey. He married (first) Neeltje Nevius. (Nevius IV.) He married (second), in 1783, Sarah Stoothoff. Children, all of first marriage, born at Middlebush, New Jersey: 1. Minne, born September 30, 1745; married Catrina, and lived at Neshanic, New Jersey. 2. Roeloff, born February 11, 1748; died July 23, 1811; married Maria Suydam and lived at Six Mile Run, New Jersey; had no children. 3. Garret, of whom further. 4. Ann, born July 10, 1752, died May 25, 1817; married, May 3, 1776, Abraham Beekman, and lived at Griggstown, New Jersey. 5. Catryntje, born December 27, 1754, died November 26, 1814; married John

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Van Doren, of Millstone, New Jersey. 6. Peter, born May 7, 1758, died April 7, 1833; married Mary Boice, and lived at Middlebush, New Jersey. 7. Neeltje, baptized November 23, 1760; married Brogun Van Doren, of Pluckamin, New Jersey. 8. Catalina, born May 21, 1764; married John Van Doren, of Millstone, New Jersey.

(E. W. Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. II, p. 466.)

V. Garret Garretsen Van Voorhees, son of Garret Minnes and Neeltje (Nevius) Van Voorhees, was born March 4, 1750, at Middlebush, New Jersey, and died October 18, 1823, at Six Mile Run, Somerset County, New Jersey. Garret Garretsen Van Voorhees lived at First Middlebush, New Jersey, but in 1820 he removed to Six Mile Run, Somerset County, New Jersey. He married, February 8, 1776, Matilda Ditmars, died March 21, 1837, daughter of Rem Ditmars, of Millstone, New Jersey. Children, all born in Middlebush, New Jersey: 1. Garret, born November 22, 1776, died March 23, 1777. 2. Lena, born March 11, 1778, died January 28, 1827; married Peter P. Voorhees, and lived in New Brunswick, New Jersey. 3. Nelly, born May 27, 1780, died February 18, 1810, unmarried. 4. Jane, born September 13, 1782, died in September, 1845; married, October 27, 1803, Richard Manly, and lived in New Brunswick, New Jersey. 5. Garret, of whom further. 6. Dinah, born May 11, 1787, died unmarried. 7. Ann, born September 24, 1789; married, September 19, 1816, Samuel W. Scott, and lived in Yates County, New York. 8. John G., born January 17, 1793, died March 31, 1859; married Rebecca Van Derveer, and lived in Fairview, Illinois. 9. Honorable Ralph, born June 20, 1796, died July 25, 1878; married, November 20, 1819, Sarah Van Cleef, daughter of John Van Cleef. 10. Maria, born October 20, 1798; married Daniel Polhemus, and removed to Fairview, Illinois.

(E. W. Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. II, pp. 466, 467, 471.)

VI. Garret Van Voorhees, son of Garret Garretsen and Matilda (Ditmars) Van Voorhees, was born November 5, 1784, at Middlebush, New Jersey, and died February 24, 1870, at Mine Brook, Somerset County, New Jersey, where he resided. He married, September 19, 1816, Sarah Whitaker. (Whitaker IV.) Children, all born at

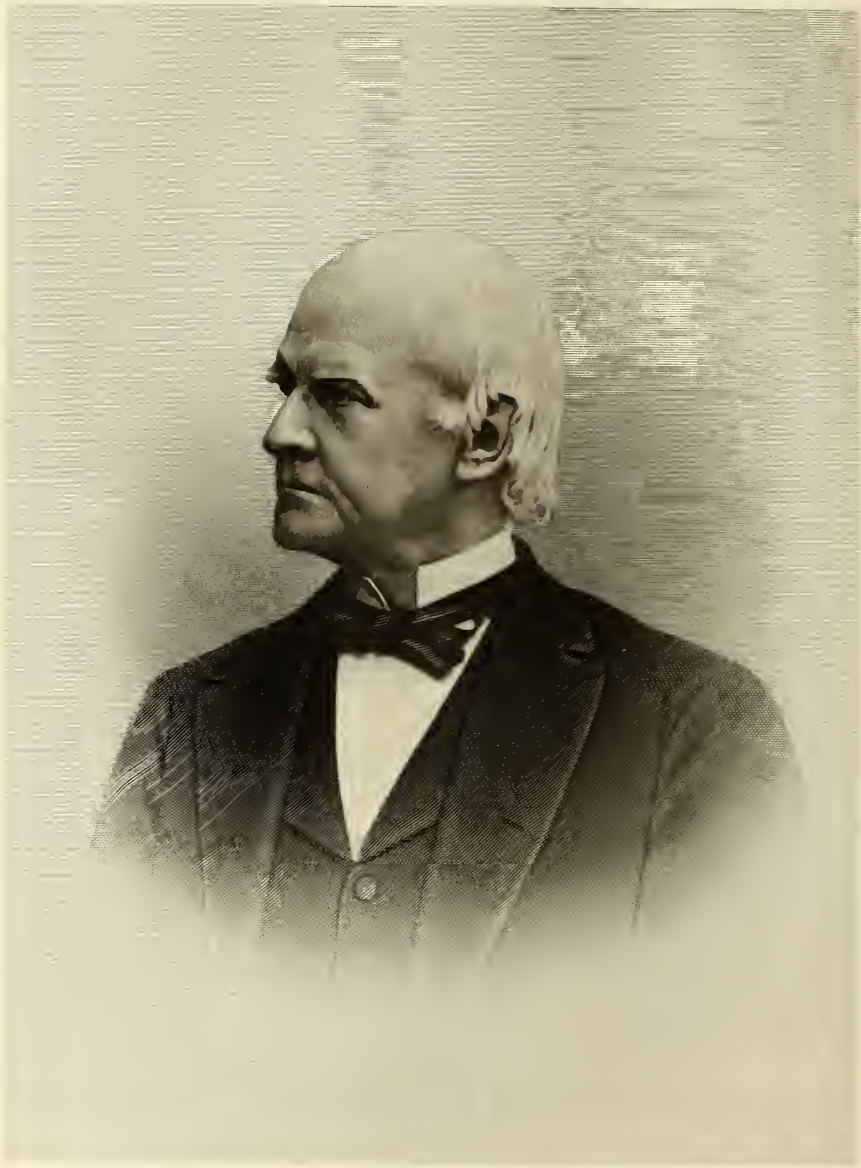
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Mine Brook, New Jersey: 1. John, born June 4, 1817; married, November 26, 1853, Sarah A. Dilley. 2. Matilda, born October 19, 1818, died September 28, 1851; married, January 8, 1851, Charles Barker, an Englishman. 3. Ann, born August 12, 1820, died February 20, 1885; married, November 15, 1849, William Heath, son of Robert Heath. 4. Hannah, born January 4, 1823; married, October 28, 1847, James Garretson Kline, son of John Kline, of Reddington. 5. Ellen, born January 21, 1825; married (first), August 14, 1854, John S. Felmley, who died in 1860; married (second), March 4, 1863, Benjamin S. Shoemaker. 6. Garret, born March 20, 1827; married (first), November 18, 1857, Margaretta V. Baird, who died March 2, 1861; married (second), December 27, 1865, Jane Quick, who died March 19, 1874; married (third), December 30, 1876, Harriet Everett. 7. Nathaniel Whitaker, of whom further. 8. Samuel Scott, born June 19, 1831; married, November 13, 1861, Elizabeth McMurry, and lived at Mine Brook. 9. Mary, born August 20, 1833; married, November 19, 1857, William Irving. 10. Ruth Elizabeth, born September 19, 1835, died January 10, 1879; married Parmenas Castner. 11. Ralph, born March 20, 1838.

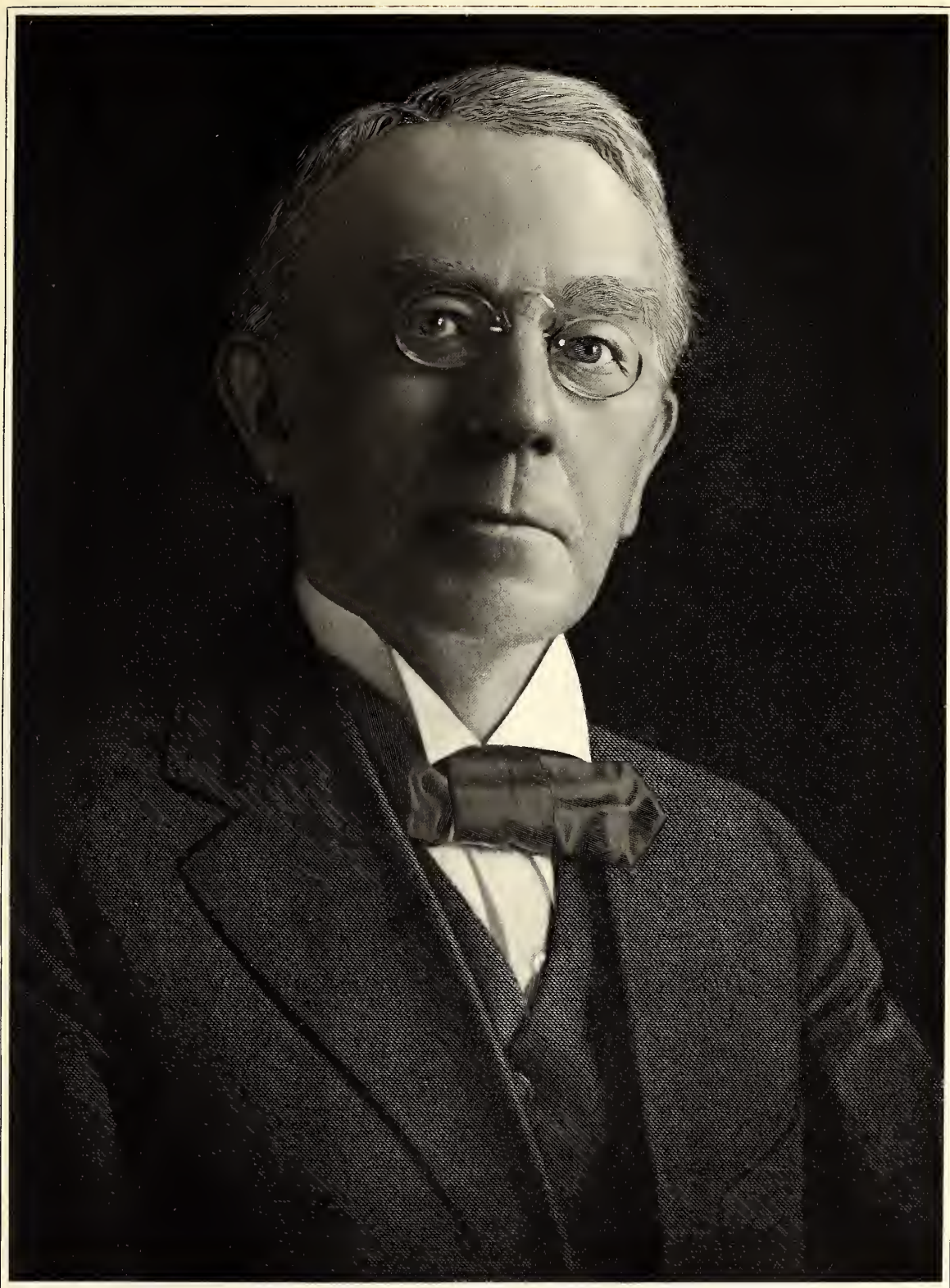
(Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. II, p. 470.)

VII. Nathaniel Whitaker Voorhees (note the elimination of "Van"), son of Garret and Sarah (Whitaker) Van Voorhees, was born June 29, 1829, at Mine Brook, Somerset County, New Jersey, and died June 14, 1909. He received his early education in the schools of his native county, after which he matriculated at Rutgers College, and was graduated therefrom, with an A. B. degree, in 1847. Later, he studied law, and practiced that profession at Princeton, New Jersey, for several years, and in 1873 became identified with a banking house. In this bank, he first held the position of cashier, and eventually became the president of the First National Bank of Clinton.

Nathaniel Voorhees took an active part in the affairs of Clinton, as in all other communities where he lived. He was known for the spirit with which he engaged in public works, and for the good which was accomplished under his direction, and due to his efforts. A Republican, he was constantly loyal to the principles and standards of the party, and became one of its principal figures in Somerset County. In 1860,



N. W. Voorhees



Foster M Voorhees

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Mr. Voorhees was a delegate to the National Convention at Chicago that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of the United States. He was also a Republican delegate when Garfield was nominated for that office. For a number of years, he was president of the Board of Education in Clinton. He was a communicant of the Presbyterian Church, and took a prominent part in all its work, and was ever an influence for self improvement and development among the people with whom he came in contact, within the church, and elsewhere.

While practicing law, Nathaniel Voorhees served with distinction as a judge. His decisions were just, and he was honestly and sincerely admired by confreres in the field of justice, as well as by his more intimate friends and associates. Once a candidate for Congress, he lost by a small margin of votes. His inherent greatness expressed itself in the philosophy with which he accepted this defeat.

On November 1, 1854, Nathaniel Whitaker Voorhees married Naomi Leigh. (Leigh V.) Children, born in Clinton, New Jersey: 1. Foster MacGowan, born November 5, 1856, died June 14, 1927; A. B., Rutgers 1876, A. M. 1879 (LL. D. same, 1899, Princeton, 1901). Admitted to bar in 1880, and since in practice at Elizabeth, New Jersey; member of Board of Education, Elizabeth, 1884-87; member of New Jersey Assembly, 1888-90; Senate, 1894-98 (President, 1898) and Acting Governor, vice-United States Attorney-General Griggs, resigned; Governor of New Jersey, 1899-1901. Republican; member of Delta Upsilon fraternity; unmarried. 2. Samuel Leigh, born April 6, 1858, died May 8, 1924; graduated Clinton High School and Business School in Trenton; cashier First National Bank, Clinton; prominent banker; active politically; town treasurer for several years; treasurer of Grandin Library Association; member of Presbyterian Church; married Carrie Virginia Allen, daughter of Isaac S. and Mary Isabell (Van Syckle) Allen; had Courtland Allen, born in September, 1880, died in 1902, and Foster MacGowan, 2d. 3. Nathaniel Whitaker, born December 4, 1859; graduate of Rutgers College and of Department of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania; resident physician at Blockley Hospital, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1883-84. 4. Edwin Stanton, born July 4, 1862. 5. Mary Taylor, born August 13, 1864; prominent in the affairs of the Woman's Club and Presbyterian Church of Clinton, New Jersey, belongs to the Christian Endeavor Society; has charge of Sabbath School class. 6. Eliza-

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beth Kreamer, born October 21, 1867; active in work of Presbyterian Church, and Woman's Club, in Clinton.

(E. W. Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. III, p. 470. "Who's Who in America," 1923-24.)

(The Leigh Line)

Leigh Arms—Gules a cross engrailed argent in dexter chief a lozenge or.

Crest—A unicorn's head couped or.

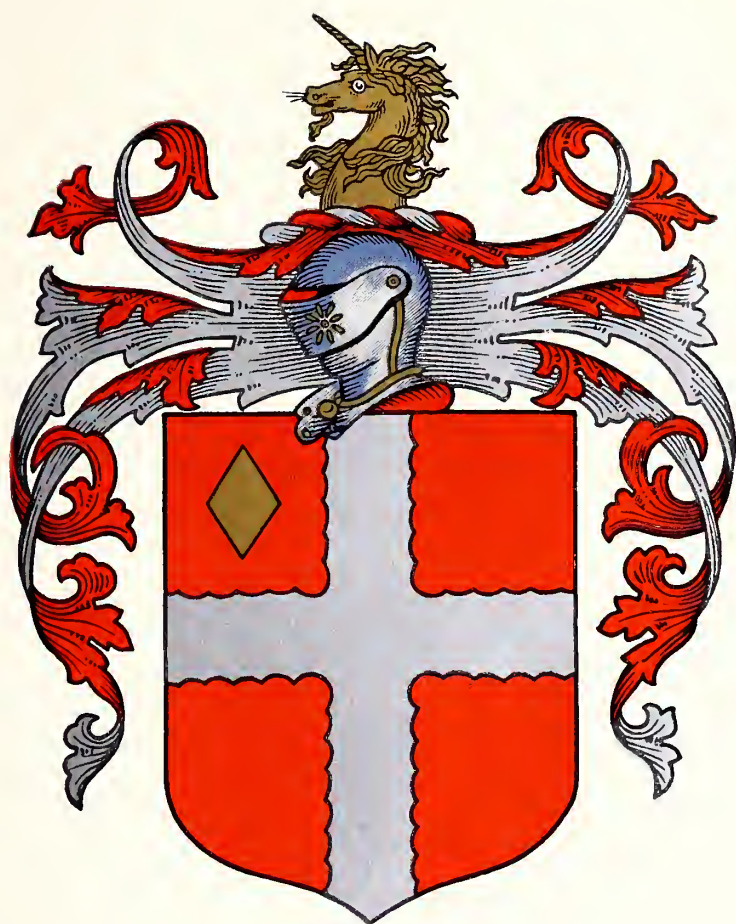
(Burke: "General Armory.")

Probably no English surname has been spelled in a greater variety of ways than this one. Lee, Lea, Lees, Leese, Leece, Legh, Leigh, Legg, Legge, Lay and Ley are among its forms. It is of local origin, meaning living at or near "the lea," a meadow. This surname arose independently in many parts of England as early as the thirteenth century, and is also found in Ireland. Concerning the origins of the American line here recorded there is considerable uncertainty. There is a family tradition to the effect that the original ancestor was named Theophilus Leigh, and that the family came from Stoneleigh Abbey in England. In 1675 a William Leigh came from Nottinghamshire, England, and settled on Long Island, and a John Leigh removed from Long Island to Westchester County, New York, in 1750. Two of his sons, John and William, settled in New Jersey. They may possibly have been connected with the family which has ramified strongly in Hunterdon and Somerset counties.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." W. W. Lee: "Lee Family Gathering," pp. 94-95.)

I. *Joseph Leigh* was living in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, in 1731, as appears by the following advertisement in the "New York Gazette," March 22, 1731, republished in the New York Archives, First Series, Vol. XI, pp. 240-41:

Ran away, 3d Feby. last, from Joseph Leigh of Perth Amboy, a servant man named Michael Hamblin, *alias* John Hues (?). He is of short stature, black complexion, short black bushy hair, and is pock broken. He wears a light brown Jersey coat, a light coloured Drugget Jacket, with brass buttons, a pair of leather breeches with brass buttons, a pair of roundtoed shoes, a pair of thread or yarn stockings. He is a butcher by trade. Whoever can take up and secure said servant and give notice so that his master can have him again shall have thirty shillings reward and all reasonable charges paid. JOSEPH LEIGH.



Weigh

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Joseph Leigh, of Perth Amboy, died intestate in 1740 and papers relating to his estate are on file in the office of the Secretary of State in Trenton, marked "1233-1234 L. B. C., page 346, Int. 1740." He had three children who are known. Children: 1. Joseph, who purchased land in Kingwood Township, Hunterdon County. In February, 1780, he offered his estate for sale in Rivington's Royal Gazette of New York. (See New Jersey Archives, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 185.) "To be sold, the plantation Joseph Leigh now lived on in Kingwood Twp. Hunterdon Co., seven miles from Pitts-town and two from Delaware, near several shad fisheries, containing 359 acres, of which 100 is wood, the rest in six fields of about 40 acres each, with a farm house, good barn, and excellent orchard, and about 12 acres of meadow. Also about 100 acres of rich swamp in Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton, heavily timbered, and of rich soil for meadow, and will be divided into lots to suit the purchaser if desired. For six months enquire of William Coxe near Bristol and Neshameny Ferries." Mr. Leigh evidently died unmarried as no record of such exists and it is likely that his brother Ichabod inherited his estate. 2. Ichabod, of whom further. 3. Hannah, married, January 7, 1742, Alexander Campbell, of Perth Amboy.

(Family data.)

II. Ichabod Leigh, son of Joseph Leigh, was probably born about 1720-30 at Perth Amboy, Middlesex County, New Jersey. He married, July 23, 1744, Anna Stout, daughter of Zebulon and Charity (Barrows) Stout, of Somerset County, and settled in Kingwood Township, Hunterdon County. Children, born in Kingwood Township, Hunterdon County. 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Joseph, married, March 22, 1775, Jerusha Evans; living at Kingwood in 1780. 3. Elijah, member of Captain Duryea's company, First Battalion, Somerset County troops. 4. Daniel. 5. Zebulon. 6. John, born in 1760; member of Captain Growendyck's company, Second Regiment, Hunterdon County troops. 7. Isaac. 8. Naomi. 9. Elizabeth. 10. Anne.

(Family data. Stout: "History of the Stout Family," pp. 8-9. Stryker: "Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolution," p. 666. D. A. R. Lineage Books, Vol. LVIII, p. 110. New Jersey Marriage Records, 1665-1800, p. 239.)

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III. *Samuel Leigh*, son of Ichabod and Anna (Stout) Leigh, was born in Kingwood Township, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, probably in 1745. He was a large landowner, and enlisted in the Revolutionary War from Somerset County, New Jersey, although at the time he was living near Hopewell, New Jersey. He served as a private in the Revolution and was pensioned as of Hunterdon County, May 23, 1833. He and his wife and nine of their eleven children were buried in the cemetery adjoining the Bethlehem Presbyterian Church at Grandin(?), New Jersey. His will is dated 1835.

Samuel Leigh married, December 10, 1774, Amy Blackwell, of Somerset County. Children (eleven in all): 1. Samuel, of whom further.

(Family data. Pension Rolls of American Revolution, Vol. II, p. 57. Stryker: "New Jersey Officers and Men in the Revolution," p. 564. New Jersey Marriage Records, 1665-1800, p. 239. New Jersey Index of Wills, Vol. II, p. 728.)

IV. *Samuel Leigh, Jr.*, son of Samuel and Amy (Blackwell) Leigh, was born March 2, 1792, and died November 13, 1878. He was a land owner and a farmer. Upon his retirement he lived in Clinton, New Jersey. He married, December 11, 1819, Mary Taylor. (Taylor II.) Children: 1. John Taylor, born April 19, 1821, died July 9, 1892. 2. Lucinda Blackwell, born December 4, 1822, died December 22, 1891; married C. Kline. 3. Samuel Washington, born November 8, 1824, died April 27, 1887. 4. Sarah Ann, born March 15, 1827, died December 10, 1851; married a Garison. 5. Naomi, of whom further. 6. Charles B., born January 3, 1831, died August 11, 1898. 7. Bloomfield, born April 9, 1833, died September 13, 1897.

(Family data. Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. II, p. 470. New Jersey Index of Wills, Vol. II, p. 728.)

V. *Naomi Leigh*, daughter of Samuel, Jr., and Mary (Taylor) Leigh, was born April 4, 1829. She married, November 1, 1854, Nathaniel Whitaker Voorhees. (Voorhees VII.)

(Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. II, p. 470. Marriage Records of Hunterdon County, New Jersey.)

(The Taylor Line)

Taylor Arms—Argent a saltire wavy sable between two hearts gules in pale, and as many cinquefoils in fesse vert.

Crest—A dexter arm, holding in the hand proper a broken sword argent hilt and pommel or.
(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")



N. L. Voorhees

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The surname Taylor is occupational in origin, coming from "the Taylor," a cutter-out of cloth, a maker of clothes. It is now understood that *taylor* shall be the trade-name, and *Taylor* and *Tayler* the surname. The early rolls are full of instances, and as a result Taylor is the fourth commonest patronymic in England, giving precedence only to Smith, Jones, and Williams. The Hundred Rolls (1273) have the following variations: Taillar, Taillour, Taillur, Tailur, Taliur, Tallur, Tallyur, Talur, Tayler, Tayllour, Taylour, and Tayleur.

Some foolish knave (I think) at first began
The slander that three "Taylers" make a man:
When many a Talers boy I knowe hath beene
Hath made tall men much fearful to be seene.

(John Taylor: "Works" (1630). Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. John Taylor was born in 1756 and died in 1835. He and his wife, Sarah, are both buried in the Presbyterian burying-ground on the old "King's Highway" in the northern part of Kingwood Township, Hunterdon County, New Jersey. The inventory of John Taylor's estate was taken May 15, 1835, at a value of \$2,451.71, which included four horses, one colt, six cattle, eight sheep, eleven lambs, five and a half hogs, five pigs, etc. His will was proved May 23, 1835, on which date John Taylor and Samuel Leigh were qualified as executors. Following is the complete will of John Taylor:

In the name of God Amen, I John Taylor, of the Township of Alexandria in the County of Hunterdon, and State of New Jersey, Being Weak in body, but of a Sound Mind and Memory, and Understanding (for Wich blessing I Most Devoutly thank my God) Do Make and Publish this my last Will and Testament, In Manner and form following, that is to say, It is my Will, And so I do Order, that All my Just Debts, and funeral Charges, And Expences, be duly Paid and Satisfyd As Soon as Convenient, After my Decease, by my Executors hereafter Named, First, I Give and bequeath, to my beloved wife Sarah, two horses, Four cows, Six Sheep (the choice of all my Stock) My little Waggon and harness, All my household Goods, and kitchen furniture, my Stills, Still works, and Casks belonging thereto, Also the Occupancy and Possession of my homestead farm, toGether With all my Other lands (Excepting one Wood lott hereafter Discribed) in the County of Hunterdon, Also all my half the grain on hand, and Growing on my lands, Also my half of the hay, and Other fodder,

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Wich May be Gethered and Groing on my lands, Also my half the hogs, and Poltry, on my farm, Also My half of the Apples, that are Growing, or Gathered all of Wich is to be at the time of My Decease—All of Wich said bequeathed are intended, to be in lew of her right of dower in my Estate,—(Second) All the Residue of My Personal Estate, Not herein disposed of to my Wife Sarah, I Order and Direct, My Executors to Make Sale of, at Publick Vandue, and the Monies therefrom, together with all monies due and Owing to me, I also Order and Direct that my Woodlot Above Excepted, lying in the Township of Bethlehem, Adjoining land of the Rev. H. W. Hunt, containing fifteen Acors more or less, to be sold to the best Advantage, Within, Eighteen Months After My Discease, and the Moneys arising therefrom, together with the Personal Estate, Above Mentioned, I dispose of in the following Manner, that is to say, the sum of two Hundred and twelve Dollars, being the Amount of A Book Account, due to me, from my son Moses A. Taylor, I Give and Bequeath to him the said Moses A. Taylor, his heirs and Assigns forever, Wich said sum shall be in full of his share, of my Estate, both Real and Personal, (third) I Give and bequeathed to my son Peter Taylor, his heirs and Assigns, the sum of fifty Dollas—Which Shall be in full of his Share of all my Estate, to be Paid in two Years After My Decease (Fourth) I Glve and bequeath to my sons, William Taylor, Benjamin Taylor, Abraham Taylor, and John Taylor, And to MY Daughters, Ruth Garrison, Sarah the Wife of George Vogle, and Mary the Wife of Samuel Leigh, their heirs and Assigns, the sum of two Hundred Dollars Each, All the Residue of the Monies Arising from the Above sales, and Monies, I Give and bequeath to My sons, William, Benjamin, Abraham, John, and Abbot, and My Daughters Ruth, Sarah, and Mary, their heirs and Assigns to be Equally Divided between them Share and Share alike (Fifth) All my Wearing Apparel I Give and bequeath to two sons, Benjamin, and Abraham, (Sixth) After the Marriage or Decease of my Wife Sarah, I do hereby Order, and direct, that my Executors or the Survivor of them, Make sale of that part of My Personal Estate, herein bequethed to my said Wife Sarah, During her Widowhood, toGether With all my Real Estate, for the best Price, and to the best Advantage, and all to be sold Within two Years after her Discease, and I do hereby Autherise and Empower them, or the Survivor of them, my Said Executors, to make and Execute Good and Sufficient deeds of Conveyance, to the Purchasers for the same, and the Monies Ariseing from the sales thereof, I Give and bequeath to my sons William, Benjamin, Abraham, John and Abbot, and to my Daughters, Ruth, Sarah, and Mary, their heirs and Assigns, to be Equally divided between them, Share and Share alike (Seventh) I do hereby Order and Direct that If any one of my said Children should bring Accounts, or Charges against My Estate, for any Services

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hereto fore done, by either of them Shall have no Share or part of the foregoing Divices, and the share left them, shall be Equally divided Between, the Other heirs, I do hereby Order, And Direct, that my said Executors, herein After named, take Care of the timber on my said lands, and that they shall not Suffer, my said Wife, or Any Person Under her, to sell any timber, rails, or Wood, of any kind, off Any of my said Lands, but that my said Wife, have Previlage, of taken Wood for the Use of her family, and tenant, and for the farm, from wuch parts as she may Choose, but that she take no wood, for the Use of the distilery, Except it be from the Wood Lotts, (Eight) and Lastly, I do, Constitute and Appoint, My son John Taylor, And My Son in Law Samuel Leigh, Executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby Revoking, all Other Wills, by me, at any time, hereofore Made, In Witness whereof I have to this, my Testament and last will, set my hand and Seal, this Nineteenth Day of September, in the Year of our Lord, one thousand, Eight Hundred, and Twenty Nine.—

Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared, by the said Testator, to be his last Will and Testament, in the Presents of Us, Who in the Presence of each other, set our names hereto, as Witnesses, } JOHN TAYLOR

SAMUEL BELLES
ABRAHAM PITTENGER
JAMES LARASON.

John Taylor married Sarah, born in 1758 and died in 1839. Children: 1. Moses A. 2. Peter. 3. William. 4. Benjamin. 5. Abraham. 6. John. 7. Ruth, married a Garrison. 8. Sarah, married George Vogle. 9. Mary, of whom further. 10. Abbot.

(James P. Snell: "History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties, New Jersey," p. 399.)

II. Mary Taylor, daughter of John and Sarah Taylor, was born December 20, 1800, and died December 10, 1880. She married Samuel Leigh, Jr. (Leigh IV.)

(Family data.)

(The Whitaker Line)

Whitaker Arms—Sable, three lozenges argent. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Local in origin, Whitaker comes from "of the white acre." No doubt the many small localities scattered over the country bearing the name have helped to swell the large total of Whitakers found in our modern directories. Over and Nether Whitacre are in Warwickshire, England. In the time of Edward III (1327-77) Simeon de Withacre

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was in Leicestershire, and in 1273 Richard de Whitacre was in Northampton County, and Alan Whitacur in County Oxford.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

The Whitaker family is a very old one in England. We find the name in various spellings, but of the form Whitaker, families were in Hertfordshire, Suffolk, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. Those spelling the name Whitacre were in Warwickshire, Yorkshire, and Wiltshire.

The exact connection between the English and American lines has not been ascertained. Evidently there was more than one line in America, quite early. Rev. Alexander Whitaker, born in 1585 in Cambridge, England, was in Virginia in 1611. He was the son of the noted Rev. William Whitaker, of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, and Master of St. John's College there. Alexander Whitaker was most active, both as a clergyman and as a missionary among the Indians. April 5, 1613, he baptized Pocahontas and the following year married her to John Rolfe. He published, in 1613, the famous book of the time, "Good News from Virginia, Sent to the Council and Company of Virginia Resident in England,"—one of the first books written in the Colony. He died in Henrico County, Virginia, some time between 1614 and 1620.

There are numerous families of Whitaker in the South and in North Carolina, as well as in neighboring states. Many have spread from this section to the Middle West.

The New Jersey Whitakers were evidently of two lines. Richard Whitaker, the progenitor of the South Jersey Whitakers was from London, England, in 1679, one Fenwick's Colony. The family has given to America distinguished citizens in law, State offices, military life, citizens engaged in religious and educational lines, as well as scientists, medical men and authors.

(Burke: "General Armory." "National Cyclopedia of American Biography," Vol. VII, p. 32. "New England Genealogical and Historical Register," Vol. XXXIX, p. 165.)

(The Family in America)

I. Jonathan Whitaker, the first of his line recorded in America, was born in Wiltshire, England, about 1690, and died, in 1763, in Basking Ridge, New Jersey. He came to America in 1720, settling first at Sharon, Massachusetts, and removing thereafter, to Hunting-

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ton, Long Island. Before 1732, however, Jonathan Whitaker located permanently in Somerset County, New Jersey. His titles for two adjoining tracts of land were dated December 19, 1752, and attested March 6, 1753. At the rate of 12 shillings 6 pence per acre this land was transferred from "Penn's propriety in East Jersey" by Thomas and Richard Penn (sons and heirs of William Penn) to Jonathan Whitaker, Esquire, of Basking Ridge, New Jersey. This parchment deed is still in existence, twenty-six by twenty-nine inches in size containing fifty-four lines of writing, in all, nearly two thousand words. Evidently at the date of the deed the land had been already cleared, as "messenger, saw mill, buildings and other improvements" are mentioned, which would indicate that Jonathan, and probably their families moved at once to this tract. At his death, Jonathan Whitaker left part of his estate for the education of the Indians.

Jonathan Whitaker married Elizabeth Jervis (or Jarvis), daughter of Eliphalet Jervis, of Connecticut and Long Island. Children: 1. Jonathan, of whom further. 2. Eliphalet, married Ruth Bailey, and removed to Georgia, leaving their two children, Samuel and Elizabeth, in New Jersey. 3. Elizabeth, married Stephen Ogden, of Basking Ridge. 4. Mary, married (first) Samuel Brown, (second) Ebenezer White, and removed to Long Island, but returned to Basking Ridge, New Jersey, after her husband's death, and lived in the house where General Lee was taken prisoner during the Revolution. 5. Nathaniel, born February 22, 1730, on Long Island, died January 21, 1795, at Woodbridge, Virginia; graduated, in 1752, from Princeton College, New Jersey; Presbyterian clergyman, 1755, Woodbridge, New Jersey; February, 1761, Norwich, Connecticut; 1769, Salem, Massachusetts; secured £1100 for Wheelock's Indian School in Lebanon, New Hampshire, resulting in Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; removed to Virginia in 1790; had children, James, Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary; grandson, Daniel Kimball Whitaker, born in 1801, died in 1881, editor in South Carolina, and in New Orleans, Louisiana.

(Virkus: "Compendium of American Genealogy." "American Ancestry." J. Littell: "First Settlers of the Passaic Valley," p. 466. "National Cyclopedia of American Biography," Vol. IX, p. 83.)

II. *Jonathan Whitaker, Jr.*, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Jervis) Whitaker, was born 1712 and died 1785, aged seventy-three.

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

He lived on land purchased from his father at Mine Brook, Somerset County, New Jersey. He married Mary Miller. Children, born at Mine Brook, New Jersey: 1. Lieutenant Stephen, born January 10, 1747, died November 4, 1827, in Benton, New Jersey; an officer in the Revolution, serving in company of Captain Jacob Ten Eyck, First Battalion New Jersey Volunteers; married (first) his cousin, Susan White, daughter of Ebenezer and Mary (Whitaker) White; (second), in 1779, Ruth Conklin, born December 22, 1753, on Long Island, died October 21, 1797, in New Jersey, daughter of Stephen Conklin, of Basking Ridge, New Jersey; (third) Mrs. Polly Cross; (fourth) Mrs. Agnes (Van Court) Potter, died July 29, 1837. 2. Phebe; married Rev. Frances Peppard, lived in Sussex, New Jersey. 3. Polly, died February 19, 1822, aged sixty-eight. 4. Sally, married Moses Allen, and removed to Crawford County, Pennsylvania. 5. Rebecca, born May 10, 1754; married William Conklin, Esquire, son of Stephen Conklin, of Basking Ridge. 6. Jonathan, 3d, married Mary Mitchell and removed to Warren County, Ohio, about 1800. 7. Nathaniel, of whom further.

(Virkus: "Compendium of American Genealogy." J. Littell: "Settlers of the Passaic Valley," p. 469.)

III. Nathaniel Whitaker, son of Jonathan, Jr., and Mary (Miller) Whitaker, was born in June, 1758, at Mine Brook, New Jersey, and died October 27, 1841. He married (first), in June, 1787, Hannah Drake. (Drake III.) He married (second) Ruth Haines, died November 10, 1844, daughter of Samuel Haines, near Vealtown, New Jersey. Child of first marriage: 1. Sarah, or Sally, of whom further. Child of second marriage: 2. Hannah, born after 1794; married Nicholas Arrowsmith, Jr.

(J. Littell: "Passaic Valley Settlers," p. 469.)

IV. Sarah (Sally) Whitaker, daughter of Nathaniel and Hannah (Drake) Whitaker, was born September 8, 1792, and died August 8, 1863. She married, September 19, 1816, Garret Van Voorhees. (Voorhees VI.)

(Van Voorhis: "The Van Voorhees Family in America," Vol. II, pp. 467-68.)

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Drake Line)

Draeck-Drake Arms—Or a cat rampant sable.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Although Drake is a well-known English family name, the family here recorded is of Dutch origin and formerly spelled the name Draeck or Drack. The old Dutch family name Draek, modern Draak, means "Dragon," and was given as a nickname. Martinus Draeck was an eminent churchman and member of a noble family. He was born at Maestricht and died November 10, 1667.

("Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek," Vol. VI, p. 451.)

I. Johannes Drack, of Holland, is recorded as signing a subscription April 29, 1715, towards building the Reformed Dutch Church of Jamaica, Long Island. His pew fell to the church in the year 1721, probably because he had moved away. He appears to be identical with John Drake, who married, in 1718, Magdalena Brouwer, daughter of Jacob and Annetje (Bogardus) Brouwer. (Bogardus IV.) Children: 1. Josiah. 2. William. 3. Jacob, married Helen, and settled at Whippany, Hanover Township, Morris County, New Jersey. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Martha. 6. Samuel, whose daughter, Martha, was baptized at Whippany, December 28, 1760. 7. Phebe. 8. Benjamin. 9. Esther. 10. Mary. 11. Zephaniah. 12. Everardus, married, at Whippany, February 27, 1753, Sarah Beach.

(Chambers: "Early Germans of New Jersey," p. 341.)

II. John Drake, son of Johannes and Magdalena (Brouwer) Drake, was born in 1733 and died at Mendham, Morris County, New Jersey, August 28, 1784. He married Sarah Perry. Children: 1. Mary, born in 1757, died February 10, 1826. 2. Hannah, of whom further. 3. Sarah, married Ephraim Carnes. 4. Eunice, born August 2, 1769, died in 1844; married Daniel Drake. 5. Lydia. 6. John, died near Surrasanna, Roxbury, New Jersey.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Hannah Drake, daughter of John and Sarah (Perry) Drake, was born in June, 1758, and died in December, 1794. She married, in June, 1787, Nathaniel Whitaker. (Whitaker III.)

(*Ibid.* Littell: "Family Records of First Settlers of Passaic Valley," p. 469.)

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Bogardus Line)

Bogaerde (Van Den)-Bogardus Arms—Sable three chevronels argent between as many mullets of five points reversed or.

Crest—A mullet of the field, between a pair of wings conjoined sable, each wing charged with three chevronels argent.

Mantling—Argent and sable.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Reverend Everardus Bogardus, or Everard Bogaert, the founder of the Bogardus family in America, was born about 1600. He came from Holland to New Netherland, in 1633, with Governor Wouter van Twiller, in the ship "Soutberg," and was the second settled minister of New Netherland. He became famous as the counsellor and friend of the early Dutch settlers of New Netherland, for it was he who cheered them amid their toils and adversities, and the dark hours of peril baptized their children, and often performed in their houses the last sad rites, and frequently acted as guardian of their estates. On August 16, 1647, he sailed in the ship "Princess" for Holland, in company with Director Kieft, but both were drowned in a ship-wreck off the southwest coast of England, September 27, 1647.

Rev. Everardus Bogardus married, in 1637 or 1638, the celebrated Anneke or Annetje Jansen, widow of Roeloff Jansen. She had come to Rensselaerswyck in 1630 with her husband, Roeloff Jansen, who acted as assistant bouwmeister for the patroon at a salary of one hundred and eighty guilders. She had from her first husband, a grant of sixty-two acres between the present Warren and Christopher streets, New York City, a piece of land which has caused a vast amount of litigation and legal controversy. It formed the basis of a long dispute between the heirs of Anneke Jansen and Trinity Church, occasioned, of course, by the immense value which the land acquired with the growth of New York City. The title appears to rest with the Trinity Church corporation. After the death of Dominie Bogardus his widow took up her residence in Albany, where she remained until her death, in 1663. She had four children by her first marriage: Sarah, Catrine, Sytje and Jan. Children of Everardus and Anneke (or Annetje) (Janesen) Bogardus: 1. Willem, of whom further. 2. Cornelis, baptized September 9, 1640, died October 13, 1707; married Helena Teller, daughter of William Teller. 3. Jonas, baptized January 1, 1643. 4. Pieter, baptized April 2, 1645, died at Kingston, New York, in 1703; married Wintie Corneliss Basch.

(Pearson: "Contributions to Genealogies of the First Settlers of Albany," pp. 20-21. Abstracts of Wills, New York, Vol. IV, pp. 487-

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

490. "Genealogies of the State of New York," Long Island Edition, Vol. II, pp. 513-641.)

II. Willem Bogardus, son of the Rev. Everardus and Anneke (or Annetje) (Jansen) Bogardus, was born in New Amsterdam and died soon after 1700. He was clerk in the secretary's office in New Amsterdam in 1656, and in 1687 was postmaster of the province.

Willem Bogardus married (first), August 29, 1659, Wyntje Sybrantse; (second) Walburga (De Sille) Cregior, license issued May 13, 1669. Children, of first marriage, baptized in New Amsterdam: 1. Everhardus, baptized November 2, 1659. 2. Sytje, baptized March 16, 1661. 3. Anna, of whom further. 4. Cornelia, baptized August 25, 1668. Children of second marriage: 5. Everhardus, baptized December 4, 1675; married, June 3, 1704, Anna Dally. 6. Maria, baptized September 14, 1678. 7. Lucretia, baptized September 14, 1678. 8. Blandina, baptized September 13, 1680.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Anna Bogardus, daughter of William and Wyntje (Sybrantse) Bogardus, was baptized in New Amsterdam, October 3, 1663. She married, June 29, 1682, Jacob Brouwer, son of Adam and Magdalena (Verdon) Brouwer. Adam Brouwer came from Cologne, about 1642, and settled in New Amsterdam. Jacob Brouwer was on the assessment list of Brooklyn in 1676; was living there in 1687, and appeared in the census of 1698. Children: 1. Jacob, baptized November 30, 1684; married, October 1, 1709, Pieternelle, daughter of Jan de la Montaigne and Annetje Josephs Waldron. 2. William, baptized May 8, 1687. 3. Everardus, baptized December 8, 1689. 4. Sybrant, died before 1737. 5. Elizabeth, baptized November 15, 1694. 6. Adam, baptized March 29, 1696. 7. Hillegonte, baptized December 27, 1697. 8. Wyntie, baptized March 8, 1701. 9. Magdalena, of whom further. 10. Nicholas.

(*Ibid.* "Genealogies of the State of New York," Long Island Edition, Vol. II, p. 951.)

IV. Magdalena Brouwer, daughter of Jacob and Annetje (Bogardus) Brouwer, was baptized March 8, 1704. She married, in 1718, Johannes Drack. (Drake I.)

(*Ibid.* Chambers: "Early Germans of New Jersey," p. 341.)

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Nevius Line)

Nevius Arms—Argent, a tree trunk, a branch sprouting on the dexter side, a chief gules.

Crest—A tree as in the arms.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Nevius, with its forms, in Holland, of Neve, Neefe, Neefs, Neffje, and de Neve, is recorded in America as Nevius, Nevyus, Neafje, Neefus, Nefie, Nafey, etc. Because of similarity in appearance, this name is often confused with Nevins, the "u" and "n" causing the difficulty. The name is possibly of Latin origin, Naevius, which would, like "Naevus," signify "one with a mole or birthmark." *Naevius* was a name in Rome in the sixth century, which, from its spelling, indicates Greek origin, or a copying of a Greek combination of letters. The form of this name in France, Belgium, and Spain has been *Neve* and *De Neve*; in Italy, *Nave*; in Russia *Neff*; in Germany *Naf*, and the same form in Switzerland.

The name in Europe boasts many illustrious men—painters, soldiers, statesmen, scholars, writers—and in America, we find those bearing the name in various parts of the country today. Many served in the Revolutionary War, as well as in subsequent wars.

(A. A. Honeyman: "Joannes Nevius and His Descendants," pp. 20, 21, 22, 30, 40.)

(The Family in America)

I. Joannes Nevius, the first of his line recorded in America, was born in Holland, March 14, 1627, and died at "the Ferry," Brooklyn, New York, about June, 1672. He was probably induced to come to America by the offers of the Dutch West Indies Company, for free trade with the merchants who would go to New Netherlands. In 1650, or 1651, he arrived at "Manhattoes," as the little village, now New York City, was then called. He began business as an important merchant; and appears first on records of Manhattoes, March 3, 1652, when he witnessed a baptism. March 13, 1653, he was assessed with others for the defense costs of the town. Joannes Nevius was to pay one hundred guilders, which, at the time, signified a man who was fairly prosperous. From other records he seems to have filled an important place in his community. He was schepen, 1654-55; church deacon, 1655; city secretary, 1657-65; later he was "ferry-master" in Brooklyn, a position which his wife continued to fill after his death.

VOORHEES (VAN)

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th gules, a tower d'or opened of the field, 2d and 3d, argent, a tree eradicated vert.

Crest—A tower d'or.

Motto—*Virtus castellum meum.*

(Elias W. Van Voorhis: "Genealogy of the Van Voorhees Family in America or the Descendants of Steven Coerte Van Voorhees of Holland and Flatlands, Long Island" (1888), Vol. I, pp. 4-5.)

LEIGH

Arms—Gules a cross engrailed argent in dexter chief a lozenge or.

Crest—A unicorn's head coupé or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

TAYLOR

Arms—Argent a saltire wavy sable between two hearts gules in pale, and as many cinquefoils in fesse vert.

Crest—A dexter arm, holding in the hand proper a broken sword argent hilt and pommel or.

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

WHITAKER

Arms—Sable, three lozenges argent.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

DRAECK (DRAKE)

Arms—Or a cat rampant sable

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

NEVIUS

Arms—Argent, a tree trunk, a branch sprouting on the dexter side, a chief gules.

Crest—A tree as in the arms.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

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1945

ROYAL

to be a good friend of the people.

1990

MEMBERS

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

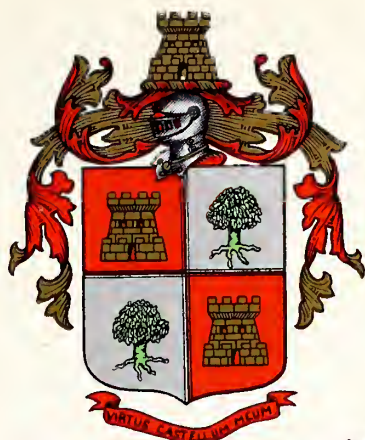
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SAFETY

1947-1948: The first year of the project, with a focus on the development of the project and the collection of data.

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Voorhees (Van)



Feigh



Taylor



Whitaker



Praeck
(Prake)



Nevius

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Joannes Nevius was a college student, having been educated at the University of Utrecht, Holland, where he and his brother, Matthias, were listed, 1640-50. Matthias was later enrolled as a student of theology at Leyden, Holland. Joannes Nevius and his bride had a home on Broadway, New York, the lot now probably occupied by the Union Trust Company. In 1670, it is probable that he removed to "The Ferry" on the Brooklyn side, where he was "Ferry-master."

Joannes Nevius married, before December 31, 1653 (intention probably published November 18, 1653), Adriaentje Bleijck, step-daughter of Cornelius de Potter, a prosperous merchant. Children, all but last baptized in the New Amsterdam Dutch Church, New York: 1. Johannes, baptized November 8, 1654, died before 1665, in New Amsterdam. 2. Sara, baptized August 27, 1656, died before February 16, 1665. 3. Cornelis, baptized September 2, 1657, died before January 19, 1661. 4. Marie, baptized December 22, 1658, living, probably, in 1679. 5. Cornelis, baptized January 19, 1661, died before October 23, 1711; married, April 15, 1683, Afatha Joris Bowman. 6. Petrus, or Pieter, of whom further. 7. Sarah Catherine, baptized February 16, 1665; died in 1722; married, May 2, 1686, Cornelia Piaterse Luyster, of Flatlands. 8. Johannes, baptized March 11, 1668, died about 1734; married (as second wife), August 10, 1684, Gerrit Elbertz Stoothof. 9. Catherine, probably born at "The Ferry," Brooklyn, 1670; married, in 1691-92, Garret Pieterse Wyck-off, of Flatlands, Long Island.

(A. A. Honeyman: "Joannes Nevius and His Descendants," pp. 41, 44, 71-72, 85, 130, 142, 144, 155-56-57.)

II. Petrus or Pieter Nevius, of Flatlands, Long Island, son of Joannes and Adriaentje (Bleijck) Nevius, was baptized February 4, 1663, as "Petrus," in the New Amsterdam Church, New York City, and died April 29, 1740. He was the younger of the only two male descendants of Joannes Nevius, who grew to manhood, and had children. He was a man of strong personality, well educated, and influential. From his rank in the militia, he was known as "Captain Pieter Nevius." His name appeared on the tax list, at Flatlands, Long Island, September 25, 1683.

Petrus or Pieter Nevius married, June 22, 1684, at Flatlands, Long Island, Janetje Roelofse Schenck, daughter of Roelof Martinse and Neeltje Gerritse (Van Couwenhoven) Schenck. Children, born

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

at Flatlands, Long Island: 1. Joannes, born about 1685, died in 1703. 2. Roeloff, of whom further. 3. Aeltje, born about 1689. 4. Cornelis, born April 23, 1691, died about 1759; married Magdalena. 5. Martinis, born about 1693, died in 1766; married, August 27, 1715, Willemetje Lucasse Van Voorhees. 6. Pieter, born July 28, 1695, died September 16, 1768; married, March 26 or 30, 1717, at Brooklyn, New York, Altje Ten Eyck, of New York. 7. Neeltje, born about 1697, died after 1738; married, at Flatbush, Long Island, May 17, 1715, Jan Janse Van Voorhees. 8. Arientje, born about 1698, probably died in 1699. 9. Arientje, born about 1700, died after 1740; married, March 6, 1720, Peter Gerritse Voorhees, of Marlboro, New Jersey. 10. David, born in April, 1702, died October 19, 1775; married, March 29, 1728, Mrs. Margaret (Voorhees) Stoothoff, widow of Peter Stoothoff. 11. Johannes, born about 1704, died in April, 1750; married, April 10, 1731, Susannah Martense Schenck, daughter of Martin R. and Jannetje Lucasse. (Van Voorhees) Schenck.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 150-51, 254, 498, 531, 532.)

III. Roeloff Nevius, son of Pieter and Janetje Roelofse (Schenck) Nevius, was born about 1687, and died after 1736. Roeloff Nevius, whose name appears as "Ralph Nephis," was, in 1715, a private in Captain Rescarrick's 5th company of Colonel Farmer's regiment, New Jersey Militia. It is believed that Roeloff Nevius left Flatlands for Three Mile Run, before 1715. By 1717, he was connected with the New Brunswick, New Jersey, church, and was one of the consistory there in 1723. We find that he was an elder of the church in 1720, 1724, 1732, and 1736. He seems to have been a man of more than ordinary piety, and was most efficient in church organization, and successful in his Evangelical labors. Evidently, he was interested in both the church at Three Mile Run and that at New Brunswick, New Jersey. The church records at Three Mile Run were lost, so that the names of some of his children are not available.

Roeloff Nevius married, May 3, 1712, at Flatlands, Long Island, Catalyntje Lucasse Van Voorhees, daughter of Lucas Stevens Van Voorhees, of Flatlands, Long Island. Children, born at Three Mile Run, New Jersey: 1. Neeltje, of whom further. 2. Rentje, baptized August 13, 1721, died about 1755; married (first), about 1743, John Neefus, her cousin, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. 3. Catalyntje,

VOORHEES AND ALLIED FAMILIES

born about 1723, died after 1757; married, about 1740, Hendrick Slecht and lived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. 4. Peter, baptized April 23, 1727, died probably after 1800; married, about 1751, Maria Van Doren, of Middlebush, New Jersey.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 233, 543, 577-78, 584.)

IV. Neeltje Nevius, daughter of Roeloff and Catalyntje (Van Voorhees) Nevius, was born near Three Mile Run, baptized April 8, 1719, at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and died after 1764. She married (first) Garret Minnes Van Voorhees. (Voorhees IV.)

(*Ibid.*, pp. 528-29.)



Harry August Boesche

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



THE life record of Harry August Boesche provides food for deep reflection upon what mankind terms "success." In terms of the material world's goods, he did attain to that estate. But he attained to it still more fully as a friend, counselor and inspirator of those around him—for the true measure of success is found in service. Mr. Boesche performed various services. First, he helped to introduce a greater efficiency in those businesses that he directed. This was service in the material sense, reacting to the financial benefit of all persons concerned in the communities affected. Second, he introduced a great man of letters (as judged from contemporary standards) to the field of fiction. Thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, he so lived his life that those who came in contact with it through his works were benefited by example, were inspired to fuller, nobler effort, and themselves lived better and more productive existences.

Though his lifespan was cut in mid-channel—for Mr. Boesche died at the age of forty-eight years—he was a true benefactor. A benefactor is a "friendly helper; a patron." Mr. Boesche carried that rôle to the close of his time on earth. His thought seemed to be less of self than of persons around him, and his activities brought him benefit as he brought happiness to others. Their happiness was his aim, his own advancement secondary. In this subjugation of self lay true greatness of soul. He lived better that mankind might be served, and in that living gave his inspiration.

Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, July 30, 1880, Mr. Boesche died in Akron, Ohio, April 13, 1929. He was a son of Henry and Caroline (Housfeldt) Boesche, and on both sides of the family held descent from pioneer stock, the Boesche and Housfeldt lines having been represented in Ohio during the early pioneer days when cities were created. The Cincinnati of 1880 was a much more advanced community than when the elder Boesche went there; and its advancement was due to efforts of men such as he, whose foresight and practical work built up a new community from wilderness. In the family were children: 1. Caroline. 2. Ella. 3. Harry August, of whom we write in



H. A. Boesche

HARRY AUGUST BOESCHE

memorial tribute. 4. Albert. These sons and daughters of Henry and Caroline (Housfeldt) Boesche each took a responsible position in the times, and continued in the work begun by the founders of Ohio.

Harry August Boesche grew to youth in the typical surroundings of Cincinnati between 1880 and the turn of the century. He secured a sound academic foundation for future studies, to be carried on independently, in the public schools of the community in which he was born; and his ambition for a career of interest, variety and service became evident early in life. Newspaper work attracted him. When the majority of lads were playing ball and other games of adolescence, he was frequently found in thought. A rather quiet boy, he was given to introspection and to perhaps more serious thoughts than were his friends. At fourteen, when he judged himself old enough, he applied for a place as office boy on the Cincinnati "Enquirer"—and got the job. Elated, he went to work as he studied, and studied as he worked. It has been said that if a man were to read carefully all the grist printed daily in the newspaper mills of the world, he needs no other education. Mr. Boesche, when he completed his schooling, continued with post-graduate work in the school of newspaperdom, from the inside. Step by step he worked his way upward, until in the course of a few years and attainment of his majority he held a post of responsibility demanding a quick intelligence and good background of local, national and international information. He became associated intimately with leading men of the period, many of whom had countrywide renown; and from them he learned poise, with the truism that great men are essentially no different than those of ordinary clay, save in bearing, intelligence and usually in adaptability and whole-souled friendliness to a young man trying to "make good."

It was during this period with the "Enquirer" that Mr. Boesche performed a service to mankind in assistance given to the late George Randolph Chester, remembered to the reading world of fiction as author of the "Get Rich Quick Wallingford" series. Chester was a member of the "Enquirer" staff of writers, and had written several stories, which were rejected rather consistently. Chester wrote his first Wallingford story at the time a Cincinnati company got in financial difficulties over an exploitation scheme and attracted much attention. The story, on Mr. Boesche's suggestion, was finally mailed to the "Saturday Evening Post." The "Post" accepted it, and Chester was launched with a character in the astute Wallingford which brought

HARRY AUGUST BOESCHE

him large and increasing revenues during later years. Hence, Mr. Boesche shared in the glory of having introduced a new and imposing figure to American fiction, for Chester, discouraged at his rejections, was at a cross-roads when the ultimate market was suggested by him. Mr. Boesche also knew James W. Faulkner, the great political writer, who, like Chester, is since deceased, and W. F. Wiley, later managing editor of the "Enquirer." Mr. Boesche worked with these men when they were lesser lights in Cincinnati.

As Mr. Boesche increased his worth to the "Enquirer," other newspapers of America heard of him and sent him offers of lucrative employment. The "Los Angeles Times" was one of the bidders for his services, sending him a most attractive offer in authority and money. He accepted, and remained on the West Coast with that publication for a year. But he preferred the Middle West, where he was raised, to the rawer pioneer community which Los Angeles then represented. He returned to Cincinnati, remained there a year in search of the "right" medium for effort, organized the Masonic Club there—simply because of his love for the organization represented in Masonry and to occupy his active mind—then came in contact with Carleton Wright, who engaged him to manage a large cotton and rice plantation near Sterling, Georgia. Mr. Boesche took his family with him to the plantation; and they, with one other family, were the only white persons within a broad radius. Though Mr. Boesche had had no previous experience as director of a plantation, he applied himself diligently to the problems encountered, employed good men with wisdom and experience, and made a substantial success for his employer in conduct of the acreage under his direction. He grew cotton for use in the manufacture of gun cotton (much of it was sold to the Du Pont Powder Company of Wilmington, Delaware), and raised rice, principally for the subsistence of his negro workers, but also for sale. He branched out in his activity, taking over the management of the community's general store, which he conducted with fortune, as also he managed the local express office and post office. He was, in fact, at the head of a thriving little country community. This continued for five years.

The climate, because of neighboring swamps, illy affected his wife's health; and Mr. Boesche thought best to give up the plantation direction to return to the North. He went back to Cincinnati. For a considerable period he had watched Akron. He was convinced that the future of this Ohio city promised him more than one of the other centers, and now came here, with his family. His cousin, William

HARRY AUGUST BOESCHE

A. Boesche, head of the rapidly expanding Zindle Plumbing and Heating Company here, encouraged him to make the move. Mr. Boesche looked over the field carefully before making the change of residence, was impressed with the beauties of the city, and found inspiration in its prospects. With characteristic energy he disposed of the residence and other holdings in Cincinnati and set up a new home here, becoming secretary of the Zindle organization at the insistence of his cousin, whose pleasure at securing Mr. Boesche's services was considerable and merited. H. A. Boesche and C. R. Lingo organized the Acme Radiator Shield Company, of Akron. When Mr. Boesche formed his connection with the Zindle Company he disposed of his shares in the radiator shield enterprise. He fitted naturally into the business and social scheme of Akron, as if he were a native son, and quickly became a foremost figure in many business circles, maintaining this position during his ten years' residence in Akron, which terminated in death.

Mr. Boesche married, October 7, 1903, Anna Wiethoff, daughter of George and Clara (Seaman) Wiethoff, her father having been a long-time resident of Cincinnati, a man of affairs and considerable position there. To this union was born a daughter, Margaret, who married Stephen G. Hunsicker. Miss Boesche's (Mrs. Hunsicker's) devotion to her beloved father was the occasion for frequent remark among the family's friends. Mrs. Boesche survives her devoted husband, and continues to reside in Akron, where friends are legion and sincerely attached. Much which Mr. Boesche accomplished, notably in philanthropic and cultural fields, was through her coöperation and loving help.

A self-made man, largely self-educated, well read, more than a little of a philosopher, Mr. Boesche gave aid to those perplexed, ill and in trouble. It was said that he radiated happiness wherever he went; and certainly it is a fact that he formed the center of many friendly circles, in Cincinnati, Georgia, and Akron, where he is remembered with an affection which time cannot make less or indistinct.

His home life was ideal, rich in affection and understanding. He was of the type of citizen who have made our Nation what it is, foremost among nations of the world. Geniality, unselfishness, courage and vision were his outstanding characteristics, for which he will be recalled in years to come. A true benefactor—

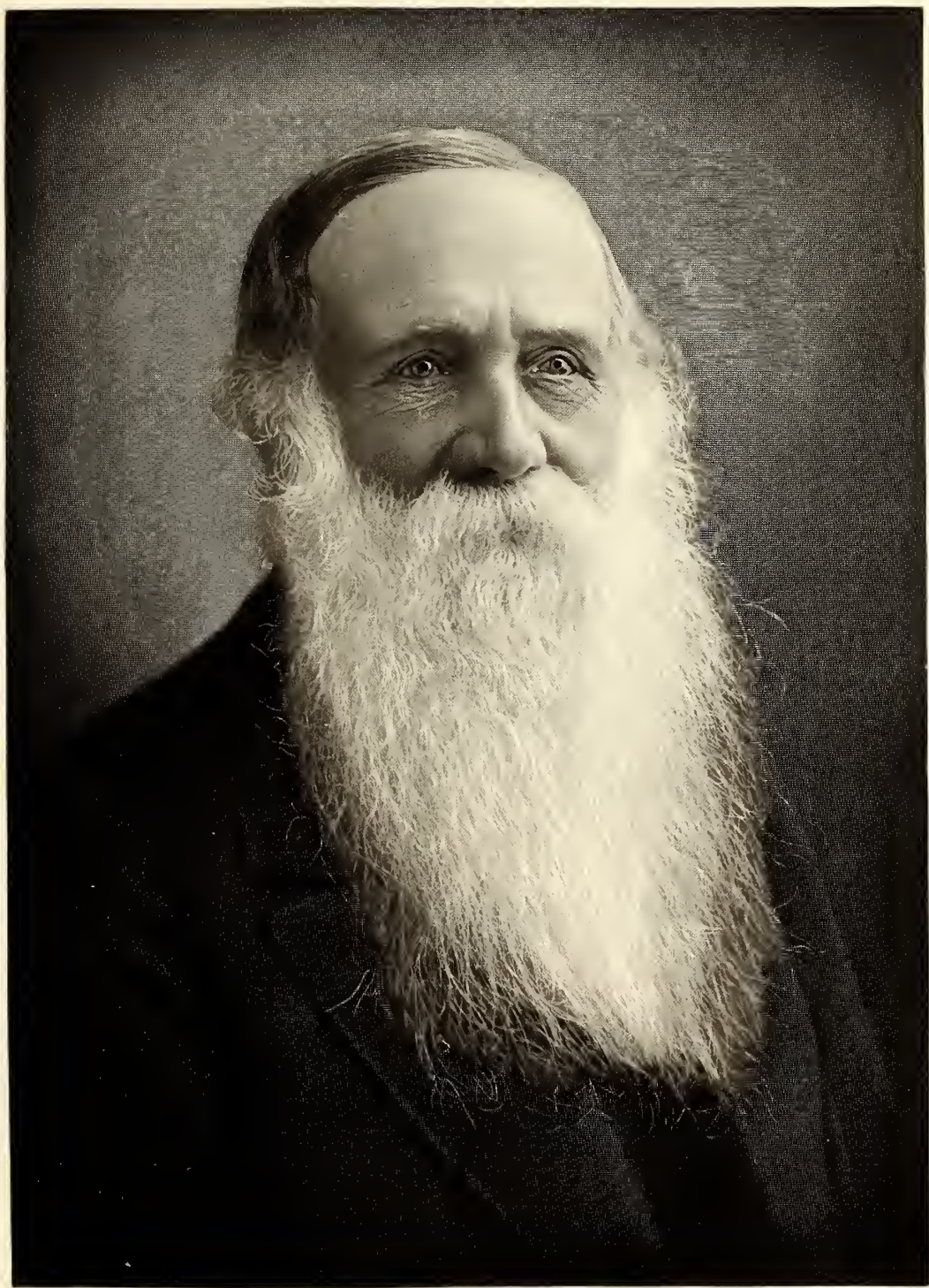
He thought less of self
Than of his fellowmen.

Carl C. G. Brumme, M. D.

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



LIST of the representative men of the city of Detroit, Michigan, would be decidedly lacking in accuracy if the name of Dr. Carl C. G. Brumme, beloved physician, had not been included. Not only did he rise above the standards of his profession, but he possessed, in a high degree, those excellencies of character which make men worthy of the regard of the community. The memory of his upright life is a blessed benediction to not only the members of his family, but to his many patients as well. For many years Dr. Carl C. G. Brumme was one of the most venerated physicians of Detroit. He was born in Göttingen, Kingdom of Hanover, Germany, June 21, 1817, a scion of a patrician family, who saw that he attained a comprehensive education. He was a graduate of the University of Göttingen, where he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine, having had the advantage of instruction under the famous physician and surgeon, Dr. Edward Casper Tac von Siebold, one of the most distinguished practitioners of his time. Following his graduation, he served in the hospital connected with the university and in the practice of his profession in his native land until 1852, when he came to America, where a friend persuaded him to establish himself in practice at Howell, Livingston County, Michigan. He did so, and practiced there for a time, but concluded that Detroit afforded better advantages and removed to that city, where he lived to the end of his days. He was a very skillful physician, and attained wide popularity and fame. About 1885, he announced his retirement from active practice, but found it impossible to refuse many calls for his professional knowledge from old friends, who insisted that they would have no other doctor attend their ill ones. He made judicious investments and accumulated a competence. He was a valued member of the American Medical Association, the Michigan Medical Society and the Wayne County Medical Society. He contributed many papers to medical publications, and died at the age of eighty-two years and eleven months, interment taking place in Woodmere Cemetery.



Dr. Carl Brunner.

CARL C. G. BRUMME, M. D.

Upon the organization of the Detroit Board of Health he was appointed to membership and served three years, later being nominated for election to the State Legislature. He was a charter member of the Harmonie Society of Detroit and took an active interest in its affairs. His marriage was celebrated in Hanover before he came to America, his bride, Emilie Augusta Henrietta Steiniger, being the daughter of a distinguished physician and a sister of two others practicing that profession. Mrs. Brumme died, in 1873, at the age of fifty-nine years. They were the parents of three children: 1. Minna, widow of Edward Stange, of Detroit (see following biography). 2. Lillie, who passed away in 1927, having lived in the old neighborhood all her life. The old homestead was torn down a number of years ago, but she built a house next door to it. 3. Carl L., who married Stella F. Krebs, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and they were the parents of two children: Elisabeth, the wife of C. Bruce George, and Carl W. Brumme, who married Virginia Grece. Carl L. Brumme passed away in 1925. Dr. Carl C. G. Brumme married (second), in 1874, Johanna Henze, who died in 1889.



Edward Stange

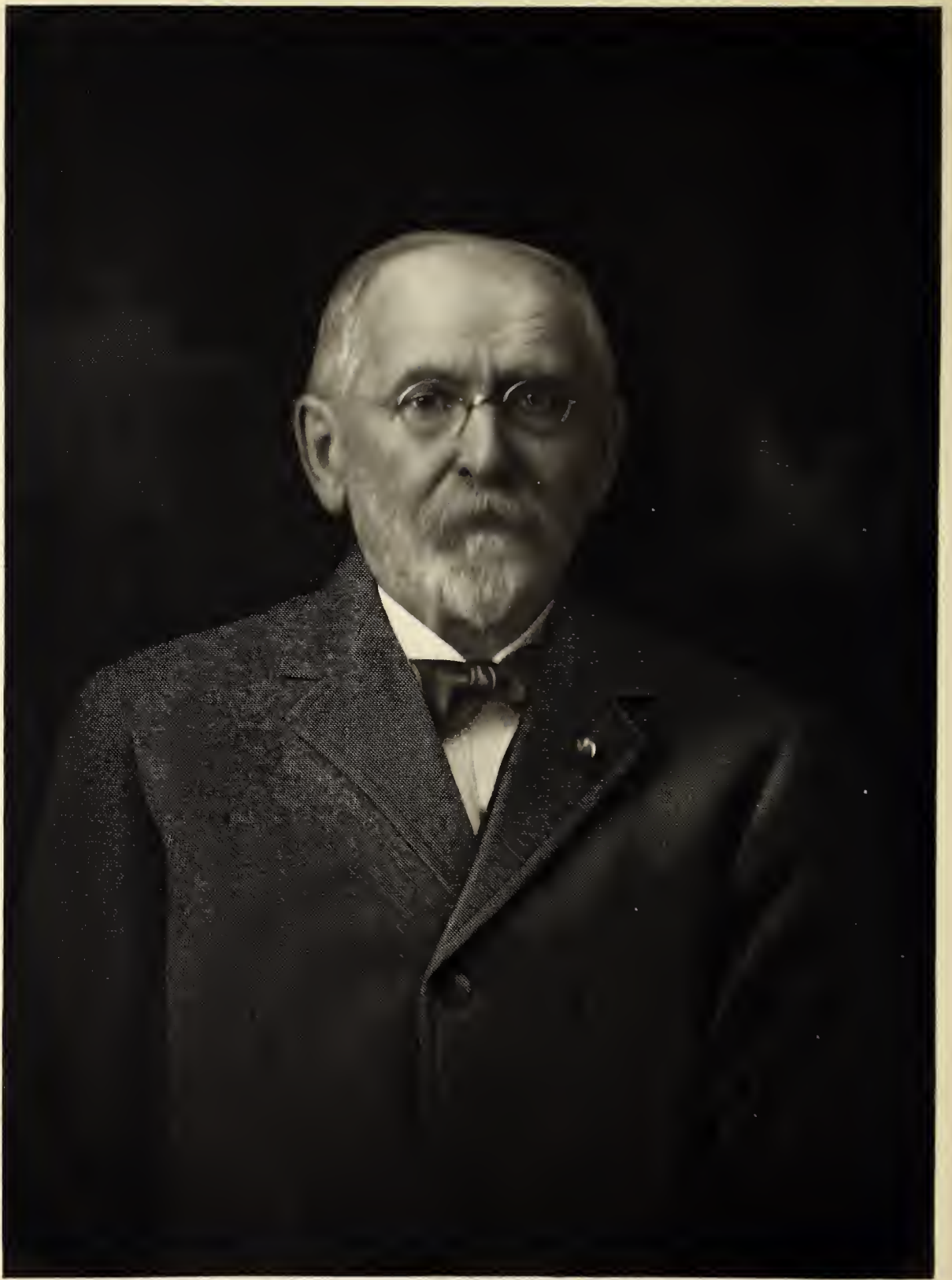
BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



VER a long period of years the late Edward Stange was a successful and prosperous merchant and manufacturer of Detroit, Michigan, and one of its most interesting and valued citizens. His many meritorious contributions to the commercial and social progress of the city were matters of common knowledge, and brought him the esteem of the community. Deep in his nature was a spirit of regard for the comfort and happiness of his fellowman that exhibited itself in a generosity at all times when he was approached for aid in a worthy cause. In his blood was the industry of the Teutonic race, and in his brain, the power to use his vigor to the best purpose for his own advancement and for that of the whole commercial body of which he was a vital part. He lived a highly useful and progressive life and left the scene of his labors with the sincere admiration of all who knew him or of his works.

He was a native of the Kingdom of Saxony, born in Nordhausen, October 26, 1842, a son of Frederick Stange, who, with his wife, came to America, in 1844, and settled in Detroit. Here he renewed his occupation as a mason contractor, became prosperous, and was highly regarded by the populace, who recognized in him a citizen of great value and a loyal friend at all times. He and his wife were members of the German Reformed Church. Her death occurred in 1858, his in 1882.

Edward Stange, their son, attended the public schools, and when he was fourteen years of age was apprenticed to a book bindery conducted by Richmond and Backus, where he learned the trade and continued to pursue it until 1864, when he took a clerkship in a grocery and after a time established himself in this business independently, opening an establishment at the corner of Elizabeth and Beaubien streets. As trade developed and prosperity rewarded his industry and clean methods of business, he enlarged his plant from time to time and finally entered largely into the manufacture of vinegar, to which branch of manufacture he devoted about twenty years. In 1890 he assisted in the organization of the Exposition Brewing Company and became



Edward Stange



Mrs. Minna Stange

EDWARD STANGE, MERCHANT

its secretary and treasurer, offices he held for two years only, being forced to resign because of ill health. For the ensuing eight years he lived in retirement, then, feeling physically equal to renewal of business activities, he became one of the organizers and incorporators of the American Brewing Company and was elected a director of that enterprise. He was later elected to the presidency of the company and held that office at the time of his death, since which time and the establishment of national prohibition the corporation has become the American Products Company, and is devoted to the manufacture of non-alcoholic beverages and artificial ice.

Mr. Stange was a member of St. John's Evangelical Church. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, Schiller Lodge, No. 263, Free and Accepted Masons, having been organized in his store on Gratiot Street, and of which he was Master in 1883 and for twelve years its secretary. In 1909, after more than forty years a member, he was elected to life membership. He was also a member of Monroe Chapter, Royal Arch Masons; Monroe Council, Royal and Select Masters; Michigan Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite; and Moslem Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. He was a Republican in politics; a member of the German Salesmen's Association, and of the Harmonie Club and other organizations. He died in Detroit, Michigan, August 28, 1913.

Edward Stange married, November 10, 1874, Minna Brumme, daughter of Dr. Carl C. G. Brumme and Emilie Augusta Henrietta (Steiniger) Brumme, of Detroit. The children who lived to attain maturity are: 1. Emelia, born September 23, 1876; married Edward M. Thurber, formerly of Detroit, now of Santa Monica, California, and they are the parents of four children: i. Mrs. Clinton Medley, of Portland, Oregon. ii. Mrs. Nathan Grisham, of Central Point, Oregon. iii. Kenton Walker, of Alhambra, California. iv. Helen Thurber. 2. Dorothea, born September 14, 1878; married Otto H. Auger, and they are the parents of two children: i. Russell E. ii. Norman F. 3. Meta, born March 23, 1883; married Walter T. Biske, of Detroit, and they are the parents of one child: Charlotte M. 4. Fred C., born in 1890; married Blanche C. Hock, and they are the parents of one child, Marion E. Mr. Stange is secretary and manager of the American Products Company. 5. Hugo A., born September 15, 1892; married Gladys Robb, of Detroit. He is treasurer and superintendent

EDWARD STANGE, MERCHANT

of the American Products Company, and he and his wife are the parents of two children: i. Edward, named for his paternal grandfather, on whose birthday anniversary he was born, October 26, 1927. ii. Hugo A.

The death of Mr. Stange removed from the city of Detroit an outstanding example of that type of man who is endowed with a gift of bridging a great chasm in business relations with an industrial and mercantile structure more substantial and serviceable than its predecessor. He has bequeathed to his family and the commercial world a memory rich in successful achievement in many things worth while, both as to substance and character.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1, 1930.

State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publishers of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Editor, Winfield S. Downs, 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

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M. L. LEWIS, President.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22d day of March, 1930.

(Seal.)

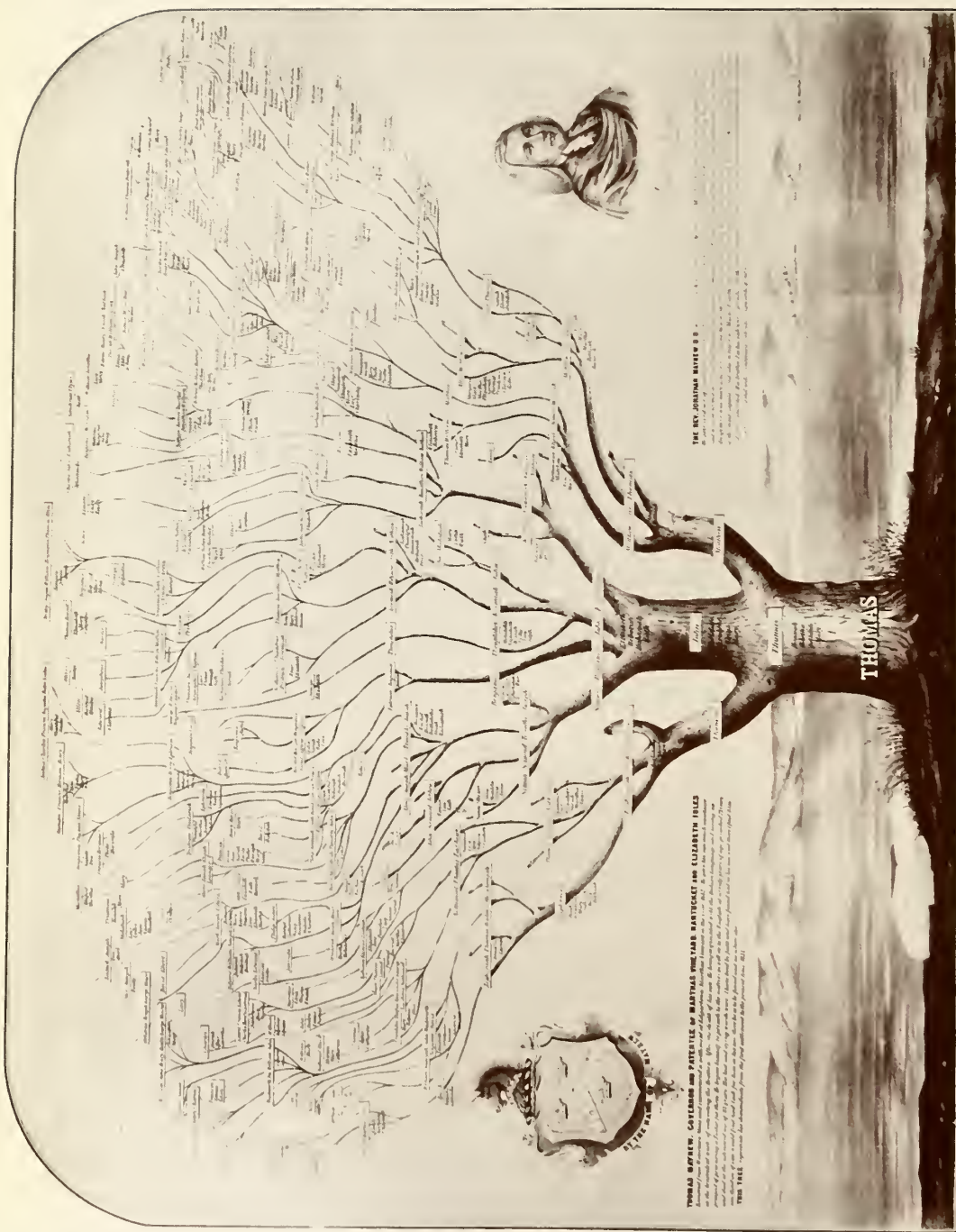
FREDA M. KELLER,

Notary Public Bronx County, No. 38,

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 354.

(Commission Expires March 30, 1932.)

April 1931



MAYHEW FAMILY TREE

Governor Mayhew bore as arms, "Argent, on a chevron sable between three birds of the last, five lozenges of the first, with a mullet for difference."

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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

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AMERICANA

April, 1931

John Brown at Lake Placid

BY MILLICENT B. REX, ASBURY PARK, NEW JERSEY

EVERYONE knows the old song about "John Brown's Body," but probably few people who sing it have ever wondered just where it is that "John's Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave." The simplest explanation, if any thought is ever given to the matter at all, is to assume that he was buried at the foot of the gallows at Charlestown, West Virginia.

But this is not the case, as increasing numbers of bewildered tourists discover each summer, when they approach Lake Placid, "the beauty spot of the Adirondacks," and are confronted with signs directing them to the John Brown Farm. Curiosity makes them turn their cars off on to the dirt road for a short detour into history, forgetting for a half hour their absorbing vacation lore of camp sites and mountain climbs and road maps.

The farm lies not far from the State highway, near all the attractions of "the St. Moritz of America"—in fact, actually in sight of the "highest ski jump in the world" and the toboggan slides which appear about this time of year in the Sunday papers. The Brown farm, however, belongs to quite another sort of life, and sits apart on its hillside, austere and remote.

If it is still austere and remote today, within a stone's throw of the worldly concerns of Lake Placid and all the playgrounds of the rich, how much more remote and how much more austere it must have been some eighty years ago, when John Brown first came here with his family. In those days there was no thriving summer and winter resort filled with city pleasure-seekers—no horse shows, no aviation fields, no golf schools, no kennels of husky sledge-dogs, no ski-joring—only a

JOHN BROWN AT LAKE PLACID

broad bowl-shaped valley encircled by forests and mountains, and the little settlement of North Elba, sometimes called Timbuctoo.

In those days there was little cleared land in the valley—uncut timber was, in fact, looked upon as an encumbrance rather than an asset—and the mountain roads, now traversed by thousands of machines each summer, were then unsuitable for anything but the most primitive means of travel. It is said that even a horse was looked upon as something of a curiosity by the mountaineers, who generally drove oxen or traveled on foot. When the Brown family moved into North Elba, they came in an ox-cart in true mountain style, but John Brown himself usually rode horseback when he made his many trips to and from the outside world, over the road that wound in from Keene and Lake Champlain. Occasionally he walked part of the way.

Twice had the Browns settled at North Elba. They first moved there from Massachusetts in 1849, but two years later they went to live in Ohio, so that it was not until their return, in 1855, that they occupied the house which is now known as the John Brown homestead. Today, from mountain tops all around the great valley, mountain climbers can pick out the Brown farm by the fluttering of the United States Flag, which marks its location on the upper slopes of the valley, near what is said to be the highest farm in New York State. In 1855, the homestead was a new house, built in preparation for the coming of the family of Henry Thompson, one of the sons-in-law, but it was never completed during John Brown's lifetime, and always remained a chilly pioneer farmhouse, sheltering a family of ten or more in its four unplastered rooms. The house has been somewhat enlarged and altered since then, and its unpainted clapboards have become more and more blackened by the winters, but it is essentially the same, and the view that one gets from its narrow weather-beaten porch is probably much as it was when the Brown family lived here.

One side looks toward Lake Placid village and Whiteface Mountain, but this is not the view that stirs the imagination. It is the spacious panorama to the southeast that holds the gaze. In the foreground the lands slopes rather abruptly into the upper end of the great bowl-shaped valley, and across its wide expanse the road to Keene shows up now and again through cleared land and forest cover. In the distance the valley suddenly curves upward into a great wall of dark peaks, topped by Marcy and McIntyre, the highest of the Adiron-

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dacks. Above all sweeps the sky, sometimes filled with rolling white storm clouds, and

Sometimes, too,
Merely the sky,
. . . . vacant and blue,
Vacant and high.

This unhampered view must have been most congenial to John Brown's love of freedom. Indeed, perhaps the reason he loved this spot so well was because the outlook somehow fitted in with his life-long ideals. At any rate, it is certain that he appreciated beautiful scenery, for it was told of him that he could not speak of mountains without a thrill in his voice, and even on the way to the gallows, he noticed the Virginia landscape. "This is a beautiful country," he said. "I never had the pleasure of seeing it before." Of his love for the Adirondacks in particular, a member of the family spoke, reporting, perhaps with some wonder at his taste, that he "seemed to think that there was something romantic in that kind of scenery." But, however much the view from his North Elba hillside charmed him, its peace and romantic seclusion, and the restfulness of its great curving expanse, never won him away from what he regarded as his mission, never lulled him into forgetfulness of the problems of the outside world. For it was from this very hillside that he set out to make the two onslaughts upon slavery, in Kansas and in Virginia, that have given him his peculiar niche in American history and tradition.

It was in connection with this same mission that he came to choose North Elba for a home. There was a good deal of abolitionist sentiment among the inhabitants, and a little colony of fugitive slaves had been established there. From these groups he hoped to enlist volunteers for the desperate undertakings he had in mind. Brown might have made a good farmer, if these undertakings had not occupied all his time and thoughts, for his youth in pioneer Ohio had fitted him for a rough mountaineer's life, and he was always interested in fine livestock. In fact, as it was, while in the Adirondacks, he won a prize with his cattle at the Essex County Fair in 1850. But he never stayed on the farm for long—he was off to Canada, to Ohio, to Massachusetts, to Iowa and Kansas and Pennsylvania, collecting men and funds for the cause he had devoted himself to, writing letters, making

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speeches, rescuing fugitives, and organizing guerilla raids on the strongholds of slavery.

While he was gone, his family struggled along as best they might on what they could wring from the barren mountain soil. Small danger that the sons and daughters of this household would lack the "plain but perfectly practical education" that their father desired for them—"the *music* of broom, washtub, needle, spindle, loom, axe, scythe, hoe, flail, etc.," which he said should be learned before the music of the piano. It is the most impressive proof of his power to win over men to this cause that his own children never seem to have rebelled or complained, but willingly endured hardships and went without, in order to contribute all they could to help their father carry out his plans. The farm provided them with the actual necessities—food and fuel and woolen clothing—but cash was a rarity in the little frame farmhouse. Five sheep at two dollars a head was considered by the Browns a suitable widow's portion, and taxes to the amount of ten dollars more than they could meet without months of saving. It is said that the only ready money which they had for paying postage on letters to their father was what the girls earned by picking berries for a neighbor. They never used tea or coffee. The farm itself might have been lost had not friends and admirers of John Brown contributed funds to complete payments on it.

Life at North Elba may have been difficult for the Brown family, but at least it was never monotonous or narrow, as in other mountain households. Through their father's letters, the Browns were in constant touch with the outside world, and were uplifted by the thought that they all were part of a great enterprise which was to remake America according to the will of God. The whole family shared the father's secrets, even the smaller children. Years later, Sarah Brown recalled how her father would draw military plans and diagrams openly before them, and how cold shivers used to run up and down her spine when Harper's Ferry was mentioned in the lesson at school. Salmon Brown reported that he never remembered his father's cautioning the children not to tell. Yet their judgment was so matured that, even at seven or eight, they understood what sort of thing was not to be spoken of beyond the family circle. So, almost from babyhood, they had been trained for the cause—to keep its secrets, to undergo the hardships of poverty and the anxiety of separation, and,

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perhaps also, to take an active part in its behalf at the risk of their lives. Some members of the family were always in their father's expeditions—both from the group of older sons, who lived in Ohio, and from the younger North Elba children. Six sons were with John Brown in "Bleeding Kansas," and one was killed there; three sons were at Harper's Ferry, as well as two boys by the name of Thompson, who were doubly related to the Browns by marriage. In 1859, for a short time before the raid, even two of the girls, a daughter and a daughter-in-law, aged sixteen and seventeen, joined the band at their secret rendezvous near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in order to camouflage the undertaking.

All during these years of constant absences, John Brown kept up a steady correspondence with the household at North Elba. They must have watched anxiously for his letters, which brought word of the success or failure of each expedition and the safety of its members. If any tourist had been so rash as to venture into the Adirondacks in the 1850's, and had been told, as he passed the little Brown farmhouse, that these mountaineer womenfolk who milked cows and picked berries and carded wool like any others, lived daily with the thought of plots and murders which were destined to shake the whole Nation apart, he would have laughed the idea to scorn. But a glance into their mail might have roused his suspicions. Often, of course, their father's letters were only remarkable for religious fervor and family affection. There were tender little notes like this to five-year-old Ellen: "I want very much to have you *grow* good every day. To have you learn to mind your mother very quick; & sit very still at the table; & to mind what all older persons say to you that is right. I hope to see you soon again; & if I should bring some little thing that will please you; it would not be very strange. I want you to be uncommon *good natured*. God bless you my child." But generally he dealt with more serious matters, sometimes speaking openly of his plans, and sometimes alluding to them under the cover of ambiguous language and assumed names. Many a communication from "Shubel Morgan," of Missouri, and "I. Smith," of Chambersburg, came into the Brown household. Occasionally there were letters having much to say about enrolling in schools and dealing in sheep, projects which were not so innocent as they seemed.

As the fall of 1859 came on, the tension in the little mountain farm-

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house must have grown higher and higher. For the past ten years the name of Harper's Ferry had been a magic word to the Brown family, and now the great event to which they had looked forward all their lives was about to take place there—the wholesale freeing of the slaves by force of arms which was to strike the fear of God into the hearts of the slaveowners. All that had been done in Kansas and in Missouri was a mere prelude to this.

At that time the family at North Elba—not including, of course, those who had married and left home—consisted of the mother; one son, Salmon Brown; three daughters, Ellen, Sarah, and Anne, ranging in age from five to sixteen; and three daughters-in-law, also very young. Two of the girls, Annie and Oliver's wife, Martha, had just returned from their share in the adventure, and their accounts of the life of the conspirators in their hiding place at Chambersburg must have brought the reality of the expedition still closer to the rest of the family.

The girls' return was understood to mean that the raid was to take place shortly. So, in the days that followed, when the Browns inquired at the country post office for the mail which they anticipated daily would bring them word of their father's latest and greatest triumph, even such self-contained persons as they must have found it difficult to conceal their excitement. Their confidence in the success of the expedition was secure—so secure that even when the first rumors of its failure reached North Elba, they were untroubled. Such a thing simply could not be. But the terrible news was soon confirmed by a letter from their father—Watson and Oliver Brown and the two Thompson boys were all four dead; John Brown himself was a prisoner; the rest of the band were dead, captured, on in hiding. In the postscript of this letter came the last crushing blow: "Yesterday, Nov. 2d, I was sentenced to be hanged on Decem. 2d next. Do not grieve on my account. I am still quite cheerful. God bless you all."

During this month between his sentence and his execution, the dignity and courage which John Brown showed did much to wipe out his former record of violence and fanaticism. Some of his friends suggested schemes for his escape, but he would not hear to them. He did not have much confidence in being able to escape, while he believed that his own death would arouse sympathy for the abolitionist cause. "I have been *whipped* as the saying is," he wrote his wife, with a touch

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of grim humor. "But am sure I can recover all the lost capital occasioned by that disaster; by only hanging a few moments by the neck; & I feel quite determined to make the utmost possible out of a defeat." Later in the same letter he added: "If after Virginia has applied the finishing stroke to the picture already made of me . . . you can afford to meet the expence & trouble of coming on here to gather up the bones of our beloved sons, & of your husband; and the people here will suffer you to do so; I should be entirely willing."

Mrs. Brown was ready at Harper's Ferry to carry out this request. Influential friends of her husband had rallied to her side and brought her all the way from North Elba in a vain attempt to save him, by rescue party or by reprieve. When both means were found to be impossible, Mrs. Brown had to console herself as best she might with a last heartbreaking visit to the Charlestown jail, and the privilege of taking her husband's body back to the Adirondacks for burial.

It was a long and trying journey. The first part of it was through a hostile land, where a bodyguard was believed necessary to ensure the funeral train from molestation. When the party reached Philadelphia, so great a crowd had gathered at the station that disorder of some sort was feared, and an empty hearse was driven in one direction, while a furniture van took the coffin to the New York boat. Demonstrations for and against Brown were taking place in towns all over the United States, but as he neared his home, the demonstrations grew more and more friendly. Bells were tolled, public prayers were held, public buildings were draped in black, a guard of honor appeared. And finally this, too, was left behind, as John Brown made his last journey in over the road from Keene back to the little mountain farm.

Today the farm belongs to the State of New York—all but a square of land only a step from the house, an eighth of an acre surrounded by an iron fence. This is the perpetual property of John Brown's descendants, the family graveyard where John Brown lies buried, with his sons, Watson and Oliver, and others of the Harper's Ferry band. An enormous boulder quite overshadows his grave, and on one side of the boulder can be found the spot where he once chiseled the initials J. B. It took him several days to carve out merely those two letters, so hard was the granite surface, and the letters are still quite plain, for such rock is not easily worn away. More than one person

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has seen a likeness between this great grim boulder and the character of the man who chose it to mark his resting place.

But it was not the only tombstone he had planned. An old upright granite slab stands there, too. This stone was brought by John Brown himself from the home of his ancestors in Canton, Connecticut. It had belonged to his grandfather, a soldier of the Revolution, and an inscription in weather-worn eighteenth century lettering reads: "In Memory of Cap^{tn} John Brown, who died at New York, Sept. ye 3, 1776, in the 48th year of his Age." It is now enclosed in a wooden frame with a penthouse top to protect it from the wear and tear of Adirondack winters—and possibly also from souvenir collectors.

John Brown, of Harper's Ferry, spoke of this stone as "the old family Monument," and destined it to mark his own grave. But the first use to which it was put, after it was removed to North Elba, was as a memorial to one of the sons, "*our poor* Fredk, who sleeps in Kansas." This memorial, telling that Frederick was "murdered at Osawatomie in adherence to the cause of freedom," was placed on the reverse of the slab. Two years later the time had come for further inscriptions. While awaiting execution at Charlestown, John Brown wrote his own epitaph. It appears on the same side of the slab as his grandfather's, but in fresher carving and in different style lettering: "John Brown, born May 9, 1800, was executed at Charlestown, Va., December 2nd, 1859."

He had also composed inscriptions for his sons, Oliver and Watson, because he expected them, likewise, to be buried on the farm at North Elba. But when Mrs. Brown came to claim the bodies of her husband and sons, it was found that only the husband's body could be delivered to her, for that of Oliver had not been identified and that of Watson had been taken by the Winchester Medical College for an anatomical specimen. So John Brown was buried alone beside the great rock.

More than twenty years later Watson's skeleton was sent to North Elba, but it was not until 1899 that Oliver's body was restored to the family graveyard. On the banks of the Shenandoah a common grave was discovered, in which ten of the Harper's Ferry band, including Oliver, had been secretly buried shortly after the raid. These bodies were then exhumed and sent to North Elba, where they now rest under a single marker, close to the grave of their leader.

Today, trees and flowering shrubs surround the house and the

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graves and the big rock, but seventy-one years ago it was to a bare, bleak hillside that John Brown's body was brought from Virginia. There was no snow on the day he was buried, but it was cold and cheerless. The services at the grave were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Young, a minister of Burlington, Vermont (who was later much persecuted for his friendly interest), and Wendell Phillips, the great orator, made a speech. Few outsiders besides these two had undertaken the cold tedious journey into the mountains, but the neighbors attended, and a negro family of North Elba, whom John Brown had befriended, sang his favorite hymn, "Blow Ye the Trumpet, Blow."

For five years longer the family lived in the homestead, and then the farm passed into other hands. His admirers bought it, however, in 1870, and formed the John Brown Association to insure its preservation as a memorial. In 1896, it was deeded over to the State of New York, and it is now marked as a historic site on the Conservation Department's map for travelers. The number of visitors is increasing every year, and during these winter months many a party of hikers on ski and snowshoe will probably make a pilgrimage to the spot from which John Brown's "soul went marching on."



The Massacre at Schenectady

BY JOHN J. BIRCH, M. S., SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK*



HE massacre at Schenectady on the night of February 8-9, 1690, was not a mere Indian raid for murder or plunder, but rather a well-planned attack upon the English frontier as a consequence of the differences of Indian alliances, religious prejudices, tribal hatred, and political conflict between Great Britain and France.

In 1621, the States General of the Netherlands chartered a trading concern, the Dutch West India Company, and gave it a monopoly of the fur trade in New Netherlands. Men of wealth were tempted by offers of vast tracts of land with a sort of feudal sovereignty over them on the condition that each would establish fifty families upon his domain. Killiaen Van Rensselaer secured such a grant on the Hudson River and established a colony. The estate was named Rensselaerwyck and the name of Beaverwyck was applied to the district, or hamlet, which included Fort Orange, now Albany, New York.

Although Van Rensselaer never visited his colony, he, together with the Dutch West India Company, exercised a domination over it, which semi-feudal overlordship was not well-pleasing to most of the intelligent and enterprising Protestant Dutchmen. The leader of this disaffected faction was Arendt Van Curler, a nephew of Killiaen Van Rensselaer, and director of his uncle's grant. His unvarying fairness and tactful address soon gained for him the respect and confidence of all who knew him, and especially of the Mohawk Indians. The fertility and beauty of the Mohawk Valley early attracted his attention, but he remained for a long time at Fort Orange to care for his uncle's interests in the Manor of Rensselaerwyck. But in spite of the success of his management, the longer he remained the more he saw and deplored the evils in the feudal system, which was essentially one of serfdom, and in consequence he sought for associates to found an outpost of liberty apart from the Dutch West India Company.

He selected fourteen followers and applied to Peter Stuyvesant,

*The writer is a lineal descendant of one of the early settlers of Schenectady, and his home is within the limits of the original stockade.—Ed.

THE MASSACRE AT SCHENECTADY

the Director-General of the Province, for permission to purchase lands from the Mohawk Indians on the Mohawk River. The Indians were reluctant to sell Schonowe, the site of one of their most ancient strongholds, for it had been their favorite home, and they still remembered Hiawatha, who had lived there two centuries or more before, and who had founded the Confederacy of the Five Nations. But Van Curler was persistent and popular with the Indians, so in the end the deed was formally executed and delivered at Fort Orange, July 2, 1661. It read: "A certain parcel of land called in the Dutch the Groote Vlachte, lying behind Fort Orange between the same and the Mohawk country called in the Indian Schonowe." The price was "six hundred hands of goode whyte wampum; six koates of duffels; thirty barres of lead and nine bagges of powder." (A hand of wampum was valued at four Dutch guilders, Duffels was a course woolen cloth.)

The founders of the new settlement entered into possession, and gave it the name Schaenechstedt. The Indians bade the settlers welcome and moved their wigwams further up the river. The village was laid out systematically. An advantageous point was selected on the river above the sweep of the spring floods and each resident assigned a lot two hundred feet square, and a larger plot for a garden just south of the village site, and also a farm upon the river flats beyond, with woodland privileges on the higher grounds. By dint of industry very soon their pointed-gable houses were built of the lumber sawed at their own mills; their farms were promising abundant crops; their gardens were blooming, while their cattle were grazing in the more distant pastures. The Reformed Nether Dutch Church was organized, but no building was constructed. The mother church at Holland gave a bell to the church furthest west. Fort Orange claimed it because there was a church edifice at that place, but Schenectady received the bell and until the church was built, it hung suspended between trees in the village square. The pastor from Fort Orange journeyed to Schenectady once every three months to administer the sacraments. However, in 1684, a church building was erected at the expense of Alexander Lindsey Glen and given to the community. Peace and prosperity marked the relations within the settlement and with the adjoining Mohawks.

The village was the frontier boundary of civilization, where the white men and the Mohawks, by keeping faith with each other, kept secure the bond of friendship which made the Five Nations the allies

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of the Province of New York. But to guard against incursions of belligerent French and Indians, a stockade was built around the village. This consisted of a high fence made of three rows of pointed posts set firmly together in a trench about the outer limits of the settlement. They were hewn flat where they touched and then pinned at the top. These great posts were sufficiently thick to be bullet proof and, of course, arrows were ineffective unless shot over the top. There were two gates, one at the north and one at the south side, and a fort in the northwest corner of the stockade.

In 1664, two years after the first settlement, the province and its government passed from the Dutch to the English rule by conquest. The Dutch burghers of Fort Orange, now changed to Fort Albany, did not take seriously the English occupation of Nieu Nederlandt. Its capitulation was bloodless and it brought little change save that the English flag fluttered in the breeze in place of the Dutch. The Dutch citizens remained and the English came. There was little change at Schenectady. The people, however, were deeply saddened by the drowning of Van Curler in Lake Champlain, October, 1667, while journeying to Canada in response to the pressing invitations of Governor-General Tracy to visit him.

But in Europe political strife was arising between England and her allies and France. James II, a Roman Catholic, abdicated the crown of England in the Revolution of 1688, and William and Mary, who were Protestants, came to the throne. It was generally believed that Louis XIV intended to attempt to take the Province of New York from the English. Thus there was impending war in America between the French and the English as well as in Europe. By 1689, all the English Colonies had been founded except Georgia, and also the work of La Salle had given to the French domain its widest extent. Therefore, at that time, there began the long struggle between the French and the English as to which should be master of North America. The village of Schenectady was to be the scene of a striking incident in the approaching conflict.

Also, in 1689, Louis XIV sent Count Frontenac to be Governor of Canada. He had held this post before and because he had exercised remarkable tact with the red men, friendly Indians adored him; hostile ones feared him. He had orders to capture New York. To do this he expected to raise sixteen hundred men at Montreal and take

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them down the Hudson River. But he was unable to do this, for the powerful Five Nations, allies of the English, had begun war upon Canada and cut off the fur trade. In the summer of 1689 the Five Nations besieged Montreal and roasted and devoured their French captives. Frontenac, in consequence, had to abandon his plan of conquering New York.

He was loyal, however, to France and organized many raids upon the English frontier, one of which was at Schenectady on the night of February 8-9, 1690, which resulted in the massacre there.

In January, 1690, a French expedition, consisting of one hundred fourteen French and ninety-six Indians, under the command of Lieutenant Le Moyne de Sainte Helene, left Montreal for the purpose of menacing the English frontier settlements. After marching for many days in the extreme cold and deep snow, they became fatigued and halted for consultation at Ticonderoga. The French favored pushing on to Albany, but the Indians objected and favored attacking Corlear, as Schenectady was called by the French.

It is interesting at this point to consider the several reasons, apart from the thirst for blood and pillage, which led the Indians to favor this attack. When James II held the throne of England, his colonial officers naturally were largely Papists. But with the ascension of William and Mary to the throne, Jacob Leister, a wealthy Dutch trader and captain of a military company at Manhattan, was encouraged to assume control of the colonial government. He did so and removed the Catholic officials and appointed those who were Protestants. Religious partisanship was so rampant in Schenectady that the people would obey only the men appointed by Leister. This news spread to Catholic Canada. Furthermore, many of the Indians who were with the French were composed of renegade Mohawks who had been seduced to Canada and to the adoption of the Roman faith by the Jesuit fathers. These naturally hated the Mohawks who had adopted the faith of their Protestant Dutch friends. The other Canadian Indians were the Algonquins and Hurons. In 1608, Champlain entered into an alliance with them; furnished firearms, and in their war with the Iroquois, led a war party against the Mohawks. These facts made the belligerent French Indians insistent to follow the trail which led to Schenectady instead of to Albany.

The invading party arrived at the river across from Schenectady

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just before midnight with the intention of making the attack very early the next morning. But the cold was so intense and as fires could not be kindled without arousing the fortification in the village, it was decided to make the attack without delay.

There was no difficulty in crossing on the ice and the enemy arrived at the stockade, the gates of which were open and guarded only by two snowmen made by the boys of the village. The attack was systematically planned, first upon the homes in the village and then upon the fort at the stockade. In the fort were Lieutenant Enos Talmadge and twenty-four men of the Connecticut soldiery. Lieutenant Dailleboust de Mantet, the second in command of the French, led the attack upon the fort, the gates of which were finally burst open after considerable difficulty. The fort was set on fire and the defenders killed or captured. Few of the men in the homes could make any defense, for every quarter of the village was attacked simultaneously. The murder of the settlers continued by the light of the flames which were consuming their homes. Their beloved minister, Dominie Petrus Tassemaker, the first pastor of the Dutch Church, was among the slain, although it is said that it was the intention to spare him for the purpose of securing information. Tradition holds that an Indian squaw had in some way learned of the intended attack upon the village. She came to Tassemaker's house to give him warning, but his housekeeper, a spick and span Dutch matron, rebuked her for bringing snow into the house. The squaw replied: "There will be something worse than snow on your threshold before morning," and left without giving warning.

Of the four hundred inhabitants, sixty were killed, twenty-seven taken prisoners to Canada, and the remainder escaped to Albany or perished on the way. All but two of the eighty buildings in the village were burned. The labors of thirty years were in ashes.

The French began the return journey to Canada with the loss of but seventeen Frenchmen and four Indians. A considerable number of horses were seized and taken with them, most of which were killed for food before reaching Montreal.

Simon Schermerhorn, although wounded, escaped from Schenectady and rode on horseback to Albany to spread the alarm. Two days after the massacre the Albany authorities sent Captain Jonathan Bull, who was in command of the Connecticut troops, together with five men, to Schenectady to bury the dead.

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Those who had fled to Albany were discouraged and many of them opposed the rebuilding of Schenectady. But to abandon the settlement would be to encourage the enemy and this was what the Albanians and the Mohawks desired to avoid. The Indians in the valley were friends of the Dutch and sympathized with them in their great loss by death and fire. The chief sachem of the Onondaga Tribe of the Five Nations met the surviving inhabitants very soon after the massacre and presented them with a belt of wampum and promised them encouragement and aid. He spoke sympathetically and encouragingly in these words:

Brethren, the murder of our friends, the white men of Schenectady, grieves us greatly; as much as if it had been done to ourselves, for we are of the same chain. The French have not acted like brave men, but like robbers with hearts of darkness. But be not discouraged on this account. We give you this belt to wipe away your tears.

Brethren, we do not think that what the French have done can be called a victory; it is only a further proof of their cruel deceit. Five moons ago they sent messengers with the white flag in their hands, and the talk of peace on their lips, but their thoughts were of war, as you now see by woeful experience. This is the third time they have acted thus deceitfully. They did so before at Cadaraqui, and in the country of the Senecas. They have broken open our house at both ends. Once far towards the home of the sun and here, where we now stand. But we hope to have revenge. One hundred brave Mohawks are now upon their track. They are young warriors. Their feet are like the elks' feet and very sure. Their shoulders are strong, like the shoulders of the buffalo. Their hatchets are as keen as the sharp north wind, and their eyes are as eagles' eyes. They will follow the Frenchmen to their very doors. Not a man in Canada shall dare to cross this threshold for a stick of wood. We now gather up our dead to bury them, by this second belt.

Brethren, the mischief which has befallen us is as great and sudden as if it had come from heaven. Our forefathers taught us to go with all speed to bemoan and lament with our brethren in the same chain, when disaster happens to them. We must watch carefully lest other mischief come upon us. Let us sleep but little; and when we lie down, let our quivers be full of arrows, our bows all strung, and our hands upon our knives. Take this bill of vengeance, that you may be more watchful for the future. We give you eye-water to make you sharp sighted, with this third belt.

We are in the house where we have often met, to renew our chain; but the house has blood upon its walls and the doorway is polluted. We have come to wash up the blood and clean the walls, by this fourth belt.

Brethren, we are strong. Our chain is a strong chain, a silver

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chain, and can neither rust nor be broken. We do not mean to forsake you now that you are in trouble. Very soon, when the trees begin to bud, and the bark can be parted from the trees, our hunters will return from the far country and then we shall be a great band of fighting men, ready to fight your battles. We are of the race of the Bear, and the Bear, you know, never yields while one drop of blood is left. We must all be Bears, as typified by this fifth belt.

Brethren, be patient. This evil has come upon you and it is a heavy one, but we shall soon have better times. The sun, which hath been cloudy, will shine again pleasantly. Take courage, courage, courage, brethren, with this sixth belt.

The Indians helped rebuild the stockade and a number of them lived with the settlers for protection. Every able-bodied man became both citizen and soldier ready for service at home or picket duty whenever the appearance of the enemy was feared. Schenectady became a military camp, where the Provincial troops, reinforced by detachments from New England and their Iroquois allies, kept watch over the English frontier in New York.

The Indians have long since passed to their happy hunting grounds, the dreaded war whoop has faded from memory, the English and the French have become allies and, where once stood the rude stockade by the river side, there has grown a great city.



Thomas Mayhew, Patriarch to the Indians^{*}

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CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIST



THE first settlement effected by Thomas Mayhew within the bounds of his patent was established in 1642 at Great Harbor, now Edgartown, on the island of Martha's Vineyard, by a small band of planters under the leadership of Thomas Mayhew, Jr. As the elder Mayhew did not settle permanently on the island until after the lapse of a number of years, the son acted as the plantation's governor until the arrival of the senior patentee.

The beginnings of the history of Great Harbor date back to a meeting in the parent settlement of Watertown when the two Mayhews granted unto five of their neighbors a patent for the establishment of a "large Towne" upon the Vineyard with equal power in town government.

The grant effected the formation of a town proprietary. The town proprietary played a vital part in the colonization of New England and was its distinctive social and economic feature for many years. The term proprietary is used in American history in two senses. The one use refers to the great proprietors or lords who held territorial grants as feudal seigneurs and who were endowed with governmental powers. The other has reference to town proprietaries; groups of men who held title to lands in common ownership for the founding of towns.

In the settlement of a town it was the practice of the proprietors to first parcel out home lots to the inhabitants of the new settlement and to set off public tracts, such as a lot for the use and support of the town's future ministers, a plot for a burying ground, and often a town commons. After the general plan of the township had been laid out

^{*}This is the second of four parts of this historical study. The third will appear in the July number of "Americana."—ED.

[†]The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Charles E. Banks' "History of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts," for many details of early social and political events at Great Harbor.

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with home lots, streets, paths, and burying ground, it was customary for the proprietors to divide up parts of the remaining lands into farms with convenient allotments of plough lands, meadows, and similar tracts, useful for various purposes. Usually these several divisions lay scattered about the township, due to the fact that lands were divided for their usefulness. A tract best used as meadow land might lay far removed from a tract adaptable as plough land. Thus it was that the lands of a settler never lay in one contiguous tract.

As soon as a division of land was laid out in severalty, the proprietary as an organization ceased to have control over it. Lands not assigned in severalty were held in common for the benefit of the proprietors as a body, awaiting the time when it should be desirable to set them off to individual proprietors.

In these lands the proprietors held rights of commonage, that is, the right to graze cattle, to take thatch for roofing, or to gather wood for fuel.

Firewood was an indispensable commodity in days when other fuel was not obtainable. The consumption of the available wood supply was to the Indian signal for migration to a place where a more plentiful supply could be found. For this reason the Indians enquired of the Europeans if they had come to America for reason of a dearth of wood in the Old Country.

A town proprietary was divided into shares. At Great Harbor newcomers were admitted into the proprietary from time to time, either by an increase in the number of shares, at first, or the sale of a share or fraction of a share by an individual proprietor. The proprietary shares early became twenty-five in number and at that figure remained, although the proprietors, by the purchase of fractional shares, and by inheritance, steadily increased.

Long after the original settlers had died, subsequent proprietors transferred their lots under the names of the first owners, as the lot "commonly known by the name of William Weeks his lot," or "the lot formerly belonging to Malachi Browning."

The task of the pioneers of Great Harbor who settled this far-flung outpost of civilization, known to men of the day only as an island containing harbors where ships en route from New York to Virginia might find refuge from contrary winds, was a difficult one. The enterprise necessitated leaving home and friends and the intercourse which

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the more or less closely related towns upon the mainland afforded, and also a renewal of the struggle for economic existence under pioneer conditions that had been partially overcome in the more established communities. The Indian menace was a thing to be feared upon an island where the aborigine outnumbered the settlers at first perhaps three hundred to one. In Massachusetts the possibility of Indian attack followed fishermen even twenty miles at sea in their boats. At Martha's Vineyard the threat was greater.

The settlement planted by the first company was located on a tract of land known to the English as "The Old Purchase," being the first tract purchased of the Indian chief Towantquatick. For a decade all divisions of land in severalty were confined to this section of territory, which proved sufficient for the needs of the little community.

Here the fathers of Great Harbor spent their days in clearing the land east of Pease's Point Way, felling timber, building houses, laying out lots, tilling the soil, and fishing in the adjoining waters.

Economic life was not easy. Roads, paths, and bridges had to be built where nature had ruled supreme. If a plow existed at all upon the island in the first decade it was at best a large clumsy affair, constructed of wood and motivated by oxen, capable of disturbing but a few scant inches of soil after an expenditure of much effort and commotion.

Felling trees with rude tools, sawing lumber, building homes and a mill and public buildings, laying out roads and paths, removing rocks and stumps from the land, planting crops of corn and vegetables, pasturing horned cattle and sheep, and fishing were tasks that required stout hearts, ingenious minds, and unflagging industry. At all times the settlers were watched by lurking savages, who remained at a discreet distance and refused to hold intercourse with the alien race, adopting the customary aloofness of old families toward immigrants of a different culture.

In accordance with the practice in New England the home lots of Great Harbor were grouped together in village style in order to facilitate military protection against possible Indian forays, and to afford the inhabitants the advantages of communal life derived from a compact settlement. The original home lots bordered on the harbor, stretching in a contiguous line from Pease's Point Way to Katama. The lots varied in size, anywhere from eight to forty acres, the greater

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number containing about ten acres. Thomas Mayhew and his son held the only two forty-acre stalls.

Here was located the heart of the new plantation, the homes and gardens of the settlers, the church, schoolhouse, and the acre for the dead set aside on Burying Hill.

A church was early gathered in the new plantation and the leader of the first band of settlers, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., not more than twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, was ordained its pastor. A "meeting house" was erected by the males of the town upon a day appointed; the townsmen assembling at the pastor's house, where each man was "set" to his work under the leadership of the chief military officer of the colony. We will not go far wrong in guessing that the simple edifice which resulted from the united labors of the town's manpower was set by the cemetery in pattern of other New England towns and the parish churches of Old England.

Next to church and school the necessary want of every new town was a mill. Early in the life of the settlement Mayhew is found writing a letter to the younger Winthrop expressing the plantation's "greate want of a mill" and asking that he might borrow the services of a certain "goodman Elderkin," who was reputed a very "ingenious" man in the building of mills, whom Mayhew understood to be under contract to Winthrop.

But the greatest problem confronting the founder of a colony was the difficulty of adjusting the land problems of native and European. In this relation Thomas Mayhew showed unceasing diplomacy, sympathetic understanding, and unimpeachable honesty.

Contrary to popular belief the American Indian of New England was not robbed of his lands by the early settlers. The charge that the Indian was duped and exploited is one of the common statements made by Puritan detractors, a free and easy charge unsubstantiated by documentary evidence. In view of the cruel practices of the Spanish conquistadores, and the treatment received by the Indians in other parts of the country in later years, it is surprising that popular prejudice continues to confine itself so largely to purported Puritan misconduct.

The relation of the white man with the Indian is one of the unhappy blots of history. Ethically the European should not have settled where an Indian population existed. But having settled, there appears no part of America where Indian rights of land were more faithfully

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preserved than in New England. The town records of New England abound with references to lands purchased from the native proprietors.

Vattel, the great Swiss publicist, in his "Laws of Nations," says: "We cannot fail to applaud the moderation of the English Puritans who first established themselves in New England, who bought from the savages the land which they wished to occupy." Chancellor Kent states that "the people of all the New England colonies settled their towns upon the basis of title procured by fair purchase from the Indians with the consent of government, except in the few instances of lands acquired by conquest after a war deemed to have been just and necessary."

The charge is bandied that large tracts of land were purchased of the Indians in exchange for an inadequate consideration. Just what would have been an adequate consideration is never stated. The definition is, of course, relative. It is beyond dispute that sums paid for lands in these early days were far beneath present values. But this in no way detracts from the honesty of the transactions. Wilderness lands in the seventeenth century had a small value. That in three hundred years the purchase price of business property in Boston would command a fortune was not within the ken of the early bargainers, nor would that knowledge have much influenced negotiations. It should be remembered that while the English proprietors paid the Indians small sums for land, they in turn received similarly small sums upon resale to English buyers. William Penn customarily sold lands at forty shillings per hundred acres, or five pounds for each one thousand acres.

Criticism is made of beads and other trinkets as tender for lands. Beads were desired by the Indians as articles of ornament. The preference of gold to brass or beads is entirely a working of the mind. The intrinsic value of either is nothing. Today Woolworth stores sell jewelry to untutored whites at a five, ten and fifteen cent counter, and buyers are glad to get the trinkets.

Transactions entered into between the settlers themselves were customarily adjusted in medium other than hard cash. Practically all transactions were consummated in kind, that is, produce, corn, furs, even Indian wampum. Students at Harvard College paid their tutelage in slaughtered cattle and bushels of corn evaluated in pounds and shillings. So much was this the case that at times the college corporation would find itself overwhelmed with one kind of com-

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modity to the exclusion of another. Hard money was scarce in America.

It would be difficult to conceive what value coined pounds and shillings would have had to the Indian, even had they existed in sufficient quantities. The Indian had not attained that civilization which produces millionaires hording up silver dollars for the edification of an admiring world.

The Indian wanted axes, firearms, and similar items of hardware, just as did the white pioneer. Such commodities might not satisfy a paunchy banker of the twentieth century sitting behind a four-ply mahogany veneer desk, but they were preëminently satisfactory to the banker's ancestor and his Indian contemporary. One generation yearns for an axe, the next for stocks and bonds. Doubtless the axe has contributed most to the advancement of civilization.

We should not too greatly criticise the white man for giving the Indian what he wanted and what was often best for his purposes. Too many critics find it difficult to view the Indian problem in all its ramifications with the "then minded" attitude.

But whatever room exists for argument in respect to Indian relations, criticism cannot be directed toward the proprietary of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. There, certainly, no effort was made to crowd the Indian out of his possessions. Even had the settlers been so disposed, the vast preponderance of Indian inhabitants would have made such a proceeding exceedingly inadvisable. It is not easy to now realize that in the early days of America it was the Indian who had the upper hand and the white man who feared.

Every foot of territory within the bounds of Mayhew's patent, settled by a white man, was purchased from its lawful Indian proprietor. Although Mayhew held an English title that purported to descend from the crown, he chose to consider that title as granting him merely the exclusive right among Europeans to purchase lands from the aboriginal occupants. He professed no control or ownership of any tract of land remaining in Indian ownership. When Mayhew sold land to a settler which he himself had not purchased of the natives, he sold merely a right to the settler to perfect title from the proper Indian sachem.

It was the general consensus of opinion in New England that a patent of land derived from the crown conferred on the grantee the

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English title subject to the Indian right of occupancy. It was the right of occupancy which the English purchased from the Indians, as the red man had no conception of title in fee.

Some there were among the English who believed that the right of the King was paramount, but in practice these agreed that it was either justice or expediency to purchase the Indian rights, whatever might be their technical nature. The "gentle Roger Williams, who wherever he lived managed to stir up strife," harangued that no title existed in the King at all; that all ownership of land was derived from the Indians alone.

As the Massachusetts authorities were at all times circumspect in purchasing Indian rights, the perorations of Williams were uselessly moot, and only served to strengthen the opinion held by English enemies of Puritanism that the country was a hot bed of traitors. As much for the protection of the precarious state of Massachusetts as any other cause, Williams was banished, his disputations on the theory of land titles being one of the grounds leading to exile. It is typical of Williams' veering views that, founding a colony of his own upon lands purchased of the Indians, he journeyed to England to secure a royal patent.

The relations of Thomas Mayhew with the Indians have received the approbation of historians. No man in America was fairer to the aborigines nor more of a father to them, not excepting William Penn, whose personal contact with the Indian was much less than Mayhew's.

The story of Penn's treaty with the Indians under the great elm at Shackamaxon on the banks of the Delaware is admittedly based on nothing more substantial than "reverently cherished tradition." Fortunately for the fame of Penn the imaginary conclave was many years ago perpetuated on canvas by a celebrated artist. In the popular mind William Penn towers alone in American history as the man who treated the Indians fairly, but the honor is one that should be spread over a field of candidates. Penn was in America but twice for periods of two years each and could not have been personally responsible for all the good relations that existed between the government of Pennsylvania and the Indians.

The statement of a Penn biographer that no one save the proprietor of Pennsylvania ever kept faith with the Indians for a stretch of forty years is made without acknowledgment to the record of Thomas

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Mayhew. Centuries have passed, but the peace at Martha's Vineyard has never been broken, while in Pennsylvania war broke out after the death of the great Quaker founder.

The government of Pennsylvania was greatly assisted in its program of peace by the fact that the Indians of that territory were so thoroughly subdued and broken in spirit by the raids of the Iroquois that they had been forced to assume the opprobrious name of "women."

Thomas Mayhew had no artist on his staff at Martha's Vineyard, and had there been one among the settlers he would doubtlessly have been too busy ploughing or fishing to have devoted time to painting any one of the many conferences held by the island proprietor with the Indians during the forty years of his ownership. For something less than half a century Thomas Mayhew was father, adviser, and missionary to the Indians. He established churches, courts, and civil government among them. Yet his fame is known only to a limited few.

Naturally there were settlers among the English at Martha's Vineyard who attempted to purchase lands of the Indians without due acknowledgment of the rights of Thomas Mayhew, as holder of the English title, or those holding under him in the town of Great Harbor. It early became necessary for the townsmen to order that no man should "procure from the Indians in any place within the town bounds any land upon Gift or Purchase upon the Penalty of Ten Pounds for every acre so purchased without the consent of the town first had."

A conspiracy to purchase lands of the Indians at Takemmy was fomented. Thomas Mayhew, to protect his rights, called a great council of the principal Indians of the district and, after a harangue, the chief, Papamek, and twenty-nine other "gentlemen and common Indians" agreed with him that there "shall be noe land sold within the bounds of Takemme without the consent of the two sachims. . . . That is Wanamanhut [and] Keteantum." And it was further declared by the Indians that the sachems making the sale in particular were never owners of the land sold, and they all agreed "as one man to withstand and reject that bargain."

Meanwhile Thomas Mayhew had inaugurated the practice of buying lands of the Indians in all the islands, whenever the native proprietors were willing to sell, in order to perfect his title. Both he and his son, and at a later date Peter Folger, schoolmaster at Great Harbor and maternal grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, acquired a knowledge



EARLIEST MAP OF THE ELIZABETH ISLANDS,
NOW THE TOWN OF GOSNOLD, MASS.



EARLIEST MAP OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD AND THE
ELIZABETH ISLANDS, DATED 1610

From the Archives of Simancas, Spain



FORT JAMES, NEW YORK, 1671

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of the Indian tongue. The purport of native deeds was fully explained to the grantors, that they might understand the nature of their acts. Most of the lands in the islands were bought in parcels and a considerable number of deeds were executed over a long period of years, at Nantucket so late as 1774. It cannot, therefore, be said that the Indians were deceived into an early sale of all their lands in toto.

Payments to the Indians were of various sorts. The purchase price of one tract was a "cow and a suit of clothes from top to toe" and seventeen pounds in money. When it is recalled that Mayhew paid Forrett, as agent for Lord Stirling, but forty pounds for the island of Nantucket and its dependencies, a comparison of the sums paid the natives for much smaller tracts demonstrates clearly that the Indians were fairly treated.

Large purchases of land at the west end of Martha's Vineyard were made by the patentee, who was already contemplating the establishment of a baronial estate for his family and posterity. Portions of this tract he had fenced by a stone wall apart from the rest of the island. The Cape Higgon district today is a corrupted form of the Indian name Keephikkon, meaning an artificial enclosure.

A typical Indian deed follows:

This doth witness that I Cheesechamuck, the Sachim of Holmes hole doth by these presents sell and set over unto Thomas Mayhew the Elder of the Vineyard one Quarter part of all that land which is called Chickemmow for him the said Thomas Mayhew his heires and assignes to Injoy for ever: the said one quarter of the land of Chickemmow is to begin at Itchpoquaset Brook and so to run by the shore till it comes to the sea side ward and so the said quarter part of land is to runne into the Iland from the sea side to the Middle line of the said land called Chickemmow; the said Thomas Mayhew is to have four spans round in the middle of every whale that comes upon the shore of this quarter part and no more: the hunting of Deire is common, but no trappes to be set:

In witness to this Deed of sale I have set my hand unto it this tenth Day of August 1658.

THE MARKE

X

OF CHEESCHAMUCK

In purchasing a neck of land called Chappaquiddick, at the eastern end of the island for the town of Great Harbor, Mayhew agreed that the town should give the sachem making the sale twenty bushels of corn

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a year for three years, and that the sachem's sons should have two lots when divided. Referring to this transaction, Charles E. Banks, the island historian, says:

This form of quit-rent was doubtless a concession to the dignity of the chieftain, and was renewed in another form in 1663, when Mayhew agreed to pay him "one Good Goat Ram yearly or as much in Good pay as Good Goat Ram should be worth . . . and one yarde round every whale." It is significant of the scrupulous spirit which actuated Mayhew in his dealings with them, that this agreement was in effect and presumably observed as late as 1724, when the great grandson of this chief man, named Seiknout, also a sachem, commuted his quit-rent for £5 in money to the successor of the old Governor."

Chappaquiddick was of great value to the proprietors of the town for grazing cattle. It was held intact many years. Elaborate regulations were drawn up by the townsmen to guard against overloading the quotas of each share. From the records the reader is edified to learn that one settler put over "one steer upon Dorcas Bayley," another "a young horse upon his grandfather Bayes," and a third "for his wife's former rights he put over 13 head," meaning that the successors of these people were entitled to rights in pasturage which had descended to them from predecessors so named.

The history of every colony, no matter how small, has its era of expansion. By 1667 Great Harbor was an established community with a population of perhaps more than one hundred souls. On the island of Nantucket another plantation had been started, and already the planters of that tight little island were demonstrating the enterprise and intelligence that was to make the Nantucket stock celebrated in the world of commerce and learning.

In his grant of the patent of Great Harbor, Thomas Mayhew had made reference to the establishment of "another Townshipp for Posterity," which he had visualized would some day be necessary. For twenty-five years the boundaries of the "great" town at the eastern end of Martha's Vineyard had sufficed the needs of the inhabitants of that island, but in 1668 Thomas Mayhew deemed the time ripe for the founding of the second town.

This he established in the interior of the island at a place called Takemmy, the garden spot of the Vineyard, a place of rich meadows and fine water courses. Already a mill was in operation connected with Great Harbor by a road called the old Mill Path. .

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The first purchasers of the district were three men of Plymouth Colony. One of these, Josiah Standish, was son of the famous Myles Standish, of Duxbury, who is said to have claimed the right to the ownership of Duxbury Hall in England. A few years ago Duxbury Hall was in the possession of Mr. Walter Mayhew, an English residing descendant of the Thomas Mayhew who granted land at Martha's Vineyard to the son of Myles Standish.

In the establishment of the new town Thomas Mayhew reserved to himself and heirs certain rights and privileges as patentee, including the right to approve of inhabitants coming to settle in the community, and participation in local government in cooperation with the majority part of the freemen. The new township received the name Middletown, due to its central position between Great Harbor and the Indian community of Nashawakemmuck at the western end of the island, later Chilmark.

The inhabitants of Middletown purchased title of the Indians and from time to time admitted new members into their ranks, including the patentee's grandson, Thomas Mayhew, III, who early became town clerk and a justice of the peace. Another landowner in the town was Benjamin Church, of Duxbury, the famous Indian fighter of his generation in New England. He owned a gristmill "on the westernmost brook of Takemmy." Isaac Robinson, son of the Rev. John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Church at Leyden, Holland, was also a settler.

The first minister called to the town was the patentee's youngest grandson, the Rev. John Mayhew, who for the balance of his life performed the duties of spiritual adviser to the inhabitants of Tisbury and Chilmark "united."

The Elizabeth Islands were, likewise, involved in the land speculations and colonizing schemes of the day. Mayhew's acquaintance with many of the leading men of the surrounding colonies facilitated his efforts to find purchasers for these islands. The first buyers were merchants trading between the southern colonies of New England and the northern colony of Massachusetts. The Elizabeth Islands, at the gateway between Buzzard's Bay and Vineyard Sound, were convenient ports of refuge for trading vessels. Here warehouses were erected and in later years a lighthouse.

An early purchaser from Thomas Mayhew of lands on the Elizabeth Islands was Governor William Brenton, of Rhode Island, who

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willed his interest to his son-in-law, Peleg Sanford, a later Governor of the same colony.

Other purchasers were James Bowdoin, Governor of Massachusetts, whose name has been perpetuated in the foundation of Bowdoin College; John Haynes, Governor at different times of Massachusetts and Connecticut; Peter Oliver, the eminent Boston merchant, whose grandson was Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts; Thomas Ward, treasurer and father of Governor Richard Ward, of Rhode Island; and Major-General Wait Winthrop, son of Governor John, of Connecticut, and grandson of the great Governor of Massachusetts of the same name.

In each plantation the Indian rights were carefully purchased and every effort made to propitiate the inhabitants. The Indian system of land ownership was monarchical. The sachems alone owned land, and it was from the sachems that the English purchased title. Having sold his rights for a consideration, the sachem was content, but occasionally one of his subjects or an underling sachem who had not shared in the fruits of the deal, finding himself barred from his customary haunts, would turn to his sachem and demand something concrete in exchange for tribute paid by him.

At Nantucket, "Mr." Larry Ahkermo, Peterson Obadiah, and George Nanahuma, petty sachems and "gentlemen in the Indian way," complained to the English court that their sachems had sold the lands they formerly lived on to the English and refused to allow them to live on land unsold. It was ordered by the English court that the complainants should have twenty acres apiece granted elsewhere, without payment of tribute.

The parties to the action "declared themselves well satisfied and contented" with the order. Obadiah, however, was ever a thorn in the side of the island authorities. Upon one occasion he was summoned before the island court for resisting the authority of the Indian court in attempting to rescue a prisoner about to be whipped and in using "Reviling Speeches" and "opprobrious words" to its members.

In the practice of the courts of both islands, so far as the records show, there seems to have been no distinction made between English and Indian suitors. The law was administered with conscientious impartiality.

A chief source of irritation between the races was the Indian prac-

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tice of trespassing on the lands of the English. It is the suggestion of some writers that the niceties of Anglo-Saxon theories of land titles and their conveyance were never fully understood by the Indian. They state that the idea that one man could become entitled to real estate so as to prevent others from using it was not comprehended by the Indian. Land was to him as free as the water or the air. Nobody could have an exclusive right to it. So when the white man came and obtained deeds from the sachems, it was merely the admission of the new settlers on equal terms with themselves. It was not that the Indian had ceased to have the right to enjoy the land but that another had become his coöccupant.

This argument is open to criticism. In the first place research has developed the fact that the Indian was not so freely nomadic as was at one time believed. Ruling sachems governed within well defined limits, beyond whose boundaries his subjects had no rights. Hence the statement that land to the Indian was as free as the air and that no one could have an exclusive right to it is not entirely accurate. Roger Williams tells that the Indians were "very act and punctual in the bounds of their Lands." He adds that he has known them to "make bargain and sale among themselves for a small piece or quantity of ground."

Neither can it be said that the Indians could have been long deluded with the belief that they were selling a mere right of coöccupancy, if ever they so believed, as they must have learned the effect of their acts in the course of a short time.

It is possible that what the Indian did not always clearly understand was the legal effect of "consideration."

Moneys or goods paid for lands were received by some as a gift in the nature of a quit-rent or tribute rather than final payment in full. So when the beads were scattered, the powder gone, or the hatchets rusty, the native grantor would come back for more, and if denied, would seek revenge in primitive ways. By this procedure land was sometimes sold a number of times over. The cupidity of a few of the shrewder Indians made this practice a means of revenue of no mean proportions. But an example of this form of petty brigandage is not of record at the islands. So far as is known the island chieftains performed their bargains with an exacting honesty worthy a people in a higher stage of civilization.

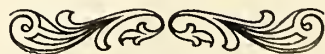
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The sachems kept their faith, and with the exception of Obadiah at Nantucket, no breath of unfairness on the part of the English was anywhere raised until long after the death of Thomas Mayhew and the island fathers.

It was left for the descendants of the original Indians to complain. Forgetting that their fathers had the right to sell their lands, and realizing that at one time their ancestors were the sole owners of all the lands inhabited by both races, the Indians of Nantucket commenced to murmur and find fault, making the easy charge that the English had unfairly purchased the lands of their fathers, although the latter had always been satisfied with the bargains made. The English endeavored to satisfy the recalcitrants by appealing to the records and stating to them of whom the purchases were made, that the sachems had a good right to sell, and their descendants ought to be satisfied therewith. Says Obed Macy in his early history of Nantucket: "These reasonings quieted them for a series of years, and always would have sufficed, had they kept clear of rum; for they seldom called this subject into view, unless they were in some degree intoxicated."

The last stand of the Indians to repudiate the bargains of their fathers was made in the middle of the eighteenth century and the controversy was decided against them by a committee appointed by the General Court of the province.

At Martha's Vineyard little of this state of affairs was experienced. The island was larger and more fertile and a crowded condition did not develop. The several Indian plantations at Chappaquiddick, Christiantown, and Gay Head have sufficed to support the natives of the island down to modern day.



CHAPTER VIII

THE PATENTEE'S GOVERNMENT

The simple government necessary for the needs of the little band of settlers placed on Martha's Vineyard island by Thomas Mayhew was essentially democratic in its nature, and patterned on the town meeting plan prevalent in New England, controlled to a certain extent by the junior Mayhew in his capacity of co-patentee. In the meantime the senior patentee continued his residence at Watertown to adjust and wind up his business affairs, and perhaps, as a matter of precaution, to observe first the success of his colony before severing home ties. His arrival at the island for permanent settlement is believed to have taken place in the spring or summer of 1645. He immediately assumed the government of the plantation, weaving his personality so intimately into the political and social history of Martha's Vineyard as to make it difficult to disentangle the story of his life from the history of the community.

The grant from the Earl of Stirling provided for a government to be set up by Thomas Mayhew, "his son and their associates," such as was then established in the Massachusetts Colony. The vagueness of the powers granted and their lack of definite limitation were to give rise to contentions between the senior patentee and the freemen of the Vineyard. The conflict was in no degree to be eased by reference to the patent of the Massachusetts Colony because the charter of that colony was itself the subject of innumerable ambiguities, complicated further by the fact that departures from its letter and spirit were more common than uncommon. Over and again the Bay charter was transcended to suit the exigencies of occasion.

The charter of the Massachusetts Company passed the seals as a document providing for the creation and regulation of a trading corporation. It was not a charter for the government of a colony, although the corporation was authorized to establish and govern colonies as units dependent on the company. Pursuant to this power the company sent John Endicott to America with orders to exercise the chief authority at Naumkeag (Salem). By the company Endicott was termed the governor of the settlement.

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In the latter part of the year 1629 a number of persons in England "of figure and estate" proposed to remove to New England upon condition that they be permitted to take with them the charter of the company and be allowed to exercise its corporate powers in the New World. The members of the company, ready to further the establishment of a Puritan commonwealth, willingly consented to this proposal. Arrangements were effected whereby members who remained in England were to be allowed to share in the trading profits of the settlement while the control of the company's concerns was committed to those who emigrated. By this agreement the members in England ceased to act as a corporation. After the transfer of the charter the corporate body conducted itself in America, not as a trading corporation, but as a political unit. Thus in New England a commonwealth was reared upon so slender a basis as the charter of a trading corporation.

This course of conduct was not the procedure followed by other trading companies of the day. The Virginia Company retained its identity distinct from that of the body politic subject to its control, as did also the Dutch West Indies Company in the maintenance of New Netherlands, and others.

The transfer of the Massachusetts Company to New England necessitated the conversion of the machinery provided by the charter for the management of a trading corporation into a political mechanism for the government of a colony; and numerous were the difficulties and dissensions which grew out of the metamorphosis. Many of the solutions worked out in America were not strictly within the terms of the patent and were of doubtful legality. It is the contention of one authority that the first meeting of the company in England was the only one that was held in conformity to the charter or the principles of English law.

Mayhew, therefore, was early confronted with the question whether by the terms of his grant he was empowered to establish a government pursuant to the language of the charter of the Massachusetts Company, of which he doubtlessly had no copy, or one modeled upon the form of government actually in operation in the Bay Colony; a government of exigencies and convenience, which like little Topsy, had "just growed," and was still in a state of flux.

At the time of the grant from Lord Stirling to Mayhew the government of the Massachusetts Bay in New England had been functioning

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eleven years, and it is fair to assume that it was the intent of Forrett in authorizing Mayhew to set up a government "such as is now established in Massachusetts" that the grantee should set up a frame of government coincident in general features with that in the Bay; consisting in framework of a Governor, Deputy Governor, assistants, and freemen; a government that would meet the needs of the inhabitants, subject to growth and any modification as should be meet in the premises. A wide latitude for discretion was intended to this end.

To illustrate the improbability of any other intent the following example may be cited: in the early days of the Massachusetts Colony freemen were entitled to meet in General Court, but as the population grew and towns developed in number, it was enacted in 1636 that henceforth towns should elect deputies or representatives to the General Court. This was the government "now established in the Massachusetts" at the time of Mayhew's patent, yet it would be ridiculous to suppose that Mayhew was expected by the terms of his grant to hold a court of delegated freemen in a jurisdiction consisting at first of a handful of settlers located within the confines of a single town.

By reason of the impracticability of launching a complete civil establishment on an island peopled with a scant hundred souls, no immediate attempt appears to have been made by the patentee to create freemen or to provide a suffrage unless it was done informally, without record. The patentee kept the reins in his own hands and that of his family. Naturally, he acted as the chief executive officer of the colony, and soon came to be regarded as "governor."

He early elaborated a system of military defense and organized a militia for protection against Indian forays. Laws were passed by Mayhew and the townsmen concerning training days for the exercise of the company in arms. Men not "complete in armes" were fined as were also colonists who wilfully neglected to appear at muster.

The first semblance of popular government is found eleven years after the foundation of the colony when, in 1653, the townsmen of Great Harbor elected Thomas Mayhew, Sr., and six others to "stand for a year." A similar body was elected the following year "to end all controversies." This form of government may be identified as a Court of Assistants with Mayhew as Chief Magistrate. In accordance with the practice in Massachusetts it may be assumed that the court exercised both legislative and judicial powers.

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The patentee was now following out the provisions of his patent from Lord Stirling in respect to the conduct of a government based on the Massachusetts model, if not in all details at least in major substance.

Within a number of years we find a further change in the form of government. In 1658, Mr. Thomas Mayhew was chosen magistrate without assistants. It was voted that "all cases are to be Ended this present year by the magistrate with an original jury." Mayhew was again the sole executive officer of the island. In effect this had been the situation from the day of his first coming to the island. His personality, his experience in life, his landed interests, and the fact that he had impelled the founding and building of the little commonwealth had been reason sufficient to the settlers to submit to his control over their mutual affairs.

But as conditions prospered and the inhabitants increased in both numbers and wealth, a feeling of discontent became manifest among a number of them who began to voice a desire for greater participation in the administration of government. The earliest settlers had been admitted into the fellowship of the town by the "approbation" of the patentees; for a time they felt their obligation to the proprietors who had granted them their substantial acres and an opportunity to prosper in a worldly way, but there were others who had paid for their lands, and all being Englishmen jealous of their "liberties," they began to chafe under the patriarchal rule of Thomas Mayhew.

Matters reached a crisis late in the year 1661, when the patentee deemed it wise to prepare a form of "submission to government," unusual and unique in scope, for the signatures of those discontented with his rule.

Mayhew was convinced that he was entitled to the ultimate power of control over the political affairs of the settlement and that he had powers equal at least to those exercised by the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts.

The submission prepared by him was signed by eighteen of the freemen. Those not signing are known to have been adherents to his rule because of family connections or other reasons.

After the signing of the submission which proclaimed a proprietary form of government, laws were enacted in the name of the "pattentees and freeholders" or "by the Single Person and the freeholders." The single person was Thomas Mayhew. The plural form of patentee

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sometimes used had reference either to the three children of the younger Thomas Mayhew, now deceased, or to the original patentees of Great Harbor, who, it will be remembered, were granted equal power in town government with the two Mayhews. It may be that laws for the town were passed by the patentees of the town and the majority of the freemen, while laws for the island as a whole were passed by Thomas Mayhew (as sole proprietor) and the majority of the freemen, thus giving the patentees within the town and Mayhew over the island a practical power of veto. Town and island affairs at this time were so closely interwoven that it is difficult to distinguish between local and general concerns.

Language used in 1663 in the passing of an act "itt is ordered by myself and the major part of the freeholders," indicates that the records at that time were being kept by Mayhew in person.

The rule of Thomas Mayhew as patentee and chief magistrate of an independent colony was now about to end. In high places in England the fate of the islands of Martha's Vineyard and those adjacent was being shuttled without the knowledge of their New England proprietor.

As early as 1663 the Earl of Clarendon had purchased, on behalf of his son-in-law, the Duke of York, the pretensions of the fourth Earl of Sterling to his territories in America. The Stirlings had never rightfully had jurisdiction over the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, but their claims were passed along to the Duke, who, although he failed to pay the Stirlings the full consideration agreed and inserted in the deed territories not offered for sale, failed not to exact his full quota of benefits.

In due time the King confirmed the purchase to the Duke by a royal patent which included in it "all those severall Islands called or known by the names of Martin's Vineyard and Nantukes otherwise Nantukett."

It was a day of conflicting grants, vague geography, and royal prerogatives. The fact that the islands had already been granted Gorges afforded no embarrassment to the King. Nor was Charles II in any way disturbed by the fact that the bulk of the territories included in the grant to his brother was in possession of the Dutch, and always had been.

Deciding to accomplish two results with one commission, he, in

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1664, appointed a royal commission composed of Colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir George Carteret, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, Esq., to settle disputes with and between the New England colonies and to "reduce" New Netherlands by arms.

Arriving with a fleet in Gravesend Bay in August of the same year, Nicolls demanded of Director-General Stuyvesant the surrender of Dutch New Netherlands. After conferences lasting less than two weeks, articles of capitulation were agreed upon. On the 8th of September the Dutch troops marched out of Fort Amsterdam. The flag of the High and Mighty States of Holland fluttered to the ground. The air resounded to a salvo of guns, and Britain's proud ensign whipped the breezes. A country builded by the energy of a foreign people became England's by the mighty quill of Charles II and the doubtful virtue of a voyage by Cabot. The city of New Amsterdam and the province of New Netherlands became the city and province of New York, and with it the islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and those adjacent became a part of the lordly holdings of America's newest viceroy, James, Duke of York and Albany.

Richard Nicolls became the first Governor-General of the newly-captured province and dependencies. It was sometime before he opened correspondence with the proprietor of Martha's Vineyard. Mayhew says he had "noe Newes of either" Gorges or Stirling, after securing his patents, "till his Ma'ties Commissioners came over," and then John Archdale, brother-in-law to Ferdinando Gorges, came to see him, armed with a printed paper, wherein his majesty most strongly confirmed "Ferdynando Gorges Esquire to be Lord of the Province of Maine." Further, states Mayhew, Archdale informed him that Nicolls laid claim to the islands in behalf of the Duke, but that conflicting claims would be adjusted at the first meeting of the commissioners.

In the winter of 1664-65 Archdale repaired to New York with his "printed paper," where he demanded Nicolls to deliver the territories of Maine and the islands into his control. The request was refused.

Here matters hung fire for a number of years. During Nicolls' administration little was done to enforce the Duke's claim. A desultory correspondence was maintained between Nicolls and Mayhew but without definite results.

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In one letter to the proprietor of Martha's Vineyard, Nicolls set forth a lengthy order entitled "general heads of directions and advice," how to proceed in the administration of an Indian matter. Mayhew was advised that to "threaten and terrify the natives was not to be spared."

Considering that Nicolls had been in the New World but two years and a half, this offer of advice to Thomas Mayhew, who had had twenty years' experience in dealing with the natives and had gained for himself an enviable reputation as a diplomat and missionary, was presumptuous even for a British official imbued with the importance and grandeur of a royal master across the sea.

How Mayhew received this royal bull from Nicolls, who is described by some of the Dutch officials of New York as "so gentle, wise and intelligent" that they were confident and assured that under his wings they would "bloom and grow like the cedar on Lebanon," is not of record. It may be assumed that Thomas Mayhew acted in the premises, although perhaps not under the commission sent by Nicolls, as such a procedure might too easily have been construed as a recognition of the ducal authority which Mayhew was not ready to acknowledge.

As early as 1664, Mayhew had commented to Winthrop on the coming of the commissioners, saying: "I hope the effecte wilbe good," modestly adding, "I see at a greate distaunce, therefore can say litle to it." As Winthrop was well acquainted with Nicolls, the island patentee took pains to add: "I pray, Sir, take occasion to mynde me to him, & to the rest of them, that they would be pleased to doe me all the lawfull favour they can. I have written to Mr. Samuell Maueryck my sellfe; whome I heare is one of them."

With the aid of Nicolls, and Maverick whose influence in obtaining American appointments was considerable, Mayhew hoped to settle the suzerainty of his islands. He seems to have preferred the claims of Gorges to those of the Duke, but for the time being he saw no reason why he should hurry into the fold of either lord. Stirling, he felt, had small claim to the islands, and the Duke no greater.

The appearance at New York of Archdale with a paper from the King confirming Maine to Ferdinando Gorges left the commissioners in a quandary. Nicolls admitted that he could make no intelligence of Archdale's document, which conflicted with the King's grant to the

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Duke. Archdale was in error when he prognosticated to Mayhew that the title paramount to the islands would be decided by the commissioners at their first meeting. The commissioners decided to leave the solution of the conflict to the King himself.

Nicolls, before his return to England, acknowledged to Mayhew "that the Power of these Islands was proper in ye Hands of Ferdinando Gorges." But the King had yet to speak.



CHAPTER IX

THE FOREST PAUL

In past chapters has been recounted the life of Thomas Mayhew as a colonist and colonial governor. We are now to look upon another phase of character. Seldom is found a man whose personality can be so accurately divided into parts as that of the governor of Martha's Vineyard island. The story of one part of his life is a story of colonial enterprise, feudalism, and political strife; the other part an idyl of self-sacrifice and labor as a missionary among a humble people. Yet in Thomas Mayhew the two personalities were so blended as to render each the complement of the other, rounding out an individuality that was dedicated to the improvement of the Indian.

Coming to the island as a feudal lord to found a family of landed magnates and to better his financial condition, Thomas Mayhew found himself drawn by a sense of pity to the unfortunate Indian. In the end, every gesture and action of his life was bended, in politics or religion, to the purpose of bettering the Indian's material and spiritual welfare.

The story of Thomas Mayhew is the life story of the red-coated governor of an English colony who daily laid aside his sword of office to pursue in Indian tepees the humbler avocation of teaching the precepts of the Prince of Peace.

In the rôle of missionary or governor he carried with him the dignity of a great soul. Although he slept in Indian wigwams and walked miles through the forests to teach his Indian subjects, he never lost his hold upon their respect and admiration. His dignity was not the pose that comes with patents from royal dukes, appendant with seals of state, and resounding with titles of office. It was the dignity of a soul ennobled by its Maker; a soul above the petty distinctions of mankind.

Upon the basis of his life as an Indian missionary, the fame of Thomas Mayhew rests best. The great achievement of his life was not the settlement of islands or the founding of towns and villages, or the establishment of a government over planters. In these things he was preëminently successful, but the triumph which endears him to posterity was his administration of Indian affairs, his generous self-

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devotion to the noble design of civilizing and Christianizing the Indian inhabitants within his domains. In his relations with the red man he achieved a success far beyond that of any other British governor in North America, unique in that he was the one alone to become a missionary among them. He was a man of remarkable character and consequently lived a remarkable career. A manorial lord, a British colonial governor, he became one of the great missionaries of his day and one of the greatest governors in all ages to govern and pacify a savage race. To the Indian he was father, counselor, and ruler; "sachem," as they upon occasion called him.

Missionary work at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket was not begun by cajolings or force of arms. It was not maintained by peonage, nor its memory perpetuated in the minds of men by the erection of cathedrals in the name of the Lord. It was not in the mind of Thomas Mayhew to place wealth and labor in edifices dedicated to the lowly prince born in Bethlehem, who scorned the riches of this world. Posterity does not travel to Martha's Vineyard or Nantucket to view awesome monuments of the Englishman's "civilization" built by the sweat and labor of a subject race.

The religion of Thomas Mayhew was a religion of the heart and mind, not a religion of pomp and heaps of stone. By his righteous living and precepts, example and mental persuasions, he brought the children of the wilderness to the faith of the white man's God and to a knowledge of the white man's justice. He taught them the religion of love and salvation and everlasting life; and so the Indian knelt in prayer to God, awed by no pomp of ceremony, lulled by no strains of music, bedazzled not by gilt and tinsel trappings. The dwelling of their church was the open fields, the trees, and the birds; their music the lapping of quiet waters upon island shores; the rostrum of the missionary a nearby stone; their heaven the common heaven of all righteous men, be they white, black, or red.

In later years rude buildings were constructed of wood—no less houses of the Lord than cathedrals filled with gold and silver vessels.

It was the wise advice of Lord Bacon to colonists that "If you plant where savages are, do not entertain them with trifles and gingles; but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard, nevertheless; and do not win their favor by helping them to invade their

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enemies; but for their defence it is not amiss." Save the last phrase, the words might well have been the counsel of Thomas Mayhew.

The labor of gospelizing the Indians at Martha's Vineyard was first begun by Mayhew's son, the co-patentee. Following his death the work was continued by the father, and he in turn was succeeded by his grandson John, a great-grandson Experience, and a great-great-grandson Zachariah. Other members of the family preached to the natives upon occasion, or were empowered in government over them, for a period of time extending over two hundred years. For centuries they were rulers, teachers, and civilizers. Their service is said to be the longest of any one family in the annals of missionary history.

Says Alden Bradford: "The family may justly be said to have been a remarkable one; both on account of their efforts in Christianizing the Indians, and for their personal moral worth."

The diligence, fortitude, and moral worth of the early Mayhews, John Eliot, the Tupper of Sandwich, and the Bourne of Mashpee, have saved the English people the shame of neglect with which the European has been charged in Indian matters.

The problems and vicissitudes of a pioneer people left little time for evangelism. The struggle for existence was too intense. The pioneer had first to establish himself in the New World, to hew a home in the forest, to maintain life. Unlike the modern immigrant, he did not find the comforts of civilization awaiting him on the shores of the New World—aid societies, travelers' bureaus, employment agencies, and the laws of a paternalistic government—striving to make easier for him life in a strange land.

Often persecuted in the home country, harried from pillar to post, and deprived of property by many wanderings, the pioneer had little time in the New World to think of civilizing the race that stood ready to wipe him into extinction, at the first convenient moment.

The settler left behind him the snug fields of England, where home meant a garden plot and a few acres of arable land, where forests were parks and every tree hallowed by the touch of ancestral hands, where every little fragment of acreage bore its ancient name, bestowed generations before. He found himself in a howling wilderness of great unlimited stretches where forests were immeasurable tracts peopled by a race as wild and untamed as the unfamiliar beasts that gave vent to strange cries in the dark hours of night. With the scant tools for

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which he had found room in the small boat that had brought him to America, he attempted the cultivation of rock strewn spaces. In a strange climate and a sterile soil he attempted the planting of English crops, avoiding starvation by a diet of berries and fishes. Life was not a reflection of Merrie England, where precedent prestiged man's every move. Life had become something grim, earnest, and real.

Gentlemen did not keep fine horses and ride hounds in America. Hunting was not a holiday tournament. Game was not kept behind palisaded parks to be slaughtered in accordance with rules as detailed as those circumscribing the sports of the card table.

With such changes and hardships to tax his mind and ingenuity, with privations and anxieties besetting him on every side, the pioneer father found himself surrounded by a race of suspicious people, at times and places in open hostility. Indians were they who fired on the "Mayflower" Pilgrims during one of their first expeditions ashore; who sent into the peaceful settlement of Plymouth, mustering an army that was hardly more than a corporal's guard, a snakeskin of arrows as a challenge of war; who hired a pow-wow to make hideous the night with his wailings and necromancy in an effort to bewitch the English out of the country. Who can blame the pioneer that his breast was not warmed with the ardor of missionary fervor?

The American Indian is today an unimportant minority, but for a number of years he was a hard-pressing majority, and few were the prophets in the new Canaan who would predict with any degree of assurance that that majority would ever be dispelled. The new-born Puritan church was not advantageously equipped with an order like the French Jesuits or Spanish Franciscans, whose unwearied efforts and fearless energy and self-forgetting devotion to the interests of their orders and their church have left an impress upon the pages of American history that must win the admiration of all readers of whatever faith.

To claim that the struggling pioneer, before food and clothing had become secure, should have engaged in missionary work among the Indians that menaced his existence, is to expect a great deal of human nature. But such were the lofty standards prescribed by a number of contemporary writers secure in the warmth of their hearths in Old England, and such has been the cry of modern critics living in an age where morals have not kept pace with the tremendous growth of material progress in the three hundred years that have elapsed.

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It required men with the spirit of total self-sacrifice to preach the gospel to the Indians. Such men are few in any age. Yet, notwithstanding the newness of America and the relative poverty of the country, the Indian mission at Martha's Vineyard, following close upon the missionary activities of the Dutch at Java, Formosa, and other islands in the Indian Archipelago, was one of the first Protestant missions in the world of more than ephemeral existence and success.

That we may better understand the work of Governor Mayhew as a missionary, a brief sketch of the life of his son, who ploughed the first furrow in propagating the gospel in New England, must of necessity be here inserted.

The Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., eldest child and only son of Governor Mayhew, was born in Old England about the year 1620-21. The name of his mother is not known and few of the details of his early life are extant. It is supposed that he came to America with his father in 1631 and spent his boyhood days at Medford and Watertown in the Massachusetts Colony.

He was "tutored up" in New England, states a contemporary author, by which it may be inferred that he received his education at the hands of private instructors. Harvard College was not opened until he was at an age when his education was too far advanced for him to matriculate at that institution. He was an early, if not the first student, educated in the higher branches of learning in the New World, and was known as New England's "young scholar." The Rev. Thomas Prince, writing in 1727, says of him: "He was a young Gentleman of liberal Education, and of such Repute for piety as well as natural and acquired Gifts, having no small Degree of Knowledge in the Latin and Greek languages, and being not wholly a Stranger to the Hebrew," that he was called to the ministry at Martha's Vineyard.

With his father he became, in 1641, joint patentee of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Islands. As a patentee he was leader of the planters who made the first settlement at the eastern end of Martha's Vineyard in 1642. His grandson, the Rev. Experience Mayhew, speaks of this event: "In 1642 he [the elder Thomas Mayhew] sends Mr. Thomas Mayhew Junior his only Son, being then a young Scholar, about 21 years of Age, with some other Persons to the Vineyard, where they settled at the East End."

Soon after the establishment of Great Harbor a church society was

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organized and the plantation's youthful leader called to its pastoral office. As pastor of one of the early churches of New England, he is ranked by modern authorities as one of the founders of the Congregational Church in America.

He married, in 1647, Mistress Jane Paine, daughter of a prosperous London merchant, whose widow had become the elder Mayhew's second wife. The young bride had come into the Mayhew household as a child and had been raised with her future husband like a sister. In her mature years she proved a faithful and sacrificing helpmate.

The minister's "*English Flock* being then but small, the Sphere was not large enough for so bright a Star to move in. With great Compassion he beheld the wretched *Natives*, who then were *several thousands* on those Islands, perishing in utter Ignorance of the *true God*, and eternal Life, labouring under strange Delusions, Inchantments, and panick Fears of *Devils*, whom they most passionately worshipped."

God, who had ordained him an evangelist for the conversion of these Indians, stirred him up with a holy zeal and resolution to labor for their illumination and deliverance. But the Indian was not eager to be served; with one noteworthy exception. Living near the English settlement was a native, called Hiacoomes. His descent was mean, his speech slow, and his countenance not very promising. He was looked on by the Indian sachems and others of their principal men as an object scarce worthy of their notice or regard.

Occasionally a settler would visit him in his wigwam and discourse with him concerning the English way of life. "A Man of sober, thoughtful, and ingenuous Spirit," he attended religious meetings, where he attracted the attention of the pastor of Great Harbor, who was even then contriving what he might do to effect the salvation of the Indian inhabitants. Writes Thomas Mayhew, Jr., "he came to visit our habitations and publike meetings, thinking that there might be better wayes and means amongst the English, for the attaining of the blessings of health and life, then could be found amongst themselves: Yet not without some thoughts and hopes of a higher good he might possibly gain thereby." Mayhew's compassion was aroused by the wistful eagerness of the simple Hiacoomes. He took pains to pay particular notice of him and to discourse with him as often as possible. He invited him to his house each Sunday night and instructed him in

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the principles of the Christian religion, with such success that in 1643 the conversion of Hiacoomes had become an accomplished fact.

Before the conversion of Hiacoomes a few isolated instances are of record of an occasional Indian professing an interest in the white man's religion. Report is made of an Indian in Plymouth Colony who as early as 1622 was induced, by the prompt reply of Heaven to the white man's prayers for rain, to seek a better knowledge of the new God, palpably in the interests of better and more frequent rains. The thirst of this novitiate appears to have been more scientific and agrarian than theological.

Shortly after the arrival of the English in the Massachusetts Colony, a chief known to the settlers as Sagamore John, contracted an affection for Christianity concurrent with an attack of the smallpox.

A Pequot Indian named Wesquash was so impressed by the destruction of his tribe by the military genius of the English soldier that he importuned the Christians to make him acquainted with their God, whom he pictured the militant God of the Jews of old. Having become, as was supposed, says the chronicler, a sincere convert, this poor Indian died of poison given him, it is charged, by fellow-savages incensed by his deflection from the gods of their fathers. This is the nearest approach to an actual conversion known prior to the unqualified and well authenticated acceptance of the new faith by Hiacoomes.

In all three cases no real conversion to religion appears; only an expressed desire to become better acquainted with the force that endowed the white man with superior knowledge. Baptism was not administered.

It remained for Hiacoomes to become the first Indian convert to Christianity in New England, and the first American Indian to be ordained a clergyman.

At Martha's Vineyard was turned the first furrow in New England by an Englishman in the missionary field among the Indians. This was three years before similar labors were begun on the mainland by the great John Eliot.

Eliot first successfully preached to the Indians on the 28th of October, 1646, in a wigwam at a place afterwards called Nonatum. A few weeks prior he had made an unsuccessful effort at Dorchester Mill. In the year of these efforts Thomas Mayhew, Jr., addressed his first public concourse of size, having for a number of years used Hiacoomes as

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an "Instrument" to spread the seeds of the gospel. As early as 1644 Mayhew had begun to "visit and discourse them *himself*," going sometimes to the houses of those he esteemed most rational and well qualified, and at other times treating with particular persons.

In the many letters of John Eliot and those written by persons interested in his labors, there is no evidence of the conversion of an Indian before the meeting of 1646.

The great successes that crowned the efforts of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., as a missionary sprang from his judicious interest in his first convert, Hiacoomes, who growing in faith "now earnestly desired to learn to read," writes the Rev. Experience Mayhew, "and having a primer given him, he carried it about with him till, by the help of such as were willing to instruct him, he attained the end for which he desired it." At first these actions brought down upon Hiacoomes the scorn of his fellow-countrymen, who "set up a great laughter" at their apostate neighbor pacing the paths of the forests, book in hand, as a priest paces a churchyard walk. Upon meeting him they would scoff: "Here comes the Englishman."

One detractor, Pohkehpunnassoo, is quoted as having said to Hiacoomes: "I wonder that you, that are a young man, and have a wife and two children, should love the English and their ways, and forsake the Pawwaws. What would you do if any of you were sick? Whither would you go for help? If I were in your case, there should nothing draw me from our gods and Pawwaws."

Pohkehpunnassoo upon another occasion struck Hiacoomes "a grievous blow in the face" for saying that he was gladly obedient to the English in things both civil and religious. Of this incident Hiacoomes said: "I had one hand for injuries and another hand for God; and while I received wrong with the one, I laid the faster hold on God with the other." Hiacoomes' attacker, who was a sagamore, later became a convert. Before his conversion he was smitten with lightning "and fell down in appearance dead, with one leg in the fire, being grievously burned before any of the people were aware of it." He was indeed a brand plucked from the fire.

Another native unfriendly to the new religion, asking Hiacoomes how many gods the English worshipped and being answered one, reckoned up thirty-seven principal gods worshipped by the Indians and said: "Shall I throw away these thirty-seven gods for one?"

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It was indisputable that the Indian gods were mathematically superior to the divinity worshipped by the English; nevertheless, the labors of Mayhew continued to bear fruit, largely through the teachings of Hiacoomes, prompted by the clergyman. The poet Whittier has picturesquely, but not the less accurately, spoken of Hiacoomes as the Forest Paul of his people.

Diligently Hiacoomes continued to spread the lessons taught him at many Sunday evening conferences in the minister's house at Great Harbor. The Indians marveled that Hiacoomes, who formerly had been considered of little consequence among them and had had nothing to say at their meetings, was now the teacher of them all.

The Indians, having many calamities fallen upon them about this time, laid the cause of all their wants, sicknesses, and death upon their departure from their old heathenish ways. In one year a strange disease came amongst them. The Indians ran "up and down till they could run no longer, they made their faces as black as coale, snatched up any weapon, spake great words, but did not hurt." Only Hiacoomes held out against the belief that Christianity was the cause of all the ills of his race and continued his care about the things of God.

In 1646 a general sickness swept over Martha's Vineyard, but this time it was observed by the superstitious Indians that those among them who had harkened to the missionary's "pious Instructions" did not taste so deeply of the plague, while Hiacoomes, whom they had scoffed as an "Englishman," entirely escaped its ravages. They were amazed by the fact that one of their number who had repudiated the powwows should escape illness, while the orthodox were stricken. Improved sanitary conditions among the Christianized Indians and a fear of disease on the part of the pagans, which lowered their powers of resistance, may account in part for the phenomenon.

Whatever the cause, a deep impression on the Indians was the outcome. Hiacoomes was sent for by Myoxeo, the chief man of a village of Indians, and by Towanquatick, a "sovereign Prince," to disclose to them all that he knew and did in the ways of God. The great men of the island, who had scorned Hiacoomes when a pagan, received him with respect as a Christian teacher. At this meeting many Indians were "gathered together." Hiacoomes "shewed unto them all things he knew concerning God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost." He told them that he feared not the thirty-seven principal Indian gods, yet

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was preserved; that he feared the great God only, and worshipped Him. He reckoned up to them many of their sins, as having many gods and going to the powwows. For the first time the Indians seemed sensible of having sin; formerly they had thought of sin as something not nearly concerning them, but somebody else. The chief result of the meeting was the conversion of Myoxeo, who appears to have been the first of the chief men of the Island to become a Praying Indian. Hiacoomes and Myoxeo—the lowly and the high—within three years of each other had seen the Light.

Soon after this event, Towanquatick, encouraged by other pagan Indians, invited Mr. Mayhew to give a public meeting in person, to make known to the Indians the word of God.

Said Towanquatick to the missionary: "You shall be to us as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels; even so shall you fill us with everlasting knowledge."

It is an interesting insight into human nature to know that as long ago as 1647 the degeneracy of the younger generation was lamented among the Indians just as it is today in other quarters. In what Mayhew identifies as "an Indian Speech worthy of consideration," the old sachem recounted: "That a long time agon, they had wise men which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge, but they are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them: and now men lead a giddy life in ignorance, till they are white headed, and though ripe in years, yet they go without wisdom unto their graves." He wondered how the Indians could be fools still, when the English had been thirty years in the country, to give them good example.

The meeting held with Towanquatick and his braves was the first held in a public forum by the missionary, who theretofore had confined his preaching to individual Indians or to small groups kindly disposed to the new way.

The conversion of Towanquatick, a nobleman, was the cause of much encouragement to the missionary for, on the Vineyard as elsewhere, the native ruling class was jealous of the influence of the new religion that threatened to wreck their power over a tribute paying peasantry. The introduction of Christianity among the Indians had the tendency to mitigate the arbitrary rule and oppression of the sachems. The humble Indian learned from the white man something of the laws of natural right. He was content no longer to live in a

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state of submissive servitude to an irresponsible ruler. He was willing to pay tribute, and was encouraged to do so by Mayhew, but he insisted that his tribute or tax should be regulated by acknowledged and reasonable measures. The practice of the sachems of taking any property that struck their fancy whenever they desired it, and as often as they willed, had long ceased to charm the humble subject as an economic or governmental doctrine, but until the coming of the English, it had been accepted as a matter not to be disputed.

It required a large degree of diplomacy and skill and great persuasive powers on the part of the missionary to convert to the Christian religion a member of the Indian nobility under such circumstances.

In the story of his work, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., tells of several "providences" that "advantaged" his progress in the conversion of the Indians. In times of sickness he pitted his skill in surgery against the mummeries of the powwows. Even so simple a remedy as bleeding the patient was found more efficacious than the antics of the Indian medicine man. The methods employed by the young missionary can best be told in his own language as recounted in a tract published in London:

1. There was one *Iesogat*, about 60 years of age, who was sick of a consuming disease, inasmuch as the *Indian Pawwawes* gave him over for a dead man:—Upon which resolution of all the Pawwawees in the Island, the sick distressed Heathen upon a Lord's day came unto mee, (the rest of the English being present), to desire me to pray unto God for him: And when I had, by reasoning with him, convinced him of the weaknesse and wickednesse of the *Pawwawees* power; and that if health were to be found, it must be had from him that gave life and health and all things; I recommended this case unto the Lord, whereof he rejoyced, gave me thanks, and he speedily recovered unto his former strength.

2. In this present year, 1647, the eldest sonne of one Pakapanesue, a great Sagamore of the Island, being very sick, took occasion to send for me to come unto him: and when I came unto him, I found him not more weak in body, than strong in earnest desire that I should pray unto God for him; so I instructed him and prayed for him: And when I had ended, of his own accord he spake these words:—*Taubot mannit nuh quam Covin, viz.* I thank thee God,—I am heavy to sleep; and so I left holding forth good affections:—But shortly after he was changed altogether, and contrary to the perswasion of other Indians, of several Townes, sought unto witches. The Heathen seeing this, they forsook the wigwam, saying, We leave the house for the Devill, and them that would tarry; this newse being brought to me, I much

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marvailed at, yet sent him this message, *viz.* Tell *Saul*, (for the sick man was by the English so called,) that when I was with him, I thought, as I then told him, that he would live, because he sought for life unto the living God, where if any where it was to be found; but tell him now, that I think he will dye. I also added the example of *Ahaziah*, who because he had the knowledge of the great God, and sought the inferiour God, God was angry with him, and killed with him: And so for that this *Saul* was informed of the true God, and is fallen from him to the earthen gods here below; that God will kill him also; and so it shortly came to passe.

Not long after this event, it happened that the eldest son of the sagamore *Towanquatick* became sick of a fever. This young man, his faith in the powwows shaken, sent for Mayhew.

And when I came [recounts Mayhew], his father and himself desired me to pray for him, the which I did in their owne language, and promised to come againe unto him very shortly if he mended not, and use some other meanes also for his recovery: When I came againe unto him, I found him very ill, asked him (together with his friends) whether they were willing I should let him blood? acquainting them that we used so to do in such cases. After some consideration, they consented thereunto, notwithstanding the *Parwaws* had told them before, that he should dye, because he sought not unto them: so I bound his arme, and with my Pen-knife let him blood, he bled freely, but was exceeding faint, which made the Heathen very sad; but in a short time, he begun to be very cheerfull, whereat they much rejoyced, &c. So I left them, and it pleased the Lord the man was in a short time after very well.

In the year 1647 was held a great "generall Meeting" of all the Indians that were inclined to Christianity to confirm and assist one another in their new belief.

This Assemble was held in Mr. *Mayhew's* Presence, and therein he tells us, that twelve of the young Men went and shook *Sacochauimo*, *Towanquatick's* eldest Son, by the Hand, telling him, *They loved him, and would go with him in GOD's Way*; and the elder Men encouraged them, and deseired them never to forget these Promises. And so after they had eaten, and sang part of a *Psalm* in their own Language, and Mr. *Mayhew* had prayed, they returned home with Expressions of great Joy and Thankfulness.

Matthew Mayhew says of this meeting: "It pleas'd God to give such success to these endeavours, that it was not long before he [Thomas Mayhew, Jr.] obtain'd *pnblick audience* among them, when

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generally he spent more time *after sermon* in reasoning with them than *in sermon*; whereby I must tell my reader, it came to pass that their religion was as well in *head* as *heart*."

It had been Mayhew's intent to give the Indians a meeting in person once a month, but after the first meeting the Indians, thirsting for knowledge, desired that he preach to them oftener than he could well attend, so he determined to give them audience once a fortnight, and upon other occasions that they should be attended by Hiacoomes.

To these lectures came men, women, and children. The missionary would open services with a prayer, then he would preach, catechize, and close by singing a psalm, all in their own language.

The missionary, continues Matthew Mayhew, "is incessant" in his labor, "he spares not his body by night nor day; lodges in their houses, proposes such things to their consideration he thinks firstly requisite, solves all their scruples and objections, and tells them they might plainly see, it was in good will for their good, from whom he expected no reward; that he sustained so much loss of time, and endur'd wet and cold."

Says another writer: "His talent lay in a sweet affable way of conversation" that won the affections of his wild converts.

"He treats them in a condescending and friendly manner. He denies himself, and does his utmost to oblige and help them. He takes all occasions to show the sincere and tender love and goodwill he bore them; and as he grows in their acquaintance and affection, he proceeds to express his great concern and pity for their *immortal souls*. He tells them of their deplorable condition under the power of malicious devils, who not only kept them in ignorance of those earthly good things which might render their lives in this world much more comfortable, but also of those which might bring them to eternal happiness in the world to come—what a kind and mighty god the English serve, and how the Indians might come into his favor and protection."

Numerous obstacles, however, impeded the progress of the mission. Many of the Indians objected to the new religion saying that their own meetings, ways, and customs associated with dance and song, incantations and gymnastics were to them more advantageous and agreeable than the sober ritual of the English, who had nothing to offer but "talking and praying." Others feared the sagamores, who generally were against the new way. There were three things that the Indians gen-

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erally inquired into. They wanted to know what earthly riches they would get by becoming Christians; how the sagamores and rulers would look at it; and what the powwows would do. Greatest of all was the fear of the anger of the powwows who bewitched enemies and unbelievers. This was the strongest cord that bound the Indian to to the old order.

The powwows by their diabolical sorceries kept the Indian in a slavish state of fear and subjection. In many places and in many tongues, earthly priests have professed strange powers from above over the destination of man's soul in its eternal flight.

We are glad to learn that the persecution of heretics is not an attribute of Christianity alone, for we are told that the sagamore Towanquatick was exceedingly maligned by the powwows for his deviation from the Indian faith and that "in 1647 his Life was villainously attempted for his favouring the *Christian* Religion: but his great Deliverance inflamed him with the more active Zeal to espouse and assert it."

This incident was reported by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in these words:

We had not long continued the meeting, but the Sagamore *Towanquatick* met with a sad tryal, for he being at a Weare where some Indians were a fishing, where also was an English man, as he lay along upon a matt on the ground asleep, by a little light fire, the night being very dark, an Indian came down, as being ready fitted for the purpose, and being about six or eight paces from him, let flie a broad headed arrow, purposing by all probability to drench the deadly arrow in his heart blood, but the Lord prevented it; for notwithstanding all the advantages he had, instead of the heart he hit the eye-brow, which like a brow of steele turned the point of the arrow, which, glancing away, slit the top of his nose to the bottome. A great stirre there was presently, the Sagamore sate up, and bled much, but was not much hurt through the mercy of God; the darknesse of the night hid the murtherer, and he is not discovered to this day. The next morning I went to see the Sagamore, and I found him praising God for his great deliverance, both himself and all the Indians, wondering that he was yet alive. The cause of his being shot, as the Indians said, was for his walking with the English; and it is also conceived, both by them and us that his forwardnesse for the meeting was one thing, which (with the experience I have had of him since) gives me matter of strong perswasion that he beares in his brow the markes of the Lord Jesus.

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Another Indian had news "often brought to him that his life was laid in wait for, by those that would surely take it from him, they desired him therefore with speed to turn back again; The man came to me [Thomas Mayhew, Jr.] once or twice, and I perceived that he was troubled, he asked my counsel about removing his Habitation, yet told me, That if they should stand with a sharp weapon against his breast, and tell him that they would kill him presently, if he did not turn to them, but if he would, they would love him, yet he had rather lose his life than keep it on such terms; for (said he) when I look back on my life as it was before I did pray to God, I see it to be wholly naught, and do wholly dislike it, and hate those naughty waies; but when I look on that way which God doth teach me in his Word, I see it to be wholly good; and do wholly love it."

"Blessed be God that he is not overcome by these temptations," concludes Mayhew.

Christian meetings went on "to the Joy of some *Indians*, and the Envy of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those who attended the Lecture, and blasphemed *the* God whom they worshipped."

In the year 1648 was held a great convention. At this meeting there was in attendance a "Mixed Multitude, both of *Infidel* and *Christian* Indians, and those who were in doubt of Christianity."

In this Assembly the dreadful Power of the *Pawaws* was publicly debated, many asserting their Power to hurt and kill, and alledging numerous instances that were evident and undoubted among them: and then some asking aloud, Who is there that does not fear them? *Others reply'd, There is not a man that does not.*

Now it was that Hiacoomes rose to his feet and facing the great concourse, defied the Indian gods, challenging, "tho the Pawaws might hurt those that feared them, yet he believed and trusted in the GREAT GOD of Heaven and Earth, and therefore all the Pawaws could do him no Harm, and he feared them not."

The awed multitude gazed upon the speaker, awaiting the wrath of thirty-seven gods to descend. Minutes passed, but nothing came. At which the Indians "exceedingly wondered," and observing that Hiacoomes remained unhurt, began to esteem him happy in being delivered from the terrible power of the powwows.

In casting aside the prejudices of yesterday for the light of a new day, the lowly Hiacoomes in his speech reached heights attained by few

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men. The episode of Hiacoomes braving the time honored superstitions of his race and defying the beliefs of generations in demons and spirits that struck anathema to unbelievers is worthy the poet's song.

One wonders, with material of this sort upon which to draw, that the cherry tree traditions of our country could have so long endured.

The spell of the powwows weakened, several of the assembly took courage to profess that they too now believed in the white man's God and would fear the powwows no more. They desired Hiacoomes to tell them what this great God would have them do, and what were the things that offended him. Hiacoomes responded promptly with a list of forty-five or fifty sorts of sins committed by the Indians, "and as many contrary *Duties* neglected"—or sins of omission—which so "amazed" and touched their consciences that by the end of the meeting twenty-two novitiates were added to the number of converts, among whom was Momonequem, a son of one of the principal Indians, who in after time became a preacher.

In this connection it is of interest to note that many of the most persevering converts were young men of good family whose minds had not been hardened by precedence.

Momonequem was one such convert. It was he who in 1651 accompanied the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., to Boston, where he was interviewed by the celebrated Rev. John Wilson, pastor of the First Church in that town, by whom he is described as "a grave and solemn Man, with whom I had serious discourse, Mr. *Mahewe* being present as Interpreter between us, who is a great proficient both in knowledge and utterance, and love, and practice of the things of Christ, and of Religion, much honoured and revered, and attended by the rest of the *Indians* there, who are solemnly Covenanted together, I know not how many, but between thirty or forty at the least."

Mayhew tells us that when Momonequem's wife was suffering three days in travail, Momonequem refused the "Help of a Pawwaw who lived within two Bow-shot of his door," but waited "patiently on God till they obtained a merciful Deliverance by Prayer." It is not known what Momonequem's wife thought of this exemplification of faith without works, but probably it did not matter as women were of no great importance in the seventeenth century, particularly among the Indians.

When reports of Hiacoomes' defiance of the powwows reached

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them, the entire island priesthood became greatly enraged. The gauntlet which had been cast at them was accepted, and they threatened the utter destruction of Hiacoomes.

A powwow, very angry and loud, broke in upon a meeting one Sunday, where Hiacoomes was preaching, and challenged the converts with the taunt: "I know all the meeting Indians are liars; you say you don't care for the Pawwaws." Then calling two or three of them by name, he railed at them, and told them they were deceived, for the powwows could kill all the Praying Indians if they set about it.

Hiacoomes retorted that he put all the powwows under his heel, pointing to it; that he could stand in the midst of all the powwows on the island with safety and without fear, and they could do him no harm for he would remember Jehovah.

For a considerable time Hiacoomes was the especial object of the sorceries of the powwows. Every trick of their craft was used by them in their effort to disable him, but to no avail. Hiacoomes was immune to the psychological bugaboos of the pagan priests, one of whom later confessed in public of having often employed his god, who appeared unto him in the form of a snake, to kill, wound, or lame Hiacoomes. His efforts proving ineffectual, he began to seriously consider Hiacoomes' assertion that the Christian God was greater than the gods he served, and in time resolved to worship the Englishman's God with Hiacoomes.



CHAPTER X

THE FOREST PAUL—(PART II)

The Rev. Thomas Mayhew was quick to improve the advantage offered by the downfall of the powwows. He increased his ministrations, sparing neither health nor fatigue as he traveled many times about the island by foot to preach at various Indian villages.

In smoky wigwams at night, by the flickering light of a tent fire, he would relate to a throng of primitive children the ancient stories of the Bible; the birth of Christ in a manger in far off Bethlehem, the ascent to the mount of Calvary, the sacrifice that purged man of his sins and gave him everlasting life.

And the Indians listened in wonder, and only when the night was far gone and the fire had burned itself into bright red bits of log and smoldering timber, and the cold, damp air of morning had pressed in upon their consciousness, would the assembly break up; the listeners in little knots stealing forth in the darkness to their hovels, speaking to each other in lowered voices of the white man's God and the amazing tales they had heard.

The labors of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., on the Vineyard and John Eliot on the continent now began to attract the attention of persons of wealth in England, who were encouraged to advance money for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians. Interest abroad had been aroused by letters written by the missionaries describing the nature and progress of their work. The first letter written by Mayhew was dated November 18, 1647, and was published in London in 1649, in a tract entitled "Glorious Progress of the Gospel."*

Matthew Mayhew refers to this quickening of English philanthropy: "Thus Mr. *Mayhew* continu'd his almost inexpressible labour and viligant care for the good of the *Indians*, whom he justly esteemed his joy and crown: and having seen so great a blessing on his faithful endeavours in the making known the name of his Lord among these Gentiles, with indefatigable pains, expecting no reward but alone from him, who said, *go teach all nations: lo, I am with you*: God moved the

*Other letters appear in "The Light Appearing," etc., pub. 1651; "Strength Out of Weaknesse," etc., pub. 1652; and "Tears of Repentance," etc., pub. 1653.

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hearts of some godly Christians in *England* to advance a considerable sum for encouraging the propagating and preaching the gospel to the *Indians of New England*."

At first these contributions were individual in character, but as reports continued to show satisfactory results, the patrons of the work decided that it would be wiser to unite their efforts and so there was passed by the Long Parliament, July 27, 1649, an act establishing a corporation for the propagation of the gospel in New England, consisting of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants, called "the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England."

By direction of Oliver Cromwell a general fund amounting to thousands of pounds was raised throughout England and Wales for the benefit of this corporation, and invested in real estate. The corporation had the distinction of being the only Protestant missionary society in the world.

Supervision of the society's work in New England was intrusted to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who agreed to act as local agents for the corporation in the management of its affairs and in the distribution of its funds.

The work of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., came under the patronage of this society some time before 1654, largely through the intervention of the Rev. Henry Whitfield.

About the end of the summer of 1650 this gentleman, who was pastor of the church at Guilford, Connecticut, while on a voyage to Boston in order to take passage to England, was obliged to put in at the Vineyard, by reason of contrary winds. "There he tells us he found a small Plantation, and an *English* Church gathered, whereof this Mr. *Mayhew* was Pastor; that he had attained a good Understanding in the *Indian* Tongue, could speak it well, and had laid the first Foundations of the Knowledge of CHRIST among the Natives there, by preaching, &c."

Mr. Whitfield spent ten days on the island. His writings preserve an excellent account of Thomas Mayhew's mission. He spoke with Hiacoomes, Mr. Mayhew acting as interpreter, unto all of which Hiacoomes gave him "a very good satisfactory and Christian answer." He attended the young missionary to a private Indian meeting where one young Indian, he reports, prayed a quarter of an hour, and the next day to the Indian lecture, where Thomas Mayhew, Jr., preached and

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then catechized the Indian children, who answered "readily and modestly in the Principles of Religion; some of them answered in the English and some in the Indian tongue."

Says Whitfield:

Thus having seen a short model of his way, and of the paines he took, I made some inquiry about Mr. Mahu himself, and about his subsistence, because I saw but small and slender appearance of outward conveniences of life, in any comfortable way; the man himself was modest, and I could get but little from him; but after, I understood from others how short things went with him, and how he was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children which depended upon him, to provide necessaries for them; having not halfe so much yeerly coming in, in a settled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there amongst them. Yet he is chearfull amidst these straits, and none hear him to complain. The truth is, he will not leave the work, in which his heart is engaged; for upon my knowledge, if he would have left the work, and imployed himself elsewhere, he might have had a more competent and comfortable maintenance.

So labored Thomas Mayhew, Jr., co-proprietary of sixteen islands, and son of an English governor. He could easily have overcome his slender subsistence had he directed his talents to the buying and selling and farming of great tracts of land. But had he done so his name would not today be revered. He would have been only another large planter or prosperous business man, honored in life and unsung in death.

He had been in correspondence abroad for a number of years, yet his modesty forbade his mentioning his own circumstances. Thus it was that the English merchants who had been so liberal with money for the Indians had overlooked the missionary who was plowing in the Vineyard of God and who had established the first English mission to the Indians of America.†

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., knew not the slogan "it pays to advertise." He made no effort to "educate" the public in what he was doing. He did not spend thousands of dollars in advertising before he had converted a single Indian. He had no chest, no campaign manager, no staff of two-minute speakers dignified with military rank—colonels,

†During the stay of the colonists at Roanoke in Virginia, Thomas Heriot, the scientist and philosopher, propounded the Bible to the Indians. Manteo in 1587 and later Pocahontas became Christians. A permanent mission appears not to have been conducted.

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majors, and captains—he held no luncheons, but he *did* convert Indians, which was his goal, and for which task he conserved all his talents and energy.

His methods were not businesslike, they lacked organization, but they were lovable. They can be appreciated even by gentlemen dedicated to the task of picturing Jesus Christ as a salesman “selling” Christianity, or George Washington as America’s great realtor because he bought and sold land on a large scale.

We shall make no effort to popularize Thomas Mayhew, Jr., as an American business man, because he was not. He suffered financially as a consequence, yet in time his merits came to be known. The Apostle Eliot heard of him and encouraged him to continue his work notwithstanding its many discouragements. He wrote to England mentioning the Vineyard clergyman as a young beginner who was in extreme want of books, and begged aid for him. It was books that Eliot thought the missionary was in need of, for he knew nothing of his financial straits. It remained for Whitfield to ferret out the facts.

In the year that Whitfield published his book, “The Light Appearing,” the commissioners of the United Colonies wrote Mayhew as follows, evidently upon orders of the society in England:

NEW-HAVEN Sep: 12: 1651.

SIR:—We have heard of the blessing God hath bestowed on your labours in the Gospel amongst the poore Indians and desire with thankfulness to take notice of the same, and from the appearance of these first fruits to bee stirred up to seeke unto and waite upon the lord of the harvist that hee would send more labourers with the former and latter showers of his sperit that good corn may abundantly Spring up and this barren Wildernes become a frutfull feild yea the garden of God: and that wee might not bee wanting in the trust committed to us for the furtherance and incoragement of this work wee thought good to let you understand ther is paid by the Corporacon in London £30 for part of Mr Gennors librarye and as they informe us a Catalogue of the bookes sent over (which is for your encouragement). Wee hope you have Received of els desire you would looke after them from Mr. Eliott, or any other that may have them: or if ther bee any eror wee desire to heare itt: there are some houes and hatchetts sent over for the Indians encoragement of which your Indians may have pt if you think meet, and bee pleased to give them a note to Mr Rawson of Boston of what shalbe needful for their use, especially those that may bee most willing to laboure: wee alsoe are

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informed there is an £100 given by some of Exeter towards this worke of which some pt to your selfe, but know not the quantitie: wee should bee glad to heare how the work of God goes on amongst them with you that soe wee might enforme the Corporation in England, and have our harts more enlarged to God for them, soe with our best Respects wee Rest

As far as can now be ascertained, this was the first remuneration received by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in the eight years of his service as an Indian missionary. It had taken the English philanthropists and the commissioners of the United Colonies a long time to discover the unassuming missionary on the lonely island.

Prospects were now brighter for the successful maintenance of the mission than ever before. In a letter addressed to Whitfield, dated "Great Harbour, uppon the Vineyard, October 16th, 1651," the missionary describes the progress of his work at this time:

And now through the mercy of God [writes he] there are an hundred and ninetie nine men women and children that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever living God. There are now two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off my house *Hiacoomes* teacheth twice a day at the nearest and *Mumanequem* accordingly at the farthest; the last day of the week they come unto me to be informed touching the subject they are to handle.

This winter I intend, if the Lord will, to set up a school to teach the Indians to read, *viz.* the children, and also any young men that are willing to learne.

Shortly after the departure of Mr. Whitfield from the island there happened a thing "which amazed the whole island" and which greatly accelerated the progress of the new religion. At a public meeting of converts two powwows came forward and asked the privilege of joining in membership with the Praying Indians that they might "travel in the ways of that God whose name is Jehovah." They revealed and denounced the "diabolical mysteries" of their craft, and professing repentance, entreated God to have mercy on them for their sins and to teach them His way.

One of them confessed that "at first he came to be a *Patwaw* by Diabolical Dreams, wherein he saw the Devill in the likenesse of four living Creatures; one was like a man which he saw in the Ayre, and this told him that he did know all things upon the Island, and what was

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to be done; and this he said had its residence over his whole body. Another was like a Crow, and did look out sharply to discover mischiefs coming towards him, and had its residence in his head. The third was like to a Pidgeon, and had its place in his breast, and was very cunning about any businesse. The fourth was like a Serpent, very subtle to doe mischief, and also to doe great cures, and these he said were meer Devills, and such as he had trusted to for safety, and did labour to rise up for the accomplishment of any thing in his diabolicall craft, but now he saith, that he did desire that the Lord would free him from them, and that he did repent in his heart, because of his sin.

"The other said his Conscience was much troubled for his sin, and they both desired the Lord would teach them his wayes, have mercy upon them, and pardon their sins, for Jesus Christ his sake."

It was "a great occasion of praising the Lord," concludes Mayhew, "to see these poor naked sons of *Adam*, and slaves to the Devil from their birth, to come toward the Lord as they did, with their joynts shaking, and their bowels trembling, their spirits troubled, and their voices with much fervency, uttering words of sore displeasure against sin and Satan, which they had imbraced from their Childhood with so much delight; accounting it also now their sin that they had not the knowledge of God," and that they had served the devil, the great enemy of both God and man, and had been so hurtful in their lives; and yet being very thankful that, through the mercy of God, "they had an opportunity to be delivered out of that dangerous condition."

We are told that the Praying Indians greatly rejoiced at this turn of events, which indeed presaged a new era.

A convert about this time was Tequanonim, who was reputed "very notorious." That he should forsake his old ways, his friends, and his lucrative employment to follow the Christian faith was no small thing.

He admitted that before his conversion he had been possessed "from the crowne of the head to the soal of the foot" with Pawwaw-nomas, or imps, not only in the shape of living creatures, as fowls, fishes, and creeping things, but brass, iron, and stone. His faith in the efficacy of these things, living and inanimate, had been shaken by two things; first, conversations he had held with Thomas Mayhew, Sr., who had taken occasion to discourse with him about the way of true happiness; and second, the fact that when his squaw was ill, the more he powwowed her, the sicker she became. He agreed that "since the

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Word of God hath been taught unto them in this place, the *Pawwaws* have been much foiled in their devillish tasks, and that instead of curing have rather killed many."

Following the conversion of Tequanonim there came pressing in at one lecture about fifty Indian converts. The missionary observed that the Indians generally came in families, the parents bringing their children with them, saying: "I have brought my children, too; I would have my children serve God with us; I desire that this son and this daughter may worship Jehovah." And if they were old enough to speak, their parents would have them say something to show their willingness to serve the Lord.

The new religion now became so popular that it is reported that a spy, sent by one of the powerful powwows of the island to the Indian lecture to report to him what went on among the Praying Indians, became a convert.

The first death among the "meeting Indians," as Thomas Mayhew, Jr., was accustomed to call them, took away a child of Hiacoomes, about five days old. Hiacoomes, secure in the faith of the new religion, was able "to carry himself well in it, and so was his wife also; and truly they gave an excellant example in this also, as they have in other things; here were no black faces for it as the manner of the Indians is, nor goods buried with it, nor hellish howlings over the dead, but a patient resigning of it to him that gave it; There were some English at the burial, and many Indians to whom I spake something of the Resurrection, and as we were going away, one of the Indians told me he was much refreshed in being freed from their old customes, as also to hear of the Resurrection of good men and their children to be with God."

In the spring of 1652 occurred a noteworthy event. In that year the Christian Indians of their own accord asked the missionary that they might have some method settled among them for the exercise of order and discipline. They expressed a willingness to subject themselves to such punishments as God had appointed for those who broke His laws; and further requested that they might have men chosen among them to act with the missionary and his father to encourage those who "walked in an orderly manner," and to deal with those who did not, according to the word of God.

A day was designated for fasting and prayer and the Indians were

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assembled by the missionary. A number of converts spoke and ten or twelve prayed, not with a set form like children, but like men imbued with a good measure of the knowledge of God, their own wants, and the wants of others, with much affection, and many spiritual petitions favoring of a heavenly mind, we are told.

The missionary drew up an "Excellant Covenant" in the Indian language, which he read and made plain to the Indians, who with free consent united in it, and promised to keep it faithfully.

The covenant was as follows:

Wee the distressed Indians of the Vineyard (or Nope the Indian name of the Island) That beyond all memory have been without the True God, without a Teacher, and without a Law, the very Servants of Sin and Satan, and without Peace, for God did justly vex us for our sins; having lately through his mercy heard of the Name of the True God, the Name of his Son Jesus Christ, with the holy Ghost the Comforter, three Persons, but one most Glorious God, whose Name is JEHOVAH: We do praise His Glorious Greatness, and in the sorrow of our hearts, and shame of our faces, we do acknowledg and renounce our great and many sins, that we and our Fathers have lived in, do run unto him for mercy, and pardon for Christ Jesus sake; and we do this day through the blessing of God upon us, and trusting to his gracious help, give up our selves in this Covenant, Wee, our Wives, and Children, to serve JEHOVAH: And we do this day chuse JEHOVAH to be our God in Christ Jesus, our Teacher, our Law-giver in his Word, our King, our Judge, our Ruler by his Magistrates and Ministers; to fear God Himself, and to trust in Him alone for Salvation, both of Soul and Body, in this present Life, and the Everlasting Life to come, through his mercy in Christ Jesus our Savior, and Redeemer, and by the might of his Holy Spirit; to whom with the Father and Son, be all Glory everlasting. Amen.

In choosing rulers under this covenant, the Indians made choice of such among them as were best approved for piety and most likely to suppress wickedness.

This was the beginning of the Indian church at Martha's Vineyard, which the senior Mayhew was to fully organize with Indian officers and pastor eighteen years later. By the end of October there were 282 converts at Martha's Vineyard, not including children. Eight of these had been powwows who had forsaken "their diabolical Craft, and profitable Trade, as they held it, to turn into the ways of GOD."

Begun in obscurity, the work of the Vineyard mission was growing

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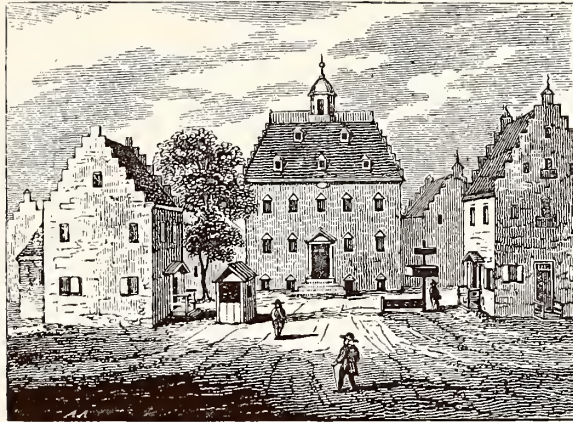
in attention. The pleas of Eliot, the publication of Mayhew's letter of 1647 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the publicity given the work by the Rev. Henry Whitfield, at length brought recognition of a pecuniary character. When Thomas Mayhew, Jr., became a salaried missionary of the English society is not definitely known, but it would appear that it was not until 1654 that such a relation was established. Irregular gratuities since the visit of Whitfield had come from abroad. During the years of inception the mission had been supported entirely from the private purse of the Mayhews.

At the annual meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies held in September of 1654 it was voted to allow Thomas Mayhew, Jr., for his "pains and laboure this yeare the sume of forty pounds," and for a schoolmaster to the Indians and other employees the sum of ten pounds apiece per annum. Added to this was a gift of ten pounds to the missionary "to dispose to sicke weake and well deserving Indians."

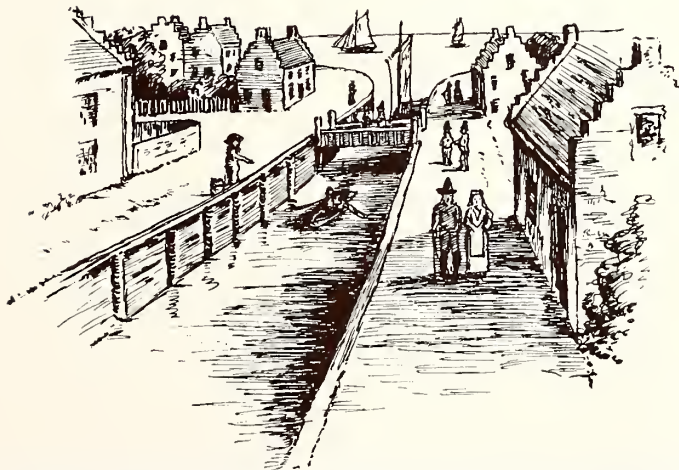
The commissioners also appropriated money for a meetinghouse to be built for the Indians in response to a suggestion from Mayhew; allowing for that purpose "the some of forty pounds, in Iron worke, Nayles, Glasse and such other pay . . . expecting the Indians should Improve theire labours to finish the same." A further allowance of eight pounds was granted for a boat "for the safe passage of your selfe and Indians betwixt the Island and the mayne" land; it to be "carefully preserved and Employed onely for the service Intended, and nott att the pleasure of the Indians Etc: upon other ocations."

Conditions had now radically changed. Instead of laboring upon private financial resources inadequate to carry on the work and handicapped by personal wants, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., was the recipient of an annual salary from the society, quite excellent in the values of that day and place. The grant of salary came after many years of unremunerated service, so that in the fourteen years that he labored as a missionary he received no more than an average yearly salary of eleven pounds, besides books. From this should be deducted costs paid out of his own pocket, and profits he could have amassed had he turned his thoughts to the betterment of his personal fortune and not devoted so much of his time to the duties of his calling.

In 1656 the commissioners raised his salary to fifty pounds, and again allotments were made for assistants. At this time the name of



PROVINCIAL HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY. HERE THOMAS MAYHEW HELD CONFERENCE WITH GOVERNOR LOVELACE



THE FISH BRIDGE, BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, WHERE THE QUIT RENTS OF TISBURY MANOR WERE PAID BY THOMAS MAYHEW, AS LORD OF THE MANOR

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Peter Folger appears on the pay roll of the society as one "Employed by Mr. Mayhew." The staff included two Indian interpreters, so-called, one of whom was Hiacoomes, a lay preacher.

In 1657, Thomas Mayhew, Sr., was voted ten pounds, the first appearance of his name on the salary rolls of the society.

The status of the missionary's work at this period is summarized by his son: "This worthy servant of the Lord continued his painful labours among them until the year 1657 in which time God was pleas'd to give such success to his faithful and unweary'd labour that many hundred men and women were added to the church; such who might truly be said to be *holy in conversation*, and for knowledge such who *needed not to be taught the first principles of religion*; besides the many hundred looser professors."

The Vineyard mission had been in existence fourteen years, and its organization was well perfected. Its superintendent felt he could now afford the time necessary for a short voyage to England, where matters connected with the patrimony of his wife and her brother demanded attention.

The merchant father of Mistress Mayhew and Thomas Paine had died sometime before 1653, leaving estates at Whittlebury and Greens Norton in Northamptonshire, one of which produced a revenue of one hundred forty pounds a year, a rich inheritance. Thomas Paine's mother, Mrs. Jane Mayhew, second wife of Governor Mayhew, had gone to England in 1642 "to settle her son's Right" to these estates, at which time a Sir William Bradshaw "challenged some interest during his Ladyes life, yett none to the Inheritance." A jury at Greens Norton found the true heirs to the land to be Thomas Paine, then under age, and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., as husband of Jane Paine.

How much of this estate was ever realized is uncertain. As late as 1646, and again in the following year, Thomas and Jane Mayhew executed powers of attorney to Captain Robert Harding, of Boston, to lease lands in Whittlebury. The distant residence of the Paine heirs and the unsettled conditions of the time make it problematic whether the full revenues of these properties ever found their way into the possession of their colonial claimants.

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in 1656, had asked permission of the commissioners to make the voyage, but they assuring him "that a worke of higher consideration would suffer much by his soe long absence advised

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him to send som other man." Permission, however, was granted the following year, induced by the fact that one of the purposes of the clergyman in making the trip was that he might give the English people a better idea of the progress of missionary work in America than he could do by letter "and to pursue the most proper Measures for the further Advancement of Religion among them."

In order to strikingly illustrate the progress of the gospel among the Indians and the effect of education on them, the missionary resolved to take with him one of his converts, a young native preacher who had been brought up by him in his own house. Naturally the intended departure of the missionary with one of their number aroused the greatest interest and excitement of the Indians.

The missionary's own projected absence was mourned in advance by his native flock, who could not easily bear his absence even so short a distance as Boston before they longed for his return.

Before his embarkation, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., arranged a farewell meeting with his native flock, and the legend is that he went to the place of the most distant assembly, where was held a service of worship and song, and where he gave his converts a parting precept to be steadfast in his absence. His faithful followers, loathe to leave him, followed him in his journey to the east end of the island, their numbers increasing at each meeting place until they neared the spot on the "Old Mill Path," since known in song and story as the "Place on the Way-side," where had gathered hundreds of Indians in anticipation of his return to meet with them. "Here a great combined service was held, and the simple children of this flock heard their beloved shepherd give a blessing to them and say the last sad farewells to them individually and as a congregation. It was a solemn occasion, long held in memory by all who participated."

It was the last service for the Indians ever held by Thomas Mayhew, Jr. Shortly after, he embarked for London. Says Daniel Gookin, "in the month of November, Mr. Mayhew, the son, took shipping at Boston, to pass for England, about some special concerns, intending to return with the first opportunity; for he left his wife and children at the Vineyard: and in truth his heart was very much in that work, to my knowledge, I being well acquainted with him. He took his passage for England in the best of two ships then bound for London, whereof one James Garrett was master. The other ship whereof John

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Pierce was commander, I went passenger therein. . . . Mr. Garrett's ship, which was about four hundred tons, had good accommodations greater far than the other: and she had aboard her a very rich lading of goods, but most especially of passengers, about fifty in number; whereof divers of them were persons of great worth and virtue, both men and women; especially Mr. Mayhew, Mr. Davis, Mr. Ince, and Mr. Pelham, all scholars, and masters of arts, as I take it, most of them."

The ship cleared from Boston and headed for Old England with its "precious cargo," including Mr. Mayhew, his brother-in-law, and Indian convert; never to be heard of again.

It is not known what disaster befell the youthful clergyman. Only can it be said that his ship became long overdue, while her companion ship reached its destination in safety. Weeks passed into months while the clergy of England and the patrons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel waited expectantly for the arrival of the renowned missionary from the wilds of America with his Indian convert.

Hope in time gave way to fear. Word was returned to the Vineyard that Master Garrett and his ship was missing.

It became common opinion on both sides of the Atlantic that the missionary would never again be seen. But the missionary's father, as late as August of the following year, wrote: "I cannot yett give my sonnes over." In his heart lingered hope that they had been captured by pirates and held for ransom, or had perhaps been cast ashore upon some strange land to return in after years, to the joy and amazement of all their kin.

Anxiously the old man scanned the seas from the shore of his island home for the ship that might bring news of his missing son and stepson. Prayers choked his throat as each succeeding vessel whose white sails gladdened his weary eyes came to anchor in the harbor off his house. But none of them brought the news he yearned. The hopes of the old patriarch died at last. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., "the young Christian warrior," was the first of hundreds of Vineyard sons to perish at sea.

Whether he died in some great ocean cataclysm, whether storm or iceburg struck his ship and foundered it, or whether it was boarded and captured by the crew of some pirate vessel and its passengers put to the sword, while its sister ship raced on ahead out of sight and sound, will never be known.

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Contemporary writers refer to the loss of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., with sorrowing words. His fellow-worker, John Eliot, in a letter published in London, penned the touching plaint, saying simply: "The Lord has given us this amazing blow, to take away my Brother Mayhew." The commissioners of the United Colonies referred to his death as a loss "which att present seemeth to be almost Irreparable."

Morton, in "New England's Memorial," says: "Amongst many considerable passengers there went Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun., of Martin's Vineyard, who was a very precious man. He was well skilled, and had attained to a great proficiency in the Indian language, and had a great propensity upon his spirit to promote God's glory in their conversion; whose labors God blessed for the doing of much good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed amongst them, as also in reference unto the preaching of God's word amongst the English there . . . the loss of him was very great."

The "Place on the Way-side" became to the Indian a hallowed spot. In their thoughts it was associated as the place where last they had seen their lost shepherd, and it is stated that the ground where he stood "was for all that Generation remembered with sorrow." The attachment of the converts was genuine, for we are told that "for many Years after his departure, he was seldom named without Tears."

It is a part of the legendary lore of this spot that as the Indians saw the form of their beloved teacher vanish into distance, and ere they themselves turned their heavy hearts homeward, they piled by the side of the trail a little heap of stones in remembrance of the place where they had parted with their leader with embraces and prayers, and many tears, as Paul's converts did with him at Miletus, when they "all wept sore and fell on his neck and kissed him."

To the Indian the ocean was a vast illimitable expanse whose mysteries and restless solitudes embosomed indescribable dangers and terrors. They feared the white man's sails, however wonderful, would fail to waft back to them their staunch and gentle friend.

When in time these fears became realized, Indians passing the trail dropped in memory a stone upon the sacred cairn, until in time it grew into an imposing heap, tribute to the scholar who had deigned to teach them the ways of the English and their God.

There by the wayside, the rude monument, more eloquent than the greatest cathedral built on blood and conquest, stood until the storms

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and winds of after generations and browsing herds gradually dismantled and overthrew it.

At the place of this historic scene, on July 27, 1901, the Martha's Vineyard Chapter of Edgartown, Daughters of the American Revolution, dedicated a bronze tablet, set in a large boulder, placed on top of the stones. "The boulder was brought from Gay Head by descendants of the 'poor and beloved' natives, who raised the foundations when passing by in generations since."

The tablet bears the following inscription:

THIS ROCK MARKS THE "PLACE ON THE WAYSIDE"
WHERE THE
REV. THOMAS MAYHEW, JR.,
SON OF GOV. MAYHEW,
FIRST PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD,
AND THE FIRST MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS OF NEW
ENGLAND,
SOLEMNLY AND AFFECTIONATELY TOOK LEAVE OF THE INDIANS,
WHO, IN LARGE NUMBERS, HAD FOLLOWED HIM DOWN
FROM THE WESTERN PART OF THE ISLAND,
BEING HIS LAST WORSHIP AND INTERVIEW WITH THEM
BEFORE EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND IN 1657,
FROM WHENCE HE NEVER RETURNED
NO TIDINGS EVER COMING FROM THE SHIP OR ITS PASSENGERS.
IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF HIM
THOSE INDIANS RAISED THIS PILE OF STONE, 1657-1901.
ERECTED BY THE MARTHA'S VINEYARD CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
THE LAND GIVEN FOR THIS PURPOSE BY
CAPTAIN BENJAMIN COFFIN CROMWELL, OF TISBURY;
THE BOULDER BROUGHT FROM GAY HEAD, A GIFT
FROM THE RESIDENT INDIANS.
TABLET PURCHASED WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MAYHEW'S
DESCENDANTS.

The ceremonies at the unveiling of the memorial were closed by greetings from an Indian deacon of the church at Gay Head.

Mr. Prince, writing in 1727, states that he himself had seen the rock on descending ground upon which the missionary sometimes used to stand and preach to the great numbers crowding to hear him: and that the place on the wayside where he solemnly and affectionately took his leave of that poor and beloved people of his was for all that generation remembered with sorrow.

So ended the labors of the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., America's

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young and courageous scholar who, at the age of twenty-one, forswore the pursuit of wealth and power that he might dedicate his life to the advancement of an humble people.

His life was one of toil and self-sacrifice, yet at the age of thirty-six years he passed to immortality. He had preached in no great cathedral. He had been pastor to no parishioner of wealth or power. He had indulged in no eccentric means to make his name known abroad. Modest and self-effacing, he had embarked in missionary work among the Indians at his own expense, when the prospects were without hope of salary or reward.

In the language of his father, the spirit of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., was "of God and not of man." No stone marks his grave. His monument is in the memory of man.



CHAPTER XI

THE PATRIARCH

When the senior Thomas Mayhew made his first visit to the Vineyard in an attempt to secure an Indian deed to the territory, he is thought to have brought with him an interpreter from the mainland. He soon perceived the practical value of a personal knowledge of the native tongue and the benefits that would flow from an understanding of the language in harmonizing relations between the races that were to contend for a livelihood together. He wished for friendly relations unstained by blood. He felt that an understanding of the Indian tongue would do much to promote this. He knew that prejudice is fostered by the sound of a strange tongue and the inability to grasp the psychology of an alien mind.

Both father and son applied themselves to a study of the Indian speech. The task was tedious and laborious. It was a disheartening work that had to be mastered at the outset, before much else could be done; a labor which discouraged many hearts less stout and determined. Wood comments that the Indian language was hard to learn, few of the English being able to speak any of it, or capable of the right pronunciation. Jesuits returned to France unable to master its sounds, and Father Ralle tells of his speech being ridiculed by Indians. The Franciscans, of California, made no great attempt to learn the language, but relied largely on interpreters.

The speech was a language which "delighted greatly" in compounding words. A word in its final state often presented a formidable aspect. Cotton Mather jestingly remarks that the language must have been growing ever since the confusion of Babel. To demonstrate its uncivility in a striking way, he tells us that *demons* of the invisible world, who could master Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, were utterly baffled by the Algonquin tongue.

The Indian language was a tongue the learning of which offered little enrichment to the student who had toilsomely floundered through its labyrinths of parts of speech. It had no literature worthy of the name, no books, no great saga to offer as a reward to the philologist who would master its intricacies; only a few folk stories surpassed by the Greeks centuries before.

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Worst of all there was no aid by which the language could be learned, no grammar, no written specimens from which word sounds could be studied, for the language was an unwritten one. The sole mode of procedure open to one who sought to learn it was to strain one's ears in an effort to catch its sense in fragmentary bits from Indian companions, who knew little or no English.

The language was one which had no affinity with any European tongue from which aid might be brought to bear. One who has mastered a foreign language under the most favorable circumstances can appreciate the enormity of the task which confronted the English missionary setting out upon his study.

Experience Mayhew, one of the great philologists of the Algonquin dialect, cites a few examples of the compounding length of this mystifying speech.

The English words, says he, "*We did strongly Love one another*, may be but one word in Indian, viz, *nummunukkoowamonittimun-nonup*: So, *they strongly loved one another*, is in Indian *munnehk-wamontoopanek*. These indeed are Long words, and well they may considering how much they comprehend in them. However I will give you an Instance of one considerably longer, viz: *Nup-pahk-nuh-to-pe-pe-nau-wut-chut-chuh-quo-ka-neh-cha-nehcha-e-nin-nu-mun-nonok*. Here are 58 letters and 22 Syllables, if I do not miss count y^m. The English of this long word is, Our well skilled Looking Glass makers. But after the reading of so long a word you had need be refreshed with some that are shorter, and have a great deal in a little room, I will therefore mention some such, as *Nookoosh*, I have a Father. *Noosis*, I have a grandchild. *Wamontek*, Love ye one another."

The Jesuit Ralle found that to acquire a stock of words and phrases was of little avail. It was necessary to become acquainted with the idiomatic turns and arrangements of expression, which could be learned only by familiar intercourse with the natives day by day. It required close application to catch from their lips the peculiarities of their speech, to distinguish the several combinations of sound and to perceive the meaning they were intended to convey.

Eliot, in learning the language, hired a "pregnant witted" young man who "pretty well" understood English and well understood his own language. He then applied himself with great patience to the method substantially affected by Ralle, of noting carefully the dif-

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ference between the Indian and English modes of constructing words. Having a clue to this, he pursued every noun and verb he could think of through all possible variations. In this way he arrived at rules which he was able to apply for himself in a general manner.

The methods of these students were the methods applied to the task by the Mayhews. Indeed, there was no other way.

Thomas Mayhew early observed that the Indian princes on the islands, although they maintained their absolute power and jurisdiction as kings, were yet bound to do certain homage to higher lords on the continent. "They were no great people" in number, says Matthew Mayhew, yet they had been wasted by wars "wherein the great *princes* of the *continent* (not unlike *European* princes for like reasons of state) were not unassisting." In order to win the favor of these greater kings on the mainland "the balance to decide their controversies" and to render them assistance as occasion required, the island sachems were impelled to do them homage and to make them annual presents. The island sachems were, therefore, jealous of any effort on the part of the English that would still further limit their influence. They feared that the missionary activities of the younger Mayhew would result in the detachment of their subjects from their authority.

Observing this, the senior Mayhew "judg'd it meet that *Moses* and *Aaron* joyn hands," the legislator and the priest. He, therefore, prudently let the sachems know that he was to govern the English which should inhabit the islands, "that his master was in power far above any of the *Indian monarchs*; but that, as he was powerful, so was he a great lover of justice: that therefore he would in no measure invade their *jurisdictions*; but on the contrary, assist them as need requir's: that *religion* and *government* were distinct things. Thus in no long time they conceived no ill opinion of the *Christian religion*," and the presence of the English.

Thomas Mayhew avoided the error committed elsewhere by officials who, impressed by stories of native splendor in India, at first treated the American chiefs as kings and princes of European rank. He was not thereafter obliged to humor occasional affectations of royal dignity which, coupled with the red man's natural arrogance, made him difficult to handle. The Indian was best controlled by a display of dignity and great solemnity, coupled with a firm resoluteness of innate (but not ornate) superiority.

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In the work of harmonizing relations between the races and in an understanding of Indian psychology, Thomas Mayhew is without peer. Roger Williams is not his equal, nor William Penn. Williams admitted his inability to civilize the Indian, and did not even try. Neither soared to the heights touched by Mayhew in tutoring the undeveloped mind of the aborigine in the art of self-government.

Mayhew's feat of establishing Indian courts and churches and a military company among them, presided over by Indian judges and clergymen and commanded by Indian officers, should be an epoch in American history. Trial by jury was not the least of his triumphs among a people long accustomed to arbitrary and autocratic government. The elder Mayhew was not a translator of the Indian tongue like Eliot, but in the diplomatic and political aspects of Indian relations, he out-shone that great and worthy apostle to the Indian.

There can be little doubt but that the elder's work was greatly facilitated by the appeal of both himself and son to the spiritual side of the Indian. The white man's religion exercised a strong fascination upon the Indian's mind. Christianity was a religion better far than his own. What it lacked in number of gods, it over-balanced with stories of prophets and warriors who reminded the Indian of his own men reputedly wise in council and mighty in battle.

Certain it is the early labors of the younger Mayhew had a large practical value. His teachings proved of immeasurable benefit to the settlers in the earlier days of the plantation and in later years when King Philip stirred the Indians of New England into a war of attempted extirpation.

In his administration as patentee and governor, Thomas Mayhew, Sr., was ready always to hear and redress native grievances. This he made pains to do upon first complaint to prevent ill impression from getting into the Indian mind that the English were favored at law. Whenever he had occasion to decide a cause between parties of the opposing races, he not only gave the Indian equal justice with the English, but took care to convince and satisfy the Indian suppliant that what he determined was right and equal.

In this way he gave the red men so fair an example of the happiness of his administration as to fill them with a strong desire to adopt the same form for themselves. Far from introducing any form of government among them against their will, he first convinced them of the

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advantage of it, and then brought them to desire him to introduce and settle it.

Thomas Mayhew had early inculcated in the native the theory that "religion and government were distinct things," that while some of the Indians might embrace the white man's god, they still remained subjects of the local sachems; but as the Indians in increasing numbers adopted the new religion they sought also submission to the English government.

By the prestige which he had attained among them, and by his diplomacy, he was able to persuade the native rules to allow the Praying Indians a limited form of self-government, but wisely he recognized the authority of the sachems under Indian custom and made no endeavor to entirely substitute English authority for that so long established. He suggested that the sachems admit the counsel of judicious Christian Indians among themselves, and in cases of more than ordinary consequence to erect a jury for trial, promising his own assistance to the Indian princes, whose assent was always to be obtained, though they were not Christians.

To this suggestion he was in time able to secure the accord of Indian sachems. "The Indians admired and loved him as the most superior person they had ever seen; and they esteemed themselves so safe and happy in him that he could command them anything without giving them uneasiness, they being satisfied that he did it because it was most fit and proper, and that in due time it would appear to be so."

It did not take the patentee of Martha's Vineyard long to discover that the project of civilizing the Indians was so closely related to religion that the one could not prosper without the other. From his first coming he had yearned to help the unfavored natives of the islands, destitute of nearly all the arts of life, that they might no longer live in fear of the witchery of powwows and the mental torment of evil spirits. He wished to give them courage to break away from old superstitions that harnessed their will power and smothered ambition, that they might no longer live in "carnal" state in mean and filthy hovels, and eke a livelihood from sea and soil that did not suffice. The problem was one of economics, government, and religion, all intertwined so that the unraveling of each thread was a delicate labor that led the unraveler from one knot to another and from thread to thread. He accordingly at an early date gave assistance to his son in missionary work.

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Gookin, who knew both Mayhews personally, writes:

The first instruments, that God pleased to use in this work at this place, was Mr. Thomas Mayhew, and his eldest son, Mr. Thomas Mayhew, junior. It pleased God strongly to incline the two good men, both the father and the son, to learn the Indian tongue of that island: and the minister especially was very ready in it; and the old man had a very competent ability in it.

These two, especially the son, began to preach the gospel to the Indians. . . . The good father, the governor, being always ready to encourage and assist his son in that good work, not only upon the Vineyard, but upon Nantucket isle, which is about twenty miles from it; God's blessing in the success of their labours was and is very great.

Prior to the death of the younger Mayhew, the activities of the father were deemed of sufficient importance to warrant the payment to him of a salary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In later years Mayhew himself stated that he had always carried "the greatest burthen" in the missionary work, even when his son was alive, "hardly ever free."

In a letter to the commissioners, in 1678, he states that he had been engaged in missionary work thirty-one years, which would carry the entry of this work back to the year 1647, not long after Eliot's meeting with the Indians on the mainland. Doubtless he had spoken of moral and religious problems to individual natives prior to this date.

His place, both as patentee and chief-ruler, obliged him not only to a frequent converse with the natives, but also to learn so much of their language as was needful to understand and discourse with them. And as he grew in this acquirement, his pious disposition and great pity for that miserable people lead him to improve it in taking all proper occasions to tell them of their deplorable state, and to set them in the way of deliverance.

His grave and majestic presence and superior station struck an awe into their minds, and always raised their great attention to what he spake.

The famous powwow, Tequanonim, a member of the native priesthood, whose position gave him great power and influence, denounced his profession and became a Christian as early as 1650, as heretofore related, declaring that his conversion was chiefly owing to some things he had heard from the elder Mayhew, who had taken occasion to discourse with him about true happiness and religion, which he could never forget.

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Thus this pious gentleman concurred with his lovely son in his endeavors to open the eyes of these wretched heathens, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God.

In Christianizing the Indian the economic element played a prominent part. It has been a precept with missionaries of the Christian faith from the days of the mediaeval monks, who made their monasteries schools of industry as well as faith, that new occupations as well as new doctrines are essential to the civilization of the heathen. The outward life had to be changed as well as the inward life.

Civilization is builded upon the sustained toil of man. It was early perceived by the missionaries that if the Indian was to cope on an equal plane with the European, he must emerge from his lethargic state of sleep and ease. He must earn by the sweat of his brow the things that go to make a better material life. The spiritual life is seldom found in flower where the material life is filled with sloth and vermin.

So it was that the Christian Indian was taught to live as near as practical the white man's life. It is said of the Praying Indians of Massachusetts that they built for themselves better and more substantial homes [*i. e.*, wigwams], fenced their grounds with ditches and stone walls, and cultivated gardens. With equal truth may this be applied to the Vineyard Indians. Their homes and gardens, being of greater permanence, were naturally superior to those of their more nomadic countrymen who wandered about with little pride of habitation.

It is said of Eliot's Indians that as they became better farmers and more industrious, they commenced a traffic with their English neighbors, finding in winter a market for brooms, staves, eel-pots, baskets, and turkeys; in summer whortleberries, grapes, and fish, and in the spring and autumn strawberries, cranberries, and venison.

The Indian women were taught to spin and with the products of their looms were able to buy, or exchange, conveniences of civilization. Says one writer with little seriousness, "The hum of the spinning wheel might have been heard in many a family, which had been familiar only with the whoop."

Of course, in all things the missionaries were watched by a certain element of their countrymen with criticising eyes.

Peter Oliver voices in print the popular concepts of those who scorn the labors of missionaries. He alleges that the efforts of the mis-

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sionaries were a failure and assigns this not only to the falsity of their religion, as he contends, but also to that ignorant zeal which would turn the hunting-paths of the Indian into streets and squares, and convert his wigwams into houses. "To denationalize the red men at once was to demoralize them," adds Oliver.

Nothing could more clearly demonstrate Oliver's colossal ignorance of his subject than these statements. The one thing which Eliot and the Mayhews did not do was to attempt to at once denationalize the Indian. The Indian was repeatedly advised to pay his tribute to Cæsar, as the missionaries well knew a lapse upon his part to pay tribute to his sachems would bring down upon their work the animosity of the ruling classes. An attempt to compel the Indian to substitute the English type of house for the native wigwam was not made, for it was early realized that the English type of habitation would prove too costly to the overwhelming majority of the Indians. The writings of the missionaries refer repeatedly to Indian houses, but these were mere wigwams; a careful distinction is made by them of Indian houses and the "English house," which was the community center and church building of English construction customarily found in every Indian praying town of size.

But Oliver is fond of sweet flowing language and needs must continue to display his sublime, albeit well worded, lack of information upon a subject which has lured so many writers into ecstasies. Says he: "To civilize these children of the forest, to teach them to dig and to wear hats, and their women to spin and make bread, to exchange the religion of nature for cold abstractions, was only to degrade them." These are fantastic thoughts. To dig and spin could hardly degrade one used largely to dog-like baskings in the sun any more than chopping wood degrades a tramp.

A people who crack lice with their teeth are not degraded by honest toil, although the arrogant Indian Brave, proud almost solely in the fact that he was of the male gender, may have so reasoned.

Thomas Mayhew, Sr., was sixty-four years of age when his son set sail for England, in 1657, leaving the affairs of the Indian mission to his care.

Involved with the government and material concerns of the island, the father found the full responsibility of the missionary task a momen-

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tous one. Yet stoutly he carried on the work of his son, supplying at times the pulpit at Edgartown, where on the Sabbath Day the venerable patriarch of the island preached to his people, and we may be sure as he lifted his voice in prayer, that the thoughts of the father and the congregation were with the son who had gone down to the sea and been heard of no more.

(To be Continued)




Foy and Allied Families

BY ELLA FOY O'GORMAN, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Fahy-Foy Arms—Azure, a hand couped in chief, sticking a sword proper into a boar's head erased in base or.

Crest—An arm couped below the elbow in pale proper, holding a broken spear or.

 FROM comprehensive research conducted in the village of Castlereagh, the home of James Fahy, the first of the family (name now Foy), whose line is herein considered, the following has been found. Descendants still live in the place which no doubt was home to the Fahy family for generations, but to these past members, local records give no clue. All tradition and evidences prove them to have been of the honest dealing, plain-living, hard-working folk. One descendant, a James Hanley, who refers to his grand-uncle, James Fahy, nephew of the Rev. Mordecai Fahy, son of James Fahy, and of honored memory in the little community, still lives (A. D. 1926) in Castlereagh and cultivates at least a part, if not the whole, of the farm of James Fahy. This lies in the townland of Arin or Arin Castle, and is part of what was the Broderick estate. The farm is known locally as "Fahy's Field," and in one corner of it stand the ruined walls of the house or cottage in which several generations of the Fahy family lived. Mr. Hanley was of the opinion that it dated back to at least James Fahy's time and probably beyond. He remembers it as having been referred to as the birthplace of the Rev. Mordecai Fahy. At present none of the name live in Castlereagh, the last known having removed in 1922 to a locality not known.

(Private Irish research.)

Ella Foy O'Gorman, of Washington, D. C., daughter of the John Moran Foys, and Mary E. Foy, daughter of the Samuel Calvert Foys, have compiled the greater part of the genealogical material for the family. Their idea has been to follow the Macy-Polk lines in Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky back to the immigrant ancestor or founder of each of the several lines in America. The same thing was also done in connection with the Foy-Calvert lines. It will be noted that they have made great progress with the Macy lines,

FAHY (FOY)

Arms—Azure, a hand couped in chief, sticking a sword proper into a boar's head erased in pale proper, holding a broken spear or.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.

COX

Arms—Or, three bars azure, on a canton gules a lion's head erased argent.

Crest—An antelope's head erased proper pierced through the neck by a spear.

HOUSE OF CAPET

ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF FRANCE

Arms—Azure, semée-de-lis or.

REDFORD

Arms—Argent, on a pile vert three quatrefoils of the first.

Crest—A quatrefoil gules.

HOUSE OF CASTILE

Arms—Gules, a tower triple-towered or.

Crest—The tower.

FAHY (FOY)

Arms—A hand couped in chief, striking a sword proper into
a lion's head erased in pale proper, holding a broken spear or

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or

COX

Arms—Or, three bars argent, on a canton gules a lion's head erased
argent.
Crest—An antelope's head erased proper, pierced through the neck
by a spear.

HOUSE OF CAPEL

ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF FRANCE

Arms—Azure, triple-de-lis or

REDFORD

Arms—Argent, on a pile vert three quarters of the first.
Crest—A quartered gules.

HOUSE OF CASTLE

Arms—Gules, a tower triple-towered or
Crest—The tower.



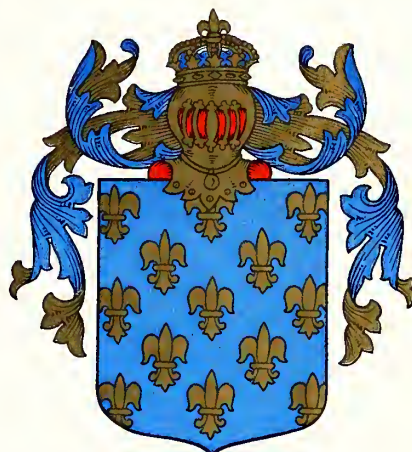
Faby
(Foy)



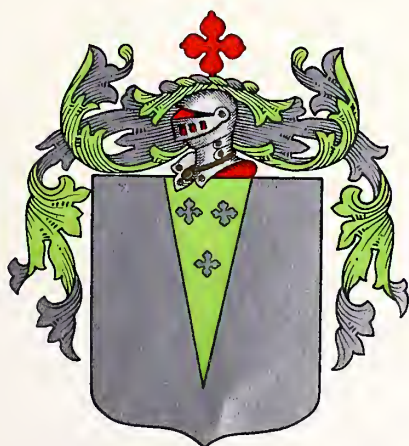
William the Conqueror



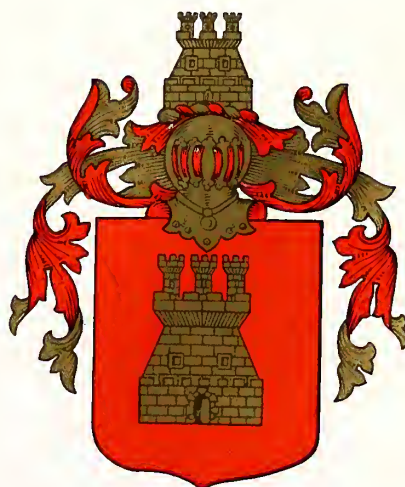
Cox



House of Capet
ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF
FRANCE



Redford



House of Castile

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though the Polk lines are not so good. The Foy-Calvert lines were not so successful. The Calvert ancestry of their paternal grandmother has been most difficult to find for the reason that the fortunes of the Calverts, of Maryland, rose and fell with the Stuarts, of England, and consequently their tenure was intermittent and the various branches of the family in their meanderings have been difficult to trace. Tradition takes the Calvert lines back to the Lords Baltimore, but proof is lacking. The mother of the Foy brothers was Mary Calvert, of Lexington, Kentucky, daughter of Christopher Calvert and Elizabeth Cox. The search has never yet found the ancestral line for Christopher Calvert, but in the search made by Mrs. O'Gorman in the Virginia records the line has been carried back of Mary Calvert on her mother's side to many of the earliest settlers in Virginia.

A daughter of Dr. Obed Macy and Lucinda Polk Macy, Mary Jane Macy, married Taliesin Evans, a native of Wales, who during the late World War was enrolled among the Welsh bards in recognition of a poem in the Welsh language written by him; and a son, Obed Macy, married Mary Sullivan and left a large family, among them one daughter, Ethel, who married Mr. J. L. Dartt, who also did much work in gathering data on the Macy-Polk lines. Credit must also be given for much of the material herein collected to Mrs. Urania Cheesman and to Dr. Clark, who married Laura Giddings, youngest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Cheesman. Dr. Clark was president of the Genealogical Society of San Francisco. Stories of the long trek across the plains from Indiana to California are to be found among the memoirs of Oscar Macy, David W. Cheesman, and Mrs. Lucinda (Macy) Foy, wife of Samuel Calvert Foy, and a great deal of the fascinating history of this family is quoted from these memoirs of the people who made this history.

I. James Foy (Fahy) was a resident of a "country village," near the market town called Castlereagh, in the County of Roscommon, Province of Connaught, Ireland. He married Ann Moran, and they were the parents of sixteen children, eight of whom survived to maturity. Children (who reached maturity): 1. Michael, died abroad, leaving several children. 2. Anthony, died, leaving children. 3. Timothy (or Thaddy), remained in Ireland. 4. Rev. Mordecai, priest of the parish of Elphin. 5. Patrick, who died in Russia. 6. Mary, married

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a Welch, and left one child, Michael. 7. Judy, died in young womanhood. 8. John, of whom further.

II. Captain John Foy, son of James and Ann (Moran) Foy, was born at Cashell, near Castlereagh, County Roscommon, in the province of Connaught, Ireland, about 1783, and died in Washington, D. C., July 23, 1833, aged fifty-six. ("The National Intelligencer.") (The United States Census of 1830 gave his age then as between forty and fifty.) He came to this country previous to 1817, and eventually settled in Washington, D. C., where as superintendent of the Capitol grounds, he was personally known to most of the national officials of that time. The following record, which appeared in "The National Intelligencer," of Washington, bears ample testimony to his ability, his faithfulness, and his skill, as well as to the esteem in which he was held by his associates:

The lamented death of this very valuable man and respectable citizen will be deeply felt by the public. For many years he has, as superintendent of the Capitol grounds, greatly contributed by his taste and industry in embellishing and adorning them, and left at this day almost every tree in the forest blooming there. No one who during the summer heats has resorted to the beautiful walks around the Capitol can hesitate to bear testimony in favor of the zeal and taste of him under whose hand a mere barren waste has been made to blossom like the rose. Nor, now that this kind-hearted and generous Irishman is no more, can any lover of Nature and Art repose beneath the groves he has planted there or traverse the beautiful promenades among them without remembering the many virtues of his unobtrusive and useful life.

In all relations of private life Captain Foy was equally respected. As a father, a husband, and a citizen he was affectionate, exemplary and upright; but there was to those who have been associated with him, the strongest evidence of that love of liberty, which the sufferings of his native land enkindled in every Irish heart; deep and warm were his sympathies and exertions in her behalf. And it is now a source of cheering recollection that amid all the efforts of a private and public nature of our city in aid of Ireland, he was among the earliest and most devoted of her sons.

Over the tomb of such a man this simple but just epitaph should be inscribed: He was a good citizen, an honest man and an Irish patriot.

Captain John Foy's marriage record is found in the first marriage book of the records of Fayette County, Kentucky, at Lexington, the

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county seat. He married, near Lexington, Kentucky, November 4, 1817, Mary (Polly) Calvert. (Calvert II.) The ceremony was performed by a French Catholic missionary to that State. Children: 1. Mary, born in Washington, District of Columbia, July 4, 1820, died at the age of nine days. 2. James Calvert, born in Washington, District of Columbia, February 11, 1826; "Col. James C. Foy, of the Twenty Third Kentucky Volunteers, died July 26, 1864, aged thirty eight years, six months, eleven days." (Tombstone record.) He served in the Union Army; was wounded July 4, 1864, on the north bank of the Chattahoochee River on Sherman's March to Atlanta; died at Lexington, Kentucky. In 1852, with his brother, John M., he was at Douglas Flat, in search of California gold, when their brother, Samuel Calvert, joined them. James Calvert married Frances Ellen Case, and had one daughter, Addie, or Ada, who married, lived and died in Covington, Kentucky. 3. John Moran, of whom further. 4. Samuel Calvert, of whom further.

III. John Moran Foy, son of Captain John and Mary (Calvert) Foy, was born in Washington, District of Columbia, June 9, 1828, and died in San Bernardino, California, January 18, 1892. He had been a resident of San Bernardino since 1865 (previous to which time he was in partnership with his brother Samuel in Los Angeles), and during all that time had been in business in that city. His death was a great shock to his family, for though he had been ill for a year, his actual death was sudden, and only a few days previous his daughter "Lutie" had died. He was a man who was strictly honorable in all his dealings and was respected and liked by all who knew him. Ever uncomplaining, he patiently awaited his death. In 1852 he crossed the Isthmus on foot and from there took the steamer for San Francisco, then went to Stockton, and then to Calaveras County. In 1865 he came to San Bernardino. He was the first Noble Grand of San Bernardino Lodge, No. 146, and was also a member of Morse Encampment. The following is in part a recognition of the respect his lodge had for him:

WHEREAS, By the death of John M. Foy, this lodge is deprived of the member who planted our beloved order in this beautiful city, who labored from the first on arriving in the city for the purpose of having a lodge of Odd Fellows, and as the result of whose labors the gavel, the emblem of authority, was placed in his hand as the first

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Noble Grand of San Bernardino Lodge, No. 146, I. O. O. F., and who from that time on continued his labor of love among his brethren, and only when sickness laid its paralyzing hand upon him, and not until then, he resigned his last office of trust in this lodge. Brother John M. Foy was a kind master, and a considerate neighbor, living in peace with all mankind, and possessed their confidence and regard, and finally sank into the grave, obedient to the will of God, attended by the prayers of all those who knew him in the full hope of a blessed immortality.

John Moran Foy married, in Los Angeles, California, April 6, 1858, Louisa Macy. (Macy VII—fifth child.) Children: 1. Mary, born in January, 1859, died in March, 1859. 2. John Macy, born January 10, 1860, died July 2, 1915, when his automobile overturned; as a young man, he was bookkeeper for several large establishments in San Francisco and Oakland; was at one time appointed collector of the Port of San Francisco, and later entered the real estate field, amassing a comfortable fortune. He was, as was his father, a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and in politics was a Republican. He was a generous contributor to all churches and charities, a loyal friend, and a devoted husband and father; he married, October 5, 1887, in Berkeley, California, Emma Sophia Squires, born June 23, 1866, at Chesterfield, Derbyshire, England, daughter of John and Mary (James) Squires. Children: i. Hazel Louise, born August 8, 1888, died in April, 1904. ii. John Macy, Jr., born October 3, 1891; married, in Denver, Colorado, August 24, 1920, Gertrude McGuire, daughter of John Aloysius and Rose Eleanor (Young-blodt) McGuire. iii. Frederick Calvert, born January 28, 1905; married, in Fresno, California, September 28, 1929, Elizabeth Jane Hamilton, daughter of Creighton Everett and George Addie (Cummings) Hamilton. Creighton Everett Hamilton, born in 1879, was son of James Hunter Hamilton, born in 1845, died in Nova Scotia in 1889, and Sarah Jane Murdock, born in 1846. James Hunter Hamilton was son of Isaac Hamilton, born in 1822, died about 1880, and Ellen Hunter, born in 1826, died in Nova Scotia, in 1895. George Addie Cummings, born in 1883, was daughter of Gabriel Penn Cummings, born in 1856, and Elizabeth Virginia Smartt. Gabriel Penn Cummings was son of Gabriel Penn Cummings, Sr., born in 1813, died in 1877, and Elizabeth Plumlee, born in 1815, died in 1878, daughter of Isaac Plumlee and Margaret (Bradshaw) Plumlee, daughter of

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Joel Bradshaw, of Tennessee. Gabriel Penn Cummings, Sr., was son of Col. Joseph Cummings, born in 1762, died in 1853, was in Revolutionary War, from Virginia, and in War of 1812 from Tennessee, and Rose Collier (Sellers?), born in 1767. Col. Joseph Cummings was son of Malachi Cummings, immigrant from Scotland, about 1759; married, near Glasgow, a relative of Robert Burns the poet. Elizabeth Virginia Smartt was daughter of George Madison Smartt, born in 1814, died in 1904, and Ann Waterhouse, born in 1821, died in 1870, who was daughter of Richard Greene Waterhouse, died in 1827, and Elizabeth Hackett, born in 1791. Elizabeth Hackett was daughter of John and Ann Hackett. George Madison Smartt was son of William Cheek Smartt, born in 1785, was in War of 1812, and Margaret Colville, died in Tennessee, in 1827. William Cheek Smartt was son of Francis Smartt, born in 1762, and Martha Cheek, born in North Carolina, in 1766, died in Tennessee, in 1838. Francis Smartt was son of Francis Burwell and Mary Smartt, of North Carolina. Child of Frederick Calvert and Elizabeth Jane (Hamilton) Foy: Ann Elizabeth Foy, born July 13, 1930. Frederick Calvert and his brother were graduates of the University of California, and John Macy was in the World War. 3. Ella Foy, born in Los Angeles, California, July 2, 1862; married, at San Bernardino, California, October 3, 1888, Michael Martin O'Gorman, a native of Boston, Massachusetts, born November 11, 1853, died in Pasadena, California, February 4, 1910. 4. Lucinda ("Lutie"), born in Los Angeles, California, February 16, 1864, died at San Bernardino, January 1, 1892; married, at St. Bernardino, September 19, 1889, Robert Byron Herron, ornithologist and mammalogist, born in Pennsylvania, July 31, 1857, son of Robert R. and Catherine (King) Herron. Robert R. Herron, born in 1822, died in Pennsylvania, in 1857, was son of John Herron, born in 1796, and Margaret Scott, born in 1797, died in 1860, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Thompson) Scott, immigrants. John Herron was son of Thomas Herron, immigrant, and Mary Withrow. Catherine S. King, born in 1840, died in 1928, daughter of Joseph Cheyney King, born in 1807, died in 1857, and Margaretta Zink, born in 1816, died in 1887. Margaretta Zink was daughter of Samuel M. Zink, born in 1793, died in 1883, was in War of 1812, Sheriff J. P., and Dorothea Kessler, born in Germany, in 1795, died in 1852. Joseph Cheyney King was son of John King, born in 1783,

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died in 1848, and Hannah Cheyney, born in 1786, died in 1832. John King was son of Eli King, of Pennsylvania Revolutionary record, and Hannah Temple, daughter of John Temple. Hannah Cheyney was daughter of Joseph Cheyney, born in 1735, died in 1794, and Edith Mendenhall, born in 1750, died in 1833. Joseph Cheyney was son of John and Ann (Hickman) Cheyney, and grandson of John Cheyney. Edith Mendenhall was daughter of Samuel Mendenhall, born in 1722, died in 1787, and Esther Williamson, born in 1723, died in 1764. Samuel Mendenhall was son of Benjamin and Lydia (Roberts) Mendenhall, grandson of Benjamin and Ann (Pennell) Mendenhall. Esther Williamson was daughter of John and Sarah (Smedley) Williamson, granddaughter of Daniel and Mary (Smith) Williamson, and George and Sarah (Kitchin-Goodwin) Smedley, of Pennsylvania. Child of Robert Byron and Lucinda (Foy) Herron: i. Robert Foy, born in San Bernardino, California, July 1, 1890; married, August 19, 1916, Helen Mar Taylor, born at Sturgis, South Dakota, September 18, 1893, daughter of David Alexander and Cyrene (Farwell) Taylor. She is a descendant of four "Mayflower" passengers, Warren, Rogers, Cooke, and Billington. Their child, Robert Fremont Herron, born in Los Angeles, California, February 3, 1918. 5. Margaret, born in 1865, died in November, 1868. 6. Oscar Dudley, born in San Bernardino, October 13, 1868, died there May 28, 1897; unmarried. For two years he fought against consumption, but though his friends hoped against hope, he had to give up the long struggle. He was born in the house in which he died, and lived there his entire life. He was employed in the harness business, which his father founded, until 1895, when he was elected city clerk. Although this was his only public position, he was well known and respected in politics. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Republican County Central Committee, and known far and wide as a young man of unquestionable ability, integrity, and business foresight. He was a leading member of Arrowhead Parlor, Native Sons of the Golden West, which order conducted his funeral. The leading papers of his city wrote lengthy obituaries on the sad death of this very promising and popular young man. 7. Charles William, born at San Bernardino, October 5, 1871; his ambition to pursue a course of law at Leland Stanford University was interrupted and frustrated by the long illnesses and death of his mother and two unmarried brothers. Some time after their deaths he

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was, for many years, connected with the Southern Pacific Railroad offices in San Francisco, later becoming manager of the Industrial Department of the Oakland Chamber of Commerce, leaving that to devote his time to real estate; married, in San Bernardino, December 12, 1902, Mary Frances Swindell, born at Fort Wayne, Indiana, April 15, 1878, daughter of Edwin Wallace and Alice (Brown) Swindell. Edwin Wallace Swindell, born in 1844, died in 1925, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Wallace) Swindell, immigrants, married Alice Brown, born in 1857, died in 1910, daughter of Hiram Brown, born in 1811, died in 1867, and Sally Ann (Kittle) Dean, born in 1814, died in 1893. Sally Ann Kittle was daughter of Simeon Kittle, born in 1774, died about 1850, and Anna, of New York. Simeon Kittle was son of William Kittle, born in 1743, died in 1826, son of Mansur and Desire Kittle, and Mary Carr, born in 1755, died in 1851. Mary Carr was daughter of Robert Carr, born in 1735, died in 1818, and Rebecca Brayton, born in 1734, died in 1809, whose descent goes through Thomas, Thomas, Francis, and Francis, who was born in 1619, died in 1692. Robert Carr was son of Caleb Carr, born in 1702, died in 1769, and Sarah, born in 1711, died in 1798. Caleb Carr was son of Caleb Carr, born in 1679, and Joanna Slocum, born in 1680, died in 1708, daughter of Ebenezer and Mary (Thurston) Slocum. Mary Thurston was daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Mott) Thurston. Ebenezer Slocum was son of Giles and Joan Slocum and grandson of Anthony Slocum, of Rhode Island. Caleb Carr was son of Caleb Carr, died in 1690, and Phillis Greene, born in 1658, grandson of Robert Carr, born in 1614, died in 1681, brother of Governor Caleb Carr, of Rhode Island. Phillis Greene was daughter of Deputy Governor John Greene, of Rhode Island, born in 1620, died in 1708, and Ann Almy, born in 1627, died in 1709, daughter of William and Audrey Almy. John Greene was son of John Greene, surgeon, and Joanna Tattersall, of Rhode Island. Child of Charles William and Mary Frances (Swindell) Foy: i. Charles William, Jr., born in Berkeley, California, January 3, 1916. 8. Franklin Calvert, born in San Bernardino, California, October 26, 1875, and died there July 30, 1898.

III. Samuel Calvert Foy, son of Captain John and Mary (Calvert) Foy, was born in Washington, D. C., September 23, 1830, and died in Los Angeles, California, April 24, 1901. Orphaned when not

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quite three years old he, with his brothers, James C. and John M., was taken to Kentucky by his mother, and the three were educated at Morgan Academy, Burlington, Kentucky, a school famous in its day and boasting such well-known teachers as McGuffey and Ray. On leaving school Samuel went to Covington, Kentucky, where his mother, who had remarried, was then residing. He later served an apprenticeship in the harness trade, in Cincinnati, with the founder of the house of Perkins, Campbell and Company. In 1849 he left Kentucky and moved to Natchez, Mississippi, where he followed his trade until 1852. In that year the gold fever captured him and he sailed for California, by way of Havana and the Isthmus of Panama. He landed in San Francisco, where he stored his trunk, and then set out for the mines. Footsore and weary he reached Douglas Flat, and walking half-heartedly through the camp, a voice called out, "Why, hello, Sam," and there were his two brothers, James and John. In January, 1854, he left the mines and established a saddlery and harness business in Los Angeles under his own name, which was long known as the "oldest business house in Los Angeles." Los Angeles at that time was a small town of two or three thousand, and Samuel Foy was so well pleased with the town's location and business prospects that he set up his business there. His establishment was the most complete in the city at the time, and the manufacturing department alone deserved more than passing notice for the extra quality of the work turned out. The building itself stood on a lot now occupied by the savings bank, opposite the present (1930) Federal Building.

A year later his brother John joined him as a partner, managing the business for ten years, while Samuel looked after the extensive cattle interests with which he had become associated in northern California. The partnership dissolved soon after this, with Samuel continuing alone, and John Foy established in the same field in San Bernardino.

In politics, Mr. Foy was a splendid example of an old-time Democrat. Though never a politician, he was always a keenly interested and sharp observer, for he had the clearest understanding of the meaning of his political principles. His viewpoint was always intelligent. He knew no fear, and during the troubled months following the assassination of President Lincoln, he paced the streets of Los Angeles at night to preserve order, the city's first peace officer. He was a zealous mem-

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ber of the Masonic fraternity until failing health forced him to leave the work to others.

After a life well spent, he died at his home in Los Angeles, California, April 24, 1901. He passed on to his children the heritage of his good name, as had his father and his father's father. His dominant personal characteristic was a strict integrity that governed all his relations in life. His chief joy was his family and he was proud to give his children the best educational advantages. He was a thoroughly honest man, whose name was as good as his bond. He was a useful citizen and a patriot, one of the pioneers of California, whom her native sons should be proud to emulate.

Samuel Calvert Foy married, in Los Angeles, California, October 7, 1860, Lucinda Macy. (Macy VIII.) Children: 1. Samuel Calvert, born in San Joaquin, California, August 17, 1861, died same day. 2. Mary Emily, born in Los Angeles, July 13, 1862, living, unmarried, in 1930. 3. James Calvert, born in Los Angeles, May 1, 1865, died in Pasadena, California, December 12, 1922; married, in Los Angeles, April 23, 1895, Annie Adele O'Melvany, born at Cairo, Illinois, daughter of Hon. H. K. S. and Annie (Rose) O'Melvany. No issue. 4. Oscar, born in Los Angeles, February 3, 1867, died February 10, 1867. 5. Cora Calvert, born in Los Angeles, September 9, 1870, died in Pasadena, California, April 25, 1920; unmarried. 6. Samuel Calvert, born in Los Angeles, September 11, 1873, died in Los Angeles, in infancy. 7. Edna Calvert, born in Los Angeles, August 6, 1875; married, in Riverside, California, February 23, 1909, Otto Heinrich Neher, a native of Germany. 8. Irma Calvert, born in Los Angeles, April 5, 1878, died in Los Angeles, in June, 1896; unmarried. 9. Alma Calvert, born in Los Angeles, July 11, 1880; married, in Los Angeles, November 4, 1900, Thomas Lee Woolwine, who was born in Nashville, Tennessee, and who died in Los Angeles, July 8, 1925. No issue. Adopted son: Thomas Lee Woolwine, Jr., nephew, born in 1904, son of Samuel and Willie Woolwine. 10. Florence Calvert, born in Los Angeles, October 13, 1883, still living in Pasadena, California; married, in Pasadena, California, June 3, 1910, Remington Olmsted, son of John Bartow Olmsted, born in 1854, and Clara Amanda Morgan, grandson of John Randolph Olmsted, born in 1819, died in 1909, and Elizabeth Martha Allen, born in 1825, died in 1910, great-grandson of William Olmsted, born in 1778, died in 1876, and

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Cynthia (Franklin) Pierson. William Olmsted was son of Stephen Olmsted and Jerusha Meacham, born in 1761, died in 1845, grandson of Captain Stephen Olmsted and Fear White, born in 1735, died in 1825, great-grandson of Nathan Olmsted, born in 1703, died in 1757, and Eunice Smith. Nathan Olmsted was son of Nathan and Sarah (Keeler) Olmsted, grandson of Captain James and Phebe (Barlow) Olmsted, and great-grandson of Richard Olmsted. Elizabeth Martha Allen was daughter of Oliver Allen and Jerusha Hopkins Remington, born in 1800, died in 1878, granddaughter of Captain Rufus Allen, born in 1749, died in 1813, and Emiliscent Seymour, whose descent goes through Zachariah, Zachariah, John, to Richard and Mercy (Ruscoe) Seymour. Captain Rufus Allen was son of Joseph Allen, born in 1702, grandson of Joseph Allen, born in 1676, died in 1727, and Miriam Wright. Joseph Allen was son of Joseph and Sarah (Sabin) Allen, and grandson of James and Ann (Guild) Allen. Jerusha Hopkins Remington was daughter of Silas Remington, M. D., born in 1772, and Betsy Rose Gere, granddaughter of Thomas Remington, born in 1735, and Mary, daughter of Stephen. Thomas Remington was son of Daniel Remington, born in 1706, and Sarah Winchester, daughter of Jonathan Winchester, and granddaughter of Jonathan Winchester. Daniel Remington was son of John and Hannah Remington and grandson of Thomas and Mehitabel (Walker) Remington. Clara Amanda Morgan was daughter of Charles Ives Morgan, born in 1814, died in 1894, and Emily Hatch, born in 1829, died in 1892, granddaughter of William Morgan, born in 1766, died in 1813, and Anna (or Hannah) Ives. William Morgan was son of James Morgan, born in 1740, died in 1820, grandson of James Morgan, born in 1705, and Mercy Bliss, daughter of Nathaniel Bliss, granddaughter of Samuel Bliss, who was son of Nathaniel Bliss and grandson of Thomas Bliss. James Morgan was son of Nathaniel Morgan, born in 1671, died in 1752, and Hannah Bird, and grandson of Miles and Elizabeth (Bliss) Morgan. Emily Hatch was daughter of Hervey Hatch, born in 1792, died in 1863, and Amy Seymour, born in 1796, died in 1837, granddaughter of Timothy Hatch, born in 1764, and Abigail Porter, born in 1768, died in 1824. Timothy Hatch was son of Timothy Hatch, born in 1728, died in 1819, and Eunice Beardsley, daughter of John Beardsley, granddaughter of John Beardsley, who was son of Joseph Beardsley and grandson of William Beardsley.

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Timothy Hatch was son of Timothy Hatch, born in 1695, died in 1766, and Deborah Newcomb, daughter of Simon Newcomb, who was son of Andrew Newcomb and grandson of Andrew Newcomb. Timothy Hatch was son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Eddy) Hatch, grandson of Jonathan and Sarah (Rowley) Hatch, great-grandson of Thomas and Grace Hatch. Amy Seymour was daughter of Zadoc Seymour, born in 1757, died in 1845, Revolutionary soldier, and Naomi Munger, born in 1765, died in 1840, daughter of Reuben Munger, who was son of Ebenezer Munger, grandson of John Munger and great-grandson of Nicholas Munger. Zadoc Seymour was son of Steven Seymour, born in 1718, and Mehitable Hickox, daughter of Captain Samuel Hickox, who was son of William Hickox, grandson of Sergeant Samuel Hickox. Steven Seymour was son of Ebenezer Seymour, born in 1684, died in 1733, and Abigail Hollister, daughter of Captain Stephen Hollister, who was son of Lieutenant John Hollister. Ebenezer Seymour was son of Richard and Hannah (Woodruff) Seymour, grandson of Richard and Mercy (Ruscoe) Seymour. Abigail Porter was daughter of Moses Porter, born in 1738, died in 1803, Revolutionary soldier, and Sarah Kilham, born in 1742, died in 1843, daughter of Phineas Kilham, who was son of John Kilham, grandson of Samuel Kilham. Moses Porter was son of Experience and Abigail (Safford) Porter, grandson of Experience and Abigail (Williams) Porter. Experience Porter was son of Samuel and Hannah (Stanley) Porter, grandson of John and Ann (White) Porter. Children of Remington and Florence Calvert (Foy) Olmsted: i. Ardiane, born in Pasadena, February 27, 1912. ii. Remington, born June 15, 1915. iii. Samuel Foy, born April 3, 1918.

(The Calvert Line)

I. Christopher Calvert was born, probably in Virginia, about 1765, and died in Kentucky, May 2, 1818. He resided in Virginia until after the birth of his first seven children, being in Amherst County, in that State, in 1800. Removing to Kentucky, he was, in 1817, living near Lexington, Kentucky. He married (bond dated January 3, 1791), Elizabeth (Betsy) Cox. (Cox V.)

Children (all but first named in the Captain John Foy Bible), first five probably born in Virginia: 1. Rhoda, born October 16, 1792, died March 5, 1865; married, January 7, 1813, John Haggerty. 2.

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Captain Willis, born April 5, 1794, died June 5, 1849; married (first), June 28, 1816, Elizabeth Ewing; married (second), February 14, 1828, Rebecca Ragsdale. 3. Nancy, born February 16, 1796; married, June 5, 1815, George L. Dobson. No issue. 4. Valentine Martin, born February 13, 1798, died November 27, 1868; married, May 17, 1838, Amelia Y——— or Amanda Chew. 5. Mary (Polly), of whom further. 6. Mahala, born October 24, 1802, died August 15, 1831; married, in September, 1822, Richard Marrs. No issue. 7. Samuel, born February 7, 1805, died July 7, 1890; married (first), December 21, 1826, Louisiana Stephens; married (second), January 6, 1847, Elizabeth Mosby Allen. 8. James, born December 29, 1806, died September 29, 1876; married, December 29, 1832, Jane A Perkins. 9. Eliza, born January 20, 1808, died November 20, 1830; married, December 20, 1827, Milton Scott. No issue. 10. Jesse Dawson, born December 18, 1810, died July 28, 1811. 11. Asa Franklin, born June 18, 1812, died May 30, 1873; married, October 6, 1836, America Cushman. 12. Mildred, born December 15, 1814, died May 4, 1896; married, November 22, 1835, James Perkins. 13. Amanda, born June 5, 1816, died August 10, 1845; married, September 24, 1843, Milton Perkins. No issue.

II. Mary (Polly) Calvert, daughter of Christopher and Elizabeth (Betsy) (Cox) Calvert, was born in Amherst County, Virginia, July 17, 1800, and died in Covington, Kentucky, August 20, 1853. She married (first), November 4, 1817, Captain John Foy. (Foy II.) After the death of her husband, she returned to Kentucky and married (second), about 1840, Joseph Rich, born August 25, 1790, and died November 20, 1863. Children (surname Rich): 1. Josephus Willis, born in Covington, Kentucky, August 3, 1841; married, December 12, 1861, Carrie V. Arnold, born April 9, 1844, died September 6, 1906. Children: i. Rollo Roderick, born October 15, 1862; married Julia M. Stewart. ii. Rena, born May 10, 1864. iii. Carrie Elizabeth, married Charles K. Whitcomb. iv. Lottie Foy, died in infancy. v. Charles A., died in infancy. vi. Clarence Moses, died in infancy. vii. Percy L., died in infancy. viii. Frances Lillian, died in infancy. ix. Florence Estella, born April 22, 1877. x. Katie Edna, born November 24, 1879; married Robert H. Willis. xi. Annabelle, born September 20, 1884; married Arthur Shelby Martin. 2. Eliza, married Hosea Wood; no issue.

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(The Cox Line)

Cox Arms—Or, three bars azure, on a canton gules a lion's head erased argent.

Crest—An antelope's head erased proper pierced through the neck by a spear.

The family name Cox, in most cases originates from a nickname, as do Bird, Finch, Sparrow, from the cock, male of the hen kind. John le Cok and Henry le Cok are found in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D. 1327. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are those recorded by Burke for Cox, of Herefordshire, branches of which family settled in Ireland.

The name of the first Cox that came to America, of whom we have record, is found in Hotten's "Original Lists of Immigrants to Virginia." A muster of the inhabitants of Elizabeth Cittie, 1624-25, gives: "William Coxe aged 26 in the Godspeed 1610."

This William Cox received grants of land in Elizabeth City and also in Henrico County on the James River in that section known as "Harrow Addocks." He was the William Cox, who, on a return trip from England, was headright to Matthew Edloe. Many who have made a study of the question believe that William Cocke, Burgess for Henrico County, 1646, was identical with the above William Cox. Since no adult William Cocke has been found in Henrico County at that time, the supposition is a plausible one.

From a land suit recorded in Book 1710-14, Henrico County Records, we find the above William Cox of Harrow Addocks died before 1665, on which date his (eldest) son, Thomas, assigned his right to certain lands inherited from his father. Shortly after that time our John Cox became known as "John Cox of Harry Addocks, planter."

An important private record taken from the Journal of Valentine Wood (whose mother was Martha (Cox) Wood, granddaughter of John Cox) states that "Martha Wood, wife of Henry Wood, was the daughter of William and Sarah Cox, and was born in Henrico County on the James. She was descended from an ancient and honest family who were some of the first settlers of Virginia." ("William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine," Vol. VI, p. 133, 2d series.)

From the above notes we feel without doubt that our John Cox was a son of William Coxe, who came in the "Godspeed," 1610.

E. F. O'G.

I. John Cox, son of William Coxe, resided in Henrico County, Virginia, where his will was recorded, dated February 19, 1691-92,

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proved February 1, 1696. He married (second), Mary Kennon, who survived him. Children: 1. John, married Mary Baugh. Children: William, James, and Martha. They had a grandson, Richard Wilkinson. 2. William, married Sarah, and had Stephen and several daughters; one daughter, Martha, married Henry Wood, and they had a son, Valentine. 3. Bartholomew, married Rebecca. 4. Richard, of whom further. 5. Henry, died in 1697; his will is not found of record. 6. George, married, in 1697, Martha Stratton.

II. Richard Cox, son of John Cox, was born probably in Henrico County, Virginia, and made his will July 13, 1734. He married Mary Trent, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Sherman) Trent. Henry Trent was granted, November 7, 1673, two hundred acres of land on the north side of the James River in Henrico County, Virginia. He imported four persons, including himself. A deposition made in 1687 by Henry Trent and wife, Elizabeth, gives his age as about forty-five and hers as about thirty-one years of age. Henry Trent's wife was Elizabeth Sherman, a daughter of Henry and Cicely Sherman. Cicely Sherman was widow of Isaac Hutchins. Henry Sherman's will was made September 2, 1695, and proved October 1, 1695, and his wife Cicely's was made August 6, 1703, and proved the same year. The Shermans had sons Henry and John, both of whom died unmarried before their parents. They had a daughter Ann, who married (first) John Crowley; (second) Christopher Branch, and a daughter Elizabeth, who married Henry Trent. Children (according to wills and deeds): 1. John, married Elizabeth. 2. Henry, of whom further. 3. Mary, married Mr. Ford. 4. Elizabeth, married Mr. Hutchins. 5. Richard. 6. Obedience, married Mr. Perkins. 7. Edith, married James Whitloe. 8. Martha, married James Ferguson.

III. Henry Cox, son of Richard and Mary (Trent) Cox, died in 1780. He was of Chesterfield County, Virginia, when he made his will, dated July 26, 1779, probated June 1, 1780. In 1732 Henry Cox's father gave him fifty acres of land, a lot of household furnishings and a colored servant. At this time, presumably, he had attained his majority and was about to be married. Henry Cox married Judith, presumably granddaughter of John Redford. (Redford IV.) Children (according to will of Henry Cox): 1. Francis. 2. John. 3. Elisha, married Elizabeth. 4. Valentine, of whom further. 5. Judith,

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married Mr. Ellitt. 6. Archelaus, married, in 1773, Mary Ann Hughes. 7. Radford, married, in 1789, Mary Billington. 8. Martha, married David Goodwin. 9. Elizabeth. 10. Damaris, married, in July, 1782, Milner Redford. 11. William, died in 1780, unmarried, named as executor of his father's estate; served in Revolutionary War as sergeant on the Continental Line. 12. Milner, died in 1792, unmarried; had a Revolutionary War record.

IV. Valentine Cox, son of Henry Cox, was born in Chesterfield County, Virginia, estimated about 1750, and died in Bedford County, Virginia, in 1812 or 1813. He married (marriage bond dated in Amherst County, Virginia, March 3, 1772), Nancy (Ann) Dawson, "spinster," daughter of Martin and Priscilla (Sorrell) Dawson. Martin Dawson died, probably, early in 1812, as his will was proved March 16 of that year. He is said to have been a spare, thin-visaged man with black hair and eyes. He is said to have been a great hunter, but farming was his vocation. He and his brother Joseph are each said to have lived to be one hundred and fifteen years of age. He married (first) Priscilla Sorrell, daughter of John and Mary Sorrell. John Sorrell, perhaps from James City County, or Elizabeth City County, was in Goochland County, Virginia, in 1734, with a wife Mary, who was the mother of his two children, and who died before November 3, 1770, upon which date there was recorded in Amherst County, Virginia, a marriage agreement between John Sorrell and Mary Coleman Ellice. John Sorrell's will, dated March 25, 1780, proved September 1, 1783, begins: "In the Name of God, Amen, I, John Sorrell, of Amherst County, being ancient and not knowing how soon I may die," would indicate that he was of great age. His will mentions his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. John Sorrell, Martin Dawson, Valentine Cox and Judith Cox, mother of Valentine, all were Patriots, each having furnished supplies for the use of the State in the Revolutionary War. The children of John Sorrell and Mary Sorrell were: 1. Katy, who married Mr. Howard. 2. Priscilla, married Martin Dawson. Children of Martin and Priscilla (Sorrell) Dawson: 1. John, married Sarah Carroll. 2. Nancy (Ann), married Valentine Cox. 3. Thomas. 4. Mildred, married (first) Jones Reid, widower, 1782; (second) Mr. Hancock. 5. Martin, Jr., became a Baptist minister noted in those early days in both Amherst and Albemarle counties. 6. Mary, married William

FOY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Park. 7. Margaret, married Mr. Franklin. 8. William. Martin Dawson, Sr., married (second) Elizabeth Carter, daughter of Job Carter. Their children were: 9. Nelson Carter, married (first), in 1805, Mary Burton, widow; (second), in 1816, Frances Woodruff. 10. Jesse, married, in 1791, Sally Turner. 11. Elizabeth, married Reuben Rucker. 12. Susanna, married George Tinsley. 13. Zachariah, married, in 1786, Lucy Rucker. Children: 1. Elizabeth, of whom further. 2. Mildred (Milly), married, in 1795, Martin Dawson. 3. Judith, married, in 1798, Anthony Tinsley. 4. Damaris, married, in 1799, Henry Farnsworth. 5. Sally, married, in 1800, George Sullivan. 6. Mahala, married, in 1804, David Tinsley. 7. Nancy. 8. Lucy, married, in 1806, Lemuel Johnson. 9. James.

V. Elizabeth (Betsy) Cox, daughter of Valentine and Nancy (Ann) (Dawson) Cox, was born about 1774. She married Christopher Calvert. (Calvert I.)

(The Redford Line)

Redford Arms—Argent, on a pile vert three quatrefoils of the first.
Crest—A quatrefoil gules.

The surname Redford is mainly from the old form of the present Redford, village in Nottinghamshire, or from East Redford, in Nottinghamshire, spelled Redeford, and represented by William de Redford in County Northumberland, in Placita de Quo Warranto of A. D. 1294. William de Radeford in the Hundred Rolls of Notts, A. D. 1273. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are recorded by Burke for Redford without designation of locality.

Richard Radford is mentioned as a headright in a patent granted William Hatcher, June 1, 1636, and July 10, 1637, in Henrico County, Virginia, Radford representing the usual pronunciation of Redford, which is sometimes also spelled Radford. There were also Redfords in Norfolk County, Virginia, from whom some think the Henrico Redfords were descended.

I. Francis Redford, of England, had a patent in Henrico County, Virginia, in August, 1659, in which John Milner is mentioned as a "headright"; and was a patentee in Charles City County, October 20, 1665. "He was a man of comfortable estate." He had a wife Ann, and sons Francis and John. His will was proved in Henrico County, February 1, 1694.

MACY

Arms—Quarterly, gules and or, in the first a lion passant argent.

Crest—A moorcock sable, combed and wattled gules, charged on the breast for distinction with a cross crosslet or.

Motto—*Pro libertate patriae.* (For the liberty of my country.)

POLK

Arms—Vert, a saltire or, between three hunting horns in fesse and base argent, garnished gules.

Crest—A boar passant quartered or and vert, pierced through the sinister shoulder with an arrow proper.

Motto—*Audacter et strenue.* (Boldly and earnestly.)

TYLER

Arms—Sable, on a fess or, between two lions passant guardant argent, pellettée, three crescents gules.

COFFIN

Arms—Azure, four bezants within five cross-crosslets or.

Crest—A bird or, between two cinquefoils argent, stalked and leaved proper.

Motto—*Post tenebras, speramus lumen de lumine.*

HUSSEY

Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth, or, a cross vert charged with a mullet of the first; second and third barry of six ermine and gules.

Crest—A hind lodged under an oak tree proper, ducally gorged and chained or.

BARNARD

Arms—Argent a bear rampant sable muzzled or.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-bear rampant sable muzzled or.

Motto—*Fer et prefer.* (Bear and forbear.)

MACE

Arms—Quarterly, gules and or, in the first a lion passant argent.
Crest—A rooster sable, crested and wattled gules, charged on the breast for distinction with a cross crosslet or.
Motto—Per libertate patriae. (For the liberty of my country.)

BOLK

Arms—Vert a saltire or, between three herring bones in fess and base argent, garnished gules.
Crest—A bent passant quarterly or and vert, pierced through the sinister shoulder with an arrow proper.
Motto—Audacter et strenue. (Boldly and earnestly.)

TYLER

Arms—Sable, on a fess or, between two lions passant guardant argent, bellies, three crescents gules.

COTLIN

Arms—Azure, four hexants within five cross-crosslets or.
Crest—A bird or, between two caduceuses argent, stalked and leaves proper.
Motto—Fides, tenet, sperans, sperans, sperans, sperans.

HUSBY

Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth, or a cross rent charged with a mullet of the first; second and third, party of six ermine and gules.
Crest—A hind passed under an oak tree properly ducally goiged and chained or.

BARZARD

Arms—Argent a bent rampant sable, railed or.
Crest—On a chief argent, a bent rampant sable, railed or.
Motto—Vix et perit. (Bear and I bear.)



Macy



Polk



Tyler



Coffin



Hussey



Barnard

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II. John Redford, son of Francis and Ann Redford, was born in Virginia, probably in Henrico County, about 1674, and died before August 25, 1752. His will was proved October 1, 1752. He had reached legal age by October 1, 1695, and his name is on the quit rent rolls of Henrico County in 1704. He is the Captain John Redford, vestryman of Curles church in Henrico Parish, October 28, 1730. John Redford was justice in 1713. He married, 1698, Martha Milner, daughter of John and Katherine (widow Parker) Milner. John Milner was born about 1640, died in 1684, and his wife died in 1721, as the widow Babbicorn. Children, born in Henrico County, Virginia: 1. John, will proved in April, 1778. 2. Milner. 3. Mary, married William Weathers. 4. William, married, but died before his father, leaving heirs. 5. Francis.

IV. Judith, presumably granddaughter of John and Martha (Milner) Redford, was born in Henrico Parish, Virginia, and died about 1785, the year her will was made. She married Henry Cox. (Cox III.)

(Burke: "General Armory." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." "William and Mary College Quarterly," esp. Vols. VII, VIII, X, XXIV, pp. 140, 278. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XXVIII, p. 215; Vol. XXXII, p. 58. Moore: "Annals of Henrico Parish," etc.)

(The Macy Line)

Macy Arms—Quarterly, gules and or, in the first a lion passant argent.

Crest—A moorcock sable, combed and wattled gules, charged on the breast for distinction with a cross crosslet or.

Motto—*Pro libertate patriae.* (For the liberty of my country.)

The family name Macy, or Massy, is from Macei, near Avranch in Normandy, or perhaps from Mace-sur-Orne, in Normandy.

Robert de Maysey and William de Macy are on record in the Hundred Rolls of Wiltshire, and Walter Masci in the Hundred Rolls of Huntingdonshire, A. D. 1273.

Hamon Massy, the first Baron of Dunham-Massy, held the towns of Dunham, Bowdon, Hale, Ashley, and half of Owlarton, in Bucklow Hundred, Cheshire, under Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, in the reign of William the Conqueror. He also had land in Maxfield Hundred, Bromhale and Podington in Wirrhall Hundred, beside other lands. This Hamon had issue. Hamon, son and heir; Hamon, and Robert Massey, from whom the Massies of Sole in Cheshire are descended.

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Hamon Massy and his wife, Agatha, had issue: Hamon, of the fourth generation, son and heir; Robert, to whom his mother gave Bowdon; John; and daughters, Agnes, Sibil, Cicely; another daughter married Hugh de Dutton; and another, Agatha, married Joceraine de Hillesbi, Sheriff of Cheshire. This Hamon founded the priory of Birkenhed or Birket-Abby, and died about 1215 A. D. Hamon Massy, the fourth, had issue: Hamon, son and heir; William Massy, from whom the Massies of Tatton; also Margey, a daughter.

Hamon (5) Massy married Alice Whitney, daughter and heir of Sir Eustace Whitney, and had issue, Hamon, sixth son and heir, who married Isabel de Beauchamp, who died on her wedding day. He married (second) her sister, Alice, and had Hamon, who died without issue; and four daughters, Cicely, Isabel, Alice, and another. After the death of this last Baron, Richard Fitton and the Massys of Tatton took possession, but Henry, Duke of Lancaster, bought out all the rights of the heirs. Hamon Massy, of Tatton, became afterwards the first Massy of Rixton in Lancashire, in right of his wife. Tatton passed from the Massy line in the tenth generation from William Massy, when Joan, only child of Sir Geoffrey Massey, married Sir William Stanley, and they left an only child, Joan.

Massey, of Podington, Cheshire, and of the Isle of Ely, County Cambridge, springs from Richard, younger brother of Hamon Massy, fifth baron of Dunham-Massy. Massie of Coddington in Cheshire, springs from Hugh de Massi, who obtained Coddington by marrying Agnes, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Bold, possessor of Coddington. From the Massies of Coddington, spring Massey of Broxton, Massey of Pool Hall, Massey of Whitepool. From Sir William de Masey, of Tatton, springs Massy of Audlem and Denfield. From Nicholas Massey, younger son of Hugh and Agnes or Ann (Bold) Massey, of Coddington, comes a line of Thomas Masseys for four generations, also the Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire branch from Nicholas, the youngest son of the first Thomas. The third Thomas died December 13, 1592.

I. Thomas Macy, of Chilmark Parish in Wiltshire, born in 1608, died April 19, 1682, came to Newbury, Massachusetts, about 1635, but removed to Salisbury, where he received land in 1639. He was one of the commoners and clerks of Amesbury, 1654-59, and received land there in 1652, 1654, and 1658; but removed to Nantucket in

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1659, where he died April 19, 1682. He married Sarah Hopcott, who came from Chilmark, England, born in 1612, and died at Nantucket, Massachusetts, in 1706. Children, born at Salisbury, Massachusetts: 1. Sarah, born July 9, 1644, died in 1645 or 1646. 2. Sarah, born August 1, 1646, died in 1701, at Nantucket; married William Worth. 3. Mary, born December 4, 1648, died in 1729; married William Bunker. 4. Bethiah, born about 1650, died in 1732; married Joseph Gardner. 5. Thomas, born September 22, 1653, died unmarried, December 3, 1675. 6. John, of whom further. 7. Francis, born about 1657, died in 1658, at Salisbury, Massachusetts.

II. John Macy, son of Thomas and Sarah (Hopcott) Macy, was born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, September 14, 1655, and died in Nantucket, October 14, 1691. He married Deborah Gardner. (Gardner II—third child.) Children, born in Nantucket, Massachusetts: 1. John, born about 1675, died at Nantucket, November 28, 1751; married Judith Worth. 2. Sarah, born April 3, 1677, died March 18, 1748; married John Barnard. 3. Deborah, born March 3, 1679, died August 16, 1742; married Daniel Russell. 4. Bethiah, born April 8, 1681, died June 6, 1738; married (first) Joseph Coffin; married (second) John Renuff. 5. Jabez, born about 1683, died August 7, 1776; had nine children; married Sarah Starbuck. 6. Mary, born about 1685, died June 27, 1717; married Solomon Coleman. 7. Thomas, of whom further. 8. Richard, born September 22, 1689, died December 25, 1779; married (first) Deborah Pinkham; married (second) Alice Paddack.

III. Thomas Macy, son of John and Deborah (Gardner) Macy, was born at Nantucket, about 1687, and died March 20, 1759. He married, at Nantucket, June 18, 1708, Deborah Coffin. (Coffin—Line One—Generation VI.) Children, born at Nantucket, Massachusetts: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Robert, born January 20, 1710, died November 23, 1771; married Abigail Barnard. 3. Love, born April 9, 1713, died November 14, 1767; married Joseph Rotch. 4. Francis, born August 2, 1715, died May 21, 1793; married Judith Coffin. 5. Nathaniel, born October 20, 1717, died March 20, 1783; married Abigail Pinkham. 6. Lydia, born April 23, 1720, died April 8, 1785; married Jethro Coleman. 7. Elizabeth, born August 9, 1722, died June 1, 1765; married Francis Barnard. 8. Thomas, born

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October 13, 1724, died young. 9. Deborah, born June 17, 1726, died in March, 1803; married Benjamin Coffin. 10. Anna, born June 7, 1730, died December 27, 1779; married Richard Worth. 11. Hepzabeth, born December 22, 1734; married Thomas Davis.

IV. Joseph Macy, son of Thomas and Deborah (Coffin) Macy, was born at Nantucket, June 8, 1709, and died at Nantucket, February 28, 1772. He married, February 23, 1727-28, at Nantucket, Hannah Hobbs, probably daughter of Henry Hobbs. They removed to New Garden, North Carolina, about 1774. Children, born at Nantucket, Massachusetts: 1. Mary, born July 15, 1729, died in Guilford County, North Carolina, October 13, 1808; married Paul Way. 2. Thomas, born May 1, 1731, died in Guilford County, North Carolina; married Mary Starbuck, daughter of Tristram Starbuck. 3. Bethiah, born June 3, 1733, died in Guilford County, North Carolina; married Nathaniel Swain. 4. Joseph, of whom further. 5. Henry, born October 22, 1737, died at Guilford County, North Carolina, April 13, 1816; married (first) Bethiah Macy; married (second) Deborah Coggeshall. 6. Paul, born April 22, 1740, died in Ohio, in 1832. 7. Enoch, born May 11, 1743, died in Guilford County, North Carolina; married Anna Macy.

V. Joseph Macy, Jr., son of Joseph and Hannah (Hobbs) Macy, was born at Nantucket, October 4, 1735, and died in Guilford County, North Carolina. He married, December 8, 1757, at Nantucket, Mary Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line One—Generation V.) Children, eight born in Nantucket, four in North Carolina: 1. Anna, born July 26, 1758, died in Randolph County, North Carolina, in 1808. 2. Hannah, born July 31, 1761, died in Guilford County, North Carolina, December 3, 1775. 3. Elizabeth, born October 14, 1763, died in Indiana, about 1845; married Uriah Barnard. 4. Joseph, Jr., born September 1, 1765, died in France. 5. Mary, born October 21, 1767, died in Guilford County, North Carolina. 6. Rhoda, born December 26, 1769, died in Randolph County, Indiana, February 27, 1837; married Job Worth. 7. William, of whom further. 8. Albert, born February 4, 1774, died in Randolph County, Indiana, May 10, 1847; married Nancy Wall. 9. Hannah, born in Guilford County, North Carolina, March 18, 1776, died in Wayne County, Indiana, in 1853; married Meindsy Wall. 10. Phebe, born in Guilford County, March 26, 1778,

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died in Vermilion County, Illinois, December 31, 1859; married John Lamb. 11. Reuben, born in Guilford County, North Carolina, May 29, 1780, died in Wayne County, Indiana, November 12, 1858; married Lucy Petty. 12. Judith, born in Guilford County, North Carolina, November 4, 1783, died in Williamsburg, Indiana; married Joseph Way.

VI. William Macy, son of Joseph and Mary (Starbuck) Macy, was born at Nantucket, February 7, 1772, and died in Union County, Indiana, March 14, 1855. He married, in Stokes County, North Carolina, in 1799, Mary Barnard. (Barnard VI.) Children, all born at New Garden, North Carolina, except three: 1. Obed, of whom further. 2. Tristram, born October 15, 1803, died in Rush County, Indiana, in 1863; married Mary Swain. 3. Stephen, born October 4, 1805, died in Lenox County, Indiana, September 27, 1826. 4. John W., born November 18, 1807; resided at Dalton, Indiana; married Elvira Coffin. 5. Jonathan, born June 6, 1810; resided at Manonk, Illinois; married Elizabeth (Polk) Bruce, widow. 6. Reuben, born July 12, 1812; resided at Manonk, Illinois; married Maria Gardner. 7. Franklin, born December 19, 1814; resided at Throntown, Indiana; married Ann Wetherald. 8. Thomas C., born in Union County, Indiana, May 9, 1818, resided at Dunlopville, Indiana; married Eleanor Horsman. 9. Rhoda, born in Union County, Indiana, June 15, 1820; resided at Liberty, Indiana; married Gideon Gardner. 10. Emily, born in Union County, Indiana, September 19, 1824; resided at Liberty, Indiana.

VII. Doctor Obed Macy, son of William and Mary (Barnard) Macy, was born at New Garden, North Carolina, December 14, 1801, and died in Los Angeles, California, July 9, 1857. He and his family were among the first to take up permanent residence in Los Angeles, California, after the American occupation. At the time the census was taken in that county (January-March, 1851), which then included what is now Orange County, all of San Bernardino County, a portion of Ventura County, and all of Riverside County, there were but five hundred and eighteen houses in that entire vast section. At that time Dr. Macy and his family were living at El Monte, an American settlement, on ground not included in any Spanish or American land grant. The town marks the end of the Santa Fé Trail. They had reached

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California late that year, but the census included them. On New Year's Day of 1851 they moved on to San Gabriel Mission, returning later to El Monte, but in 1852, they moved to Los Angeles, where this family and their descendants have taken ever since an active part in the life of the city. The eldest daughter of Dr. Macy, Mrs. Cheesman, and her husband, David W., and their family, were also part of the group of pioneers who traveled this great distance to make a new home. Their son, Randolph Cheesman, was born at Salt Lake City, where the family rested after their long trek across the plains. The Cheesman family and Oscar Macy, a son of Dr. Macy, did not remain in Southern California, but pressed on to the mines, where Dr. Macy and his family had intended to go, but were so won over by the climate of Los Angeles County, and the prospects there, that they remained, letting the others go on. Dr. Obed Macy married, in Indiana, October 17, 1824, Lucinda Polk. (Polk VI.) Children: 1. Amanda, born August 2, 1825, died December 5, 1826. 2. Urania, born April 5, 1828, died in Medford, Oregon, March 17, 1916; married, October 17, 1849, David W. Cheesman, who was a most enthusiastic supporter of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of the United States. He was a member of the convention that nominated Lincoln, and returned to California as first Republican National Committeeman for the State, and had a large part in directing the campaign. He and his wife were in Washington for the second inauguration of Lincoln, and Mr. Cheesman was also there for the first inauguration. The Cheesmans never came south to live, first living in the mining counties, then in Oakland and San Francisco, and later in Oregon. At all times Mr. Cheesman was active in political affairs, both local and national. He was a director at the United States Mint in San Francisco. This branch of the family has been widely scattered, some living in Seattle, and one son Frank lived for many years in Guatemala City, Guatemala, Central America, being engaged still in civil engineering there (1930). 3. Oscar, born July 28, 1829, died November 1, 1910; married, June 24, 1873, Margaret Elizabeth Bell, daughter of Alexander Thomas Bell, pioneer harness and leather dealer of Los Angeles. At the age of twenty-one, Oscar Macy crossed the plains with his parents, in 1850, and went north to Condemned Bar, where he and his brother-in-law, David W. Cheesman, expended considerable money washing gold from the sand, but heavy freshets forcing them to abandon their

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claims, Oscar went to Sacramento, working there at his printing trade on the old Alta California. In 1853 he returned to Los Angeles, where he first clerked for his father at the old Bella Union, then worked at his trade on the "Southern Vineyard," and later on the "Star." After his father's death he was employed as head clerk for Tomlinson and Griffith, at San Pedro. In recognition of his services to the Republican party, he was appointed Deputy Collector of Customs at San Pedro, by General John T. Miller, collector of the port at San Francisco. He was a member of the Los Angeles City Council at the time Macy Street was opened through to the river. The street was named for him, not so much for his political prominence, as for the fact that the old Macy home had been for many years the only house on the unnamed street west of Alameda. For several terms he was a member of the County Board of Supervisors. Oscar Macy's own story of his coming to California follows, for at a meeting of the Pioneer Society of Los Angeles, he was called upon to give his experiences. He said that to tell all that happened would take him as long as it took their company to cross the plains, which was nine months. The company of which he was a member left Independence, Missouri, April 14, 1850. The cholera broke out on the plains and graves marked the line of travel. On account of detention by cholera the company reached Salt Lake too late to cross the Sierra Nevadas. There they learned it was possible to reach California by a Southern route. They followed down the Rio Virgin and then struck across the desert, reaching the Cajon Pass December 27, 1850. When they reached Cucamonga they were out of provisions. They were directed to the government station at the Chino ranch, where they were supplied with ten days' government rations by the army officers. Mr. Macy gave a humorous description of how the native Californians milked cows. The cow was lassoed and tied to a post, her legs were tied together and her tail tied down, then the milking process began. The only carriages at that time were the Mexican carretas, drawn by oxen. The wheels were made of a solid section of a log; when the axle wore out a large hole and they had no tallow to stop the loud creaking, they punched a bunch of malva into the hole to lubricate the axles. The principal occupants of Los Angeles besides the natives were crows. They sat on the roofs and cawed when not employed as scavengers. Water was delivered in buckets to consumers. Some

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genius invented a method of delivering it by a barrel. The barrel was revolved through the streets by means of ropes fastened to pegs in each end and the water was distributed to consumers. This was the first water system of Los Angeles. He described a vigilance committee. A man by the name of Brown had committed a murder. Justice was long delayed. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court and there was a possibility the man would escape punishment. A vigilance committee was formed. The mayor promised if justice was not done within a given time he would resign and help hang the culprit. The mayor, Stephen C. Foster, was as good as his word, and the man was hanged. On another occasion he gave other details of the memorable journey, as follows:

As a prelude to what I may have to say of my journey across the continent that early day, allow me to revert to my earlier life by retracing the milestones that mark the fleeting years to the number of seventy odd, which carries me in retrospect to the Hoosier State which gave me birth and especially to the little village of Bruceville, where I first became acquainted with the prevailing schoolma'am of the time. Methinks I still see that personage, ruler in hand, which was an essential in the conduct of the village school under her tutelage. That ruler was an emblem of authority and ever busy rapping to books, commanding order and silence; perhaps tingling the palm of some rude miss or striking the dust from the large patch that adorned the pants of some naughty boy. This during the "sweet summer time"; but winter terms were varied by installing male teachers to cope with the big boys of the neighborhood.

Now that was so long since that I think I was rather a pioneer. It was prior to the invasion of the steel pen, and we relied entirely upon the veritable "Mother Goose" to furnish the pen with which we essayed our first straight marks and pothooks.

After a few years' residence in various localities I found myself at Bloomington learning and plying the arts preservative. Here I remained until one beautiful spring morning in 'fifty, when I entered a rickety conveyance for Madison, Indiana, thus starting on my western trip to the distant Pacific. I had never seen a railroad, but by the wayside were to be seen the stakes of the preliminary survey for a railroad. Reaching Columbus, a town on the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, the following day, I boarded a train for Madison on the Ohio River. This was the only line of railroad in the State at that time. At last-named place took steamboat, "Telegraph No. 1," to Louisville, Kentucky, then transferred to "Telegraph No. 2," for St. Louis, Missouri, then to another for Kansas City, Missouri, whence

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my parents and family had preceded me. (At that time the family consisted of his mother and father, all his brothers and sisters, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Cheesman. His brother Charles fell a victim of cholera on the Platte.)

At Kansas City we remained until grass was sufficiently strong to sustain our teams of cattle, when we bade good-bye to relatives and friends, and launched out across the plains, before alluded to. Evidently all emigrants had been awaiting the same conditions of feed, for we had been on the road but a short time when the way was thronged with anxious trains, all eagerly pressing over the billowy waste toward the setting sun. As by instinct or other cause this vast throng of travelers divided into parties of convenient numbers for safety from the tribes of Indians, on whose domains we were apparent trespassers, most usually selecting someone who became known as captain of that division, and for a time whose authority as such was acknowledged, but as time passed the fear of attack from the nomads of the plains disappeared, caution relaxed, and disintegration commenced; and ere long smaller numbers were en route without special organization, which continued, one might say, to the end of our journey.

Westport, now a suburb of Kansas City, was the last village within the lines of civilization, with the exception of a Catholic mission a few miles westerly—thence our course skirted the south bank of Kaw River to an Indian village where Topeka now is situated; crossing that stream our course led more northerly, crossing a number of small streams on our way toward the Platte, passing over a beautiful rolling wilderness, at times encountering bands of Indians, but all peaceable and harmless save their invariable thieving disposition; so during the nights our stock was always under vigilant guard.

Now, as wood, water and grass were the great essentials over the plains, someone on horseback usually preceded the train and selected the camp ground; and when we would turn from the main road and head for the camping spot, the teams instinctively knew the day's journey was near its end and it was difficult to restrain them from a stampede until camp was reached, when in a few moments we unyoked and enjoyed such food as surroundings afforded. Only on few occasions was it deemed necessary to park our train, as it was soon obvious that our personal safety did not require that precaution.

We had been en route but a few days when there was great excitement among that mass of emigrants—those having horse and mule teams came rushing with all speed, passing the more slowly moving cattle—yelling cholera! cholera! and we had proceeded but a small distance till we seemed enveloped in an atmosphere laden with that dreadful scourge, continuing to spread its baneful effects along the way

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for hundreds of miles, causing fresh mounds by the roadside and camping grounds.

One of the chief obstacles on our way was the fording of the South Platte, a wide shallow swift stream with ever-changing bottom which to some was disastrous as the wagon beds were floated from between the standards and swept down the angry stream tumbling over in their course, destroying all they contained; but our party was free from accident or mishap and landed safely on the other shore. The writer recrossed that treacherous stream many times that day.

Following morning commenced ascent across the divide between South and North Platte, making dry camp at summit—next day descending to North Platte, then through Ash Hollow, and made camp near the river, resuming our travels following day of and along the south bank, passing Scott's Bluff, Fremont Springs, and soon to Fort Laramie, situated on a quite level plateau at junction of Laramie Creek and North Platte.

Here we were forcibly reminded that although hundreds of miles beyond the zone of civilization still we were within Uncle Sam's domain, for proudly floating in the breeze was the starry banner that we always cherish; and then a lone sentinel, keeping watch and ward on his beat, all military rules being strictly observed on and about the parade grounds and quarters.

Following day began a more rugged route as we approached the Black Hills up the Sweet Water and on to "Independence Rock," a huge pile of immense boulders thrown one upon another by some titanic power. This mysterious pile was so named by the Mormons, who had celebrated the Fourth of July while on their pilgrimage to Deseret, at that beautiful spot on the banks of the Sweet Water, whose waters are fed from the virgin snows of the great continental divide.

These great boulders bear the registration of hundreds of names, indelibly engraved therein—many artistically executed with great care which will require ages to erase.

Remaining one night we proceeded on our way, passing Devil's Gate, where the turbulent waters had cut their way through a mountain spur at foot of and around which our course led. The route becoming more rugged as we approached South Pass; but before we finally arrived at summit the route became less precipitous—finally so nearly level that it was difficult to determine the exact point or comb where divided the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific systems. Our first night after passing the divide was at Pacific Springs, which embraced an acre or two whose waters were ice cold and all around the edge at depth of a foot or so ice was encountered which no doubt is perpetual. On we journeyed, crossing Big and Little ———, and arriving at the

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junction of the California and Oregon trails there was a division of our train, some taking the Fort Hall route to Oregon.

As we advanced we approached the mountain ranges where are now the states Wyoming and Utah, which were extremely rugged, the trail leading along mountain streams, crossing and recrossing them many times.

One of the prettiest valleys to be seen among the mountains was that where Fort Bridger, the home of a mountaineer pioneer trapper—a beautiful trout stream supplying ample water for all purposes wandered through the valley. We are now approaching the rugged ranges Wahsatch and other mountains, and our progress is tedious and strenuous. We had learned not to borrow, but overcome difficulties as they were presented, when somehow or other they were more easily surmounted than we expected.

So on and on we go climbing mountains, crossing streams, taking in Echo Canyon, which in after years passed into historic importance when the Mormons fortified the crest against the approach of government forces under command of General Albert S. Johnston. Through that canyon at that time appeared to be the only route for all parties, whether emigrants or soldiers, to enter Salt Lake, and the Mormons had accumulated a great mass of boulders which they planned to hurl down on the small army as they passed through this rift in the mountain to their utter destruction as an advancing host.

Finally after days of arduous toil we reached emigrant canyon, which debouches into plains of the Great Salt Lake Valley, on which the city of that name is founded and the first stage of pilgrimage is about concluded.

The germs of a city had already been sown. The great oval tabernacle said to accommodate 12,000 worshippers was completed, the acoustics of which were unsurpassed, enabling the speaker to be heard and distinctly understood throughout the immense building. The writer enjoyed the novelty of listening to a Sunday sermon by their president, Brigham Young.

Besides the edifice alluded to was a courthouse, tithing office, the Lion House (the home of Brigham Young), together with many adjacent cottages, the homes of the prophet's numerous wives, many houses quite substantial and comfortable for those who could afford them, and others were mean shacks, all of sun-dried bricks or adobes, of a bluish color, lending a pleasant effect to the whole.

A noticeable feature were the wide streets and the crystal streams of water flowing on either side of many of them fed from city creek, which debouched from the nearby mountain and dropped into the lap of the city of the Saints.

We found those people industrious, enterprising, kindly disposed and hospitable to the stranger within their gates.

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Oscar Macy did not remain long in Northern California, but before his marriage returned to Los Angeles, with which place he was thereafter identified. He was a most enthusiastic supporter of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of the United States. 4. Nancy, born October 13, 1832, died November 16, 1916; married, in Butte County, California, August 21, 1862, Aphek Lorenzo Woodruff, born in 1828, in Connecticut. His family settled in Nevada County, California, and became well known in Columbia Hill, Grass Valley, and Nevada City. 5. Louisa, born December 13, 1834, died March 18, 1896; married, in Los Angeles, April 6, 1858, John Moran Foy. (Foy III.) 6. Charles, born April 3, 1837, died in 1850, of cholera, during the overland trip across the plains to California. 7. Margaret, born September 17, 1839, died young. 8. William, born September 4, 1841, died in Los Angeles, California, February 8, 1923, unmarried. 9. Obed, born November 23, 1843, died in Los Angeles, California, August 21, 1922; married, November 20, 1867, Mary Teresa Sullivan. He left a large family. His daughter, Ethel, married J. L. Dartt, who gathered much data on the Macy-Polk lines. 10. Lucinda, of whom further. 11. Mary Jane, born July 12, 1849, died February 7, 1927; married, in Los Angeles, California, August 4, 1873, Taliesin Evans, a Welsh-Englishman, a native of Manchester, England, who, during the late World War, was enrolled among the Welsh bards in recognition of a poem which he had written in the Welsh language. 12. Alice, born October 2, 1852, died March 5, 1854. 13. Christiana, born November 13, 1855, died June 9, 1856.

VIII. Lucinda Macy, daughter of Dr. Obed and Lucinda (Polk) Macy, was born at Maria Creek, Knox County, Indiana, December 21, 1844, and crossed the plains in 1850 with her parents, arriving at San Gabriel Mission, New Year's Day, 1851. The family camped about two months at San Gabriel, then moved to El Monte, building a "stick and mud" house under a great oak tree, on ground thought to be government land. But in 1852, the family moved to Los Angeles, where Dr. Macy bought the Bella Union Hotel, establishing his family in one of two small houses on the northwest corner of Los Angeles and Commercial streets.

They lived here for some time, the children attending school in the new two-story brick schoolhouse on the northwest corner of Second and Spring streets. Then Dr. Macy procured a site on the Zanja

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Madre at what is now the corner of North Main and Macy streets, where he built a low spreading building, a portion of which was fitted up as a bathhouse, water for the baths being taken from the Zanja by means of a large waterwheel. The bathhouse was not of adobe brick, but of mud poured into forms in the manner of concrete construction today. While this house was being built the Macy family lived near by in an adobe on the east side of Olvera Street. Dr. Macy died shortly after the completion of the bathhouse, and his widow, with other members of the family, continued to live there until her death in 1872. Among friends, Mrs. Foy was always known as "Pet" Macy. "Pet" learned her A-B-C's from her mother's Bible while journeying to California. She enrolled as a pupil in the city schools of Los Angeles the very first day there was a public school there, and continued in the city schools until her marriage in 1860. She loves to tell of old days in Los Angeles—their romance and tragedy, when everybody knew everything that happened and was usually a part of it. We append her story of the trip across the plains:

We were living in Washington, Davis County, Indiana, when we broke up housekeeping to come to California—and we stopped at grandfather's, near what is now Oaktown, in Knox County, on the way. I think the first of the journey I really remember was going to grandfather's to spend a week before we started and most of the relatives came there to bid us good-bye.

I remember being scolded by my aunt for wiping my feet with a beautiful clean towel which she had given me for my face—I remember the scolding though I was only five years old, but I don't remember any of the kind words nor other incidents of this visit to grandfather's.

I don't remember anything of the preparations except that father employed a shoemaker to make shoes for all the children—we all had several pairs each. From grandfather's I have no recollection of the journey until we got to the Mississippi River. That big river sticks in my mind. The wagons were driven onto a ferry boat and we were ferried across—I don't know how it was propelled—I remember being on the water.

We traveled from St. Louis up the Missouri River to an Indian post, where Kansas City now stands. At this place we had relatives; Uncle McCoy was missionary and Indian agent at the post. He was an uncle of my mother's. Here my father bought our outfit for the trip across the plains—wagons, oxen and provisions, and joined a train of emigrants. I think it was there that the Ganeaus and George Hearst joined the same train. Ganeau was a Frenchman, and he died in Cali-

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fornia, and Mrs. Ganeau married a Mr. McPherson, who had a ranch near Port Harford, San Luis Obispo County.

George Hearst was a youth of about 18 or 19 years of age—near 19. He once distinguished himself by walking six miles off the trail to a snow mountain proving that he had been there by bringing a handkerchief packed with snow. I don't know where that was—twelve miles was a good long walk to add to the day's work.

I don't remember anything on the journey except sitting about the campfires and the singing of an evening; also the posting of the guards for the cattle, so the cattle wouldn't be stampeded by the Indians. Our train was a good-sized train from Kansas City to Salt Lake. I remember nothing of the topography of the country; just traveled along—traveled along. The dirt wasn't very far from my eyes.

Cholera broke out in the train somewhere before we got to Salt Lake. I don't know how many died. We lost brother Charles; he was about 14 years old. That was the only case in our family. A boy named Benny Heatherly, aged about twelve, died, also a young man named Roup. Charlie was taken sick in the morning and died about evening; I don't know that eating fruit had anything to do with Charlie getting the cholera, but I remember mother catching me just as I had taken a handful of dried apples out of a bag, and taking the apples from me for fear I might get the sickness. We had to bury Charles by the roadside on the slope of a little hill. I remember seeing the men bring cedar boughs down the mountain-side to line the grave, which was dug very deep for fear of wolves digging up the body. The years '48 and '49 were bad cholera years—'48 was considered the worst.

My father was a doctor and we had our medicine chest; I do not know whether my father's being a physician saved the rest of our family from getting the cholera. I think the emigrants caught in '48 were going to Salt Lake. This is conjecture, for the great gold rush did not set in till '49, and our traveling was in '50. We started on our journey in April, '50.

In due time we arrived safely in Salt Lake, having had no Indian trouble whatever. At Salt Lake we rented a house, expecting to stay the winter, but we only stayed six weeks.

The first grandchild of the family was born there, Randolph Cheesman, son of David Cheesman and Urania Macy Cheesman. That baby must have been a month old before we traveled on, so I should judge we left Salt Lake for the final part of the journey about October 1. We had a hard journey; the oxen were poor and there was very little feed on the road. We had to keep parting with things to lighten the load, finally even had to leave a wagon behind, arriving in California with only one wagon. The oxen became very poor;

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some of them died. We children walked most of the way from Salt Lake. So I always say I was a toughfoot when I arrived there—no tenderfoot about me.

The impetuosity of D. W. Cheesman in attempting to prevent an Indian from beating and cutting his squaw came near throwing us all into a fight, but our train men pulled David back, and when the Indians saw our people were not going to allow him to discipline the Indian they left us alone. The Indian was beating his squaw and had a big knife, and the other Indians were looking on; but when they saw David start to save the squaw, they all took sides with the Indian and were ready to fight. Of course, our people would all have combined behind David. However, the men in our train told David it was none of our business if the whole tribe was being killed—he must keep his hands off. The incident came off near some springs or perhaps near a river; I don't know just where it was.

We arrived in California in December, 1850, having spent nine months on the journey. Of course, there had been many stops. Whenever we came to water or good green grass or feed, we would stop to rest and get the cattle fed up. There were many days we did not travel. We came through Cajon Pass. The road ran on top of a ridge, then coming through the Pass to a point where the view opened up and we could see down into the San Bernardino Valley. My father said, "Lucindy, this is Paradise." I was a little girl standing at their feet. I had had instruction in the Bible and knew that Paradise meant Heaven, and I thought they meant it was Heaven. There had been early rains and the country was green and beautiful. There was a well defined road between Salt Lake and what is now San Bernardino. San Bernardino later was an outpost of Salt Lake, and was settled by the Mormons about 1854. For some reason Brigham Young called them back, but still many of the Mormons stayed; and later, when Uncle John Foy went there to live, descendants of these Mormon settlers were among our own very good friends.

From Cajon we traveled to Cucamonga, then by way of San Jose Ranch, where Pomona now is, and Puente, till we came to the San Gabriel Mission lands, where we camped, right where the San Gabriel golf links are now, on the Sexton place.

Cucamonga was owned by Victor Prudhomme, who gave us grapes which had been hanging in the cellar, and gave us wine. We didn't know much about using wine, but he showed us how to dilute it with water to drink as we ate our bread. Michael Snee, overseer at the Cucamonga Ranch, presented us with a large piece of fine beef; while father sent to the Chino Ranch, procuring a bag of flour from the government supplies for the use of emigrants.

Then we went on to the San Jose Ranch, which was owned by Palomares, Frank's father. We stopped there one or two days. The cat-

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tle had gotten so poor on the other side of the mountain that we had to stop and feed them up a day before they could pull a day. At this ranch we saw them milk cows Spanish style. They would first lasso the head and draw her up to a post, then aggravate her till she would kick and they could lasso her hind legs and tie them tight, then they would tie down the tail, and after that they would milk the cow. I don't suppose there was a cow on any of the ranches that would tamely submit to being milked.

We went on from San Jose to the Puente Ranch. Arriving there, we found John R. Rowland—Uncle John Rowland—who made us most welcome to California, doing many favors for us. Lots of these ranchers gave us beef. We stopped at Puente one night. I remember the vineyard; going down and looking at the vineyard the first time I was there. I don't think there is anything more to tell of Puente—I don't think we went into the house, and don't remember anything more of the place until I went there with Mary Gray in my school vacations later. The Grays arrived in California after we did, and Mrs. Gray married Mr. Rowland.

Of course, most of the inhabitants were Spanish, but we soon met the American families, and among our best friends today are the children of those families.

Lucinda Macy married, October 7, 1860, Samuel Calvert Foy (Foy III), going North with her husband, who was in the cattle business on the San Joaquin, near Stockton. They returned to Los Angeles in the spring of 1865, living in a one-story brick building on the west side of Main Street between Second and Third, until 1872, when they moved to Seventh Street and Grasshopper (now Figueroa). After the death of Mr. Foy, Mrs. Foy did not leave the old home until August, 1904, when she moved to San Rafael Heights, Pasadena. She died there November 2, 1926.

(The Polk Line)

Polk Arms—Vert, a saltire or, between three hunting horns in fesse and base argent, garnished gules.

Crest—A boar passant quartered or and vert pierced through the sinister shoulder with an arrow proper.

Motto—*Audacter et strenue.* (Boldly and earnestly.)

In its original form the name Polk was Pollock. It is traced back to the great Barony of Pollock, that gave its name to the ancestors of what for many centuries was one of the great families of Scotland and England, and at a later period, of America. Like many of the patronymics of the greatest and most ancient families, the origin of which

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is lost, in a dim and remote past, the name is derived from a place name, those imperishable names. that by brushing away the gathering moss of the years, may still be found, clear and pristine, as in the long gone ages of their naming. Although the name is of Scotch origin, the ancestry is Saxon, in the direct line, a line which rivals in its unbroken length that of any other house in Britain. For the Polks or Pollocks can trace their ancestry back to Fulbert the Saxon, who flourished about 1053 Anno Domini, and was a follower of Edward the Confessor, the last of the Saxon kings whose reign was secure and unchallenged. After the Conquest in 1066 Anno Domini, Fulbert appears to have been quite in favor at the new court, and to have won the confidence of William, who is said to have made him his chamberlain, and certainly rewarded him with the barony of Pollock in Renfrewshire, Scotland. As was customary in those days, Fulbert was known by the name of his estate, and Pollock from being merely a title, grew to be the family name of his descendants. The great barony, one of the richest and most desirable estates in Scotland, came into the possession of Fulbert during the reign of David I, King of Scotland, 1124-53, and made its possessor one of the most powerful peers of that kingdom, a power that continued to increase for some time. It was said indeed of Petrus Pollock, the son of Fulbert, that his power was almost equal to that of the King, that he was a law unto himself, and this was especially true when to Pollock he added another great barony, that of Rothes, in Aberdeenshire. Petrus Pollock seems to have been a remarkable figure, and to have wielded a power in many different forms in his day. We are told that he was a champion whose exploits in war and in the chase became the subject for the minstrels of the time, who made lays upon them and sang them as they went through the country from castle to castle. His knightly fame was second to none, a fact that gave a prestige that grew even greater after his death, when he was hailed as the father of many crusaders, and to this day the chevron of the ancient Pollock arms is still borne in the arms of the Prince of Wales. There was yet another achievement of this great peer and worthy man that entitles him to fame, and that is his large benefactions to the great monastery of Paisley, the repository of sanctity and learning. Petrus Pollock died in the year 1175 Anno Domini, and his great estate passed into the hands of his brother, Robert Pollock, or de Pollock, the real founder of the Pollock family.

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The Pollock line beginning with this ancient ancestor, Robert de Pollock, is as follows, the consistency with which the name Robert has remained popular in the family being an item of much interest:

I. Robert de Pollock, of whom not a great deal is known save that he was a good knight and powerful noble and that he ruled over his baronies from 1175 to 1214 Anno Domini.

II. Robert de Pollock, 1214 to 1249 Anno Domini.

III. Thomas de Pollock, 1250 to 1290 Anno Domini.

IV. Petrus de Pollock was one of the great Scottish nobles of the period, who was forced most unwillingly to submit to Edward I, King of England, in the most interesting old bond known as the "Ragman's Roll" (1296 A. D.).

V. Robertus, or *Robert de Pollock*, was in possession of the great estate from 1350 to about 1400 Anno Domini.

VI. John de Pollock, of whom little is known concerning him or his immediate successor.

VII. Brucii de Pollock.

VIII. John de Pollock flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century.

IX. John de Pollock.

X. Robert de Pollock, a younger son of the above. He inherited the grant of land comprising a large estate in Ireland, or New Scotland, as the country was formerly called, which had come into the family about 1440, from James II of Scotland. He afterwards succeeded an elder brother in possession of the Scottish estates also, and made his home there.

XI. Robert de Pollock, a younger son of the above, who inherited the Irish estate and went to that country to live. He became Sir Robert Pollock and was the real founder of the Irish family and thus of the American branch. After coming to Ireland, the spelling of the family name underwent a change so rapid, that even in the time of this first resident we often find the form of Polk used. It soon became the usual form, and the American descendants have preserved it to the

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present day. Early in life Sir Robert joined the Scotch Covenanters, and it was about the same time that he married a scion of the Stuart family, the ancient royal house of Scotland.

I. Robert Bruce Pollock, or Polk, of the twelfth generation of this line, was the second son of Sir Robert de Pollock, whose estates were inherited by an elder brother, Thomas. Robert Bruce Polk was a captain in the regiment of Colonel Porter and served with that officer under Cromwell. He was a man of great energy and enterprise and came to the American colonies about the year 1672, and landed in Maryland, at what was then known as "Damm Quarter" (now Dame's Quarter) in the Chesapeake Bay. He was the founder of the distinguished American family of Polk, which now has representatives in every part of the country, and whose members have served with distinction in practically every department of activity. Robert Bruce Polk made his home in the new land in the region between Manokin and Nanticoke rivers, near Chesapeake Bay, where he received several grants of land from Lord Baltimore. He died in 1703-04.

Robert Bruce Polk married Magdalen (Tasker) Porter, widow of his old colonel, and daughter of Colonel Tasker, at one time chancellor of Ireland. She was a relative of the Countess of Mornington and her sister, Prudence, well-known figures in the aristocracy of the period, and aunts of the great "Iron Duke" of Wellington. She died in 1727. They were the parents of a family of children, of whom the following are found in the records. 1. John. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Ephraim. 4. James. 5. Robert. 6. David. 7. Joseph. 8. Martha. 9. Anne.

II. William Polk, son of Robert Bruce and Magdalen (Tasker-Porter) Polk, was born in County Donegal, Ireland, in 1664-67, and died in 1740. He married (first) Nancy (Knox) Owens, widow of William Owens. He married (second) the Widow Gray. He lived in Somerset County, Maryland. Children of William and Nancy (Knox-Owens) Polk: 1. Elizabeth (Betsey), born about 1695; married John Williams, of Somerset County, Maryland. 2. William, born between 1700-10, removed to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and married Margaret Taylor, and about 1750, settled on the Yadkin River, North Carolina. 3. Charles, of whom further. 4. James, born May 17, 1719, died in 1770; married (first) Mary Cottman; (second) Betty

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Cottman. 5. David, born in 1721, died in 1778; he became a judge; married Betty Gilliss. 6. Jane, born in 1723; married James Strawbridge.

III. Charles Polk, son of William and Nancy (Knox-Owens) Polk, was born in Somerset County, Maryland, between the years 1700 and 1710 and died in Frederick County, Maryland, in 1753. Before 1740, he became an Indian trader on the northern frontier of Maryland, and married, about 1735, Christiana, whom in his will of March 19, 1753, he made, with Ralph Matson, his executor. She married (second) Ralph Matson. He also names six minor children. Children, born in Frederick County, Maryland: 1. Sarah, born in 1736; married, about 1763, Austin Piety, a British officer. 2. William, born in 1738. 3. Edmond, born in 1740, in Frederick County, Maryland, and died in Bullitt County, Kentucky, in 1824-25. 4. Thomas, born in 1742; went to Nelson County, Kentucky, between 1775-80. 5. Charles, Jr., of whom further. 6. John, born in 1746.

IV. Captain Charles Polk, Jr., son of Charles and Christiana Polk, was born in Frederick County, Maryland, February 2, 1745, and died in Knox County, Indiana, September 11, 1823. In 1774, Charles Polk, Jr., was living in Cross Creek, Virginia, now West Virginia, about sixteen miles from the Ohio River, where Wellsville is now located. In that year Daniel Greathouse with thirty-two men murdered twelve Christian Indians, and this act brought on what is now known in history as "Dunmore's War," ending in the defeat of the allied Indians, October 10, 1794, at the mouth of the Kanawha River by an army of riflemen under Colonel Andrew Lewis. Charles Polk served as an Indian fighter, first against Indians on the Scioto, and then under Lord Dunmore. Later, he followed his brothers, Edmond and Thomas, and with his brother William and his sister Sarah Piety, and their families and neighbors, emigrated to Kentucky, in the spring of 1780. Hostile Indians did not appear until September, 1782, when they attacked Kincheloe Station, killed many of the settlers and took prisoners most of the survivors, including the wife and children of Captain Charles Polk.

In a manuscript on file in the Virginia State Library among the Illinois Papers, which is "Pay Roll of Captain Charles Polk's company of militia commanded by Colonel William Linn, under the com-

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mand of Colonel George Rogers Clark, on an expedition against the Indians, 1780, commencing the 18th of July and ending the 21st of August, 1780, both days in," appears the name Charles Polk. This entry (reference number I. P. D. 43) shows that Charles Polk was a captain in the above company, served thirty-five days and received nine pounds, six shillings, eight pence for his services. Another pay roll (reference number I. P. D. 50) shows the same term of service (July 18 to 21, inclusive, of 1780), but records the pay as one pound thirteen shillings. A third record is a "Pay Roll of Captain Charles Polk's company of militia in Colonel Cox's battalion, commanded by Colonel John Floyd, county lieutenant, under command of General George Rogers Clark, on an expedition against the Indians, 1782, commencing the 19th of October and ending the 25th of November, 1782, both days inclusive," which shows that Charles Polk was captain of this company, served thirty-seven days, and received eight pounds, fourteen shillings, sixteen pence for his services.

Captain Charles Polk married Delilah Tyler. (Tyler V.) Children, excepting the first two and Charles, all born in Kentucky: 1. William, born September 19, 1775, died in Knox County, Indiana, April 26, 1843; married (first) Sally Ashby; married (second) Sarah Cooper. 2. Elizabeth, born about 1777, died in Knox County, Indiana; married, in 1793, Captain Spier Spencer. 3. Sarah (Sally), born September 9, 1780, died in Knox County, Indiana, September 2, 1818; married, in 1798, Major William Bruce, son of James Bruce. 4. Nancy, born about 1781, died in Indiana; married Peter Ruby. 5. Charles, of whom further. 6. Christiana, born November 12, 1784, died in Jackson County, Missouri, in 1850; married Rev. Isaac McCoy. 7. Edward, born in 1786; killed in 1814 in the army. 8. Eleanor, born in 1788, died in Indiana. 9. Mary (Polly), born in 1790. 10. Dr. Thomas, born February 21, 1792, died at Gonzales, Texas, February 7, 1872; married Sarah Sloan. 11. Robert Tyler, born about 1796, died in 1844. 12. A son, born and died in June, 1797.

("Indiana Magazine of History," March, 1914, p. 96. "Polk Memoirs," by James Polk.)

V. Charles Polk, 3d, son of Captain Charles and Delilah (Tyler) Polk, was born at Detroit, in Indian captivity, October 20, 1782, and died in Perry County, Indiana, in 1845. He served under General

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Harrison at Tippecanoe, in 1811, teamster in the quartermaster's department, and was an officer of the Indiana Militia in the War of 1812. He took an active part in all the civil and military affairs of his district, and in 1816 was the single member from Perry County of the First Constitutional Convention of Indiana, when the Territory assumed Statehood. He married, January 13, 1803, Margaret McQuaid. (McQuaid III.) Children, excepting the two eldest, all born in Indiana: 1. James, born in Shelby County, Kentucky, September 5, 1804, died in 1890; married Harriet Shepherd. 2. Delilah, born January 1, 1806, died in 1874; married Alexander Blackburn. 3. Lucinda, of whom further. 4. William Bruce, born about 1810, and died in 1814. 5. Nancy, born about 1812; died unmarried. 6. Elizabeth, born about 1814; married Charles Short. 7. Edmond, born about 1816; married Jane Elliott. 8. Isabel, born about 1818, died in 1837; unmarried. 9. Charles, born about 1820, died in 1839. 10. Christiana, born in 1822, died in 1848; married three times; (first) James Piety Cox; (second) a Mr. Holden; (third) Samuel Maxwell. 11. Isaac, born November 4, 1823, died July 27, 1898; married twice; (first) Mary Cox; (second) Mrs. Martha (Couchman) Ferguson. 12. John M., born February 26, 1826, died in 1881; married (first) Elizabeth Colton; (second) Eliza Jane Hill. 13. Margaret, born in 1830, died in 1872; married Henry Bartley.

VI. Lucinda Polk, daughter of Charles and Margaret (McQuaid) Polk, was born in Knox County, Indiana, January 6, 1808, and died at Los Angeles, California, August 4, 1872. She married Dr. Obed Macy. (Macy VII.)

(Family data. Virginia State Library records.)

(The Tyler Line)

Tyler Arms—Sable, on a fess or, between two lions passant guardant argent, pelletée, three crescents gules.

From the occupation of tiler comes the family name Tyler. A tiler is one who bakes clay into tiles and tile is from the Latin *tegula*, through the Anglo-Saxon *tigele*, a tile; and *tegula* is from the Latin *tegere*, to cover.

Geoffrey le Tyler is on record in the Hundred Rolls of Huntingdonshire, A. D. 1273; and Adam le Tyghelere in the Writs of Parliament, about 1300 A. D.

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I. Henry Tyler, ancestor of the Tylers of Williamsburg, Virginia, including the United States President, John Tyler; Thomas Tyler, head of another Virginia Tyler family, and Nathaniel, of Lynn, Massachusetts, are all accredited to Shropshire, England; and Robert Tyler, of Maryland, who died in 1673-74, probably came from the western border of England, and settled in Prince George's County, Maryland. He married Joan Read, widow of Captain George Read, of Resurrection Manor, Calvert County, Maryland, and they had a son, Robert Tyler, of whom further.

II. Robert Tyler, son of Henry and Joan (Read) Tyler, was born January 6, 1671, and died in 1738. He was appointed peace commissioner April 22, 1696, for Prince George's County. He was a member of the Lower House of the General Assembly in May, 1704, and continued for twenty years in that office. He married, before 1694, Susannah Du Val. (Du Val I—fifth child.) Children, born in Maryland: 1. Edward, of whom further. 2. Mary, born February 1, 1697; married (first) James Baldwin; (second) Samuel Whitehead. 3. Susannah, born July 14, 1700; married John Lamar. 4. Elizabeth, born September 22, 1701; married Samuel Pottinger. 5. Priscilla, born June 12, 1703; married Nathaniel Wickham. 6. Robert, born August 9, 1704; married Mary Wade, and had issue. 7. Mareen, born February 20, 1707, died unmarried. 8. Jane, born May 20, 1709, died young.

III. Edward Tyler, son of Robert and Susannah (Du Val) Tyler, was born February 7, 1696. He married Elizabeth Du Val. (Du Val III.) They had a son, Edward, of whom further.

IV. Edward (2) Tyler, son of Edward and Elizabeth (Du Val) Tyler, was born in 1719, and died in Kentucky in 1802. He married, about 1750, Nancy Langley, who died in Kentucky, July 31, 1820, aged eighty-eight years. An original bill of sale given in what is now Spencer County, Kentucky, October 31, 1785, transferred from Edward Tyler to Jacob Yeder a family of negroes. The place was then in Nelson County. Captain Robert Tyler, Sr., who built Tyler's Station or Fort, four miles east of Shelbyville, Kentucky, was a son. He went with the Virginia Militia to Kentucky in 1779, and was in Captain William Harrod's company there in 1780. Tyler's Station was then in Jefferson County, and a Robert Tyler was representative

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from Jefferson County in 1831. Children: 1. Robert, born August 19, 1751; married, in 1772, Margaret Tyler, first cousin. 2. Moses, born January 1, 1755; married Phebe ———. 3. Betsey, married ——— Korbey. Moved to the Monongahela country, where, along with all but one of her children, she was scalped and killed by the savages. 4. Nancy, born in 1763, died in 1838; married (first) Captain Peter A'Sturgus, who was killed in an Indian raid upon Boone Station, in 1781; married (second), in 1788, James Denny, who became sheriff of Jefferson County, Kentucky, and was killed while on duty; married (third), in 1813, Michael Humble. 5. Delilah, of whom further. 6. William, born June 23, 1755, "near Shepardstown, Barclay County, Virginia"; (pension record); married Sarah Williams. 7. Nelly, married Captain William Allison. 8. Edward, born March 17, 1767; married Nancy Hughes. 9. Mary, married James Hatten, of "Tyler Settlement," and Louisiana. 10. Priscilla, married Captain Abner Dunn, who served in the Revolutionary War, and was the first actual postmaster and lawyer of Cincinnati, Ohio.

(Conflict in dates of second, fifth, and sixth children due to faulty family records.)

V. Delilah Tyler, daughter of Edward and Nancy (Langley) Tyler, was born February 10, 1755, and died June 7, 1797. She married Captain Charles Polk, the Indian fighter. (Polk IV.)

(Burke: "General Armory." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States," two volumes. Collins: "History of Kentucky.")

(The Du Val Line)

Du Val Arms—Azure, a chevron argent between three spear-heads proper.
Crest—An ape sejant on a globe, holding a palm-branch proper.

Duval, a noble family, originally of Beaumont le Roger, Normandy, held the fief or estate of Duval early in the twelfth century. This is the line to which the branch traced below belongs.

I. Martin Du Val (often written Mareen Duval) died in Maryland in August, 1694. He was a Huguenot, who, because of religious persecution, fled to England from his native land about the middle of the seventeenth century, and thence to America, where he settled before 1659 in what is now Prince George County, Maryland. In

FOLGER

Arms—Azure, on a bend between two bundles of five arrows each argent, three mullets of the field.

BATCHELDER

Arms—Vert a plough in fesse and in base the sun rising or.

Motto—*Sol justiter evoritur.*

GARDNER

Arms—Or, a griffin passant azure, on a chief sable three pheons argent.

Crest—A griffin's head couped or, gorged with a chaplet vert between two wings azure.

DU VAL

Arms—Azure, a chevron argent between three spear-heads proper.

Crest—An ape sejant on a globe, holding a palm-branch proper.

CHATTOCK (SHATTUCK)

Arms—Gules, an inescutcheon argent, charged with a plain cross of the field within an orle of martlets of the second.

Crest—On a ducal coronet or, a martlet gules.

BONCOURT—BONCOEUR (BUNKER)

Arms—Gyronny or and gules.

FOUR

1. Azure, on a bend between two bundles of three arrows, a cross.

RATCHER

1. Azure, on a bend between two bundles of three arrows, a cross.

WARD

1. Azure, on a bend between two bundles of three arrows, a cross.

DE WIL

1. Azure, on a bend between two bundles of three arrows, a cross.

CHATTOK (SHUTTOK)

1. Azure, on a bend between two bundles of three arrows, a cross.

BONCOURT—BONCOURT (BLANK)

1. Azure, on a bend between two bundles of three arrows, a cross.



Ifolger



Patchelder



Gardner



Du Val



Challock
(SHATTUCK)



Boncourt, Boncoeur
(BUNKER)

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August, 1659, a tract of land in Ann Arundel County, Maryland, was surveyed for him, and he was the proprietor of many tracts in Maryland, a prominent man in the colony. He married (second) Susannah; (third), about 1693, Mary Stanton; she married (second) Colonel Henry Ridgley, (third) Rev. Jacob Henderson. Children of first marriage: 1. Mareen, "the elder," born in 1662; married Frances Stockett. 2. John, buried April 20, 1711; married Mary Jones. 3. Eleanor, married, before 1694, John Roberts, of Virginia. 4. Samuel, of whom further. 5. Susannah, married Robert Tyler, son of Henry and Joan (Read) Tyler. (Tyler II.) Children of second marriage: 6. Lewis, born about 1676; married, March 6, 1699, Martha Ridgeley. 7. Mareen, "the younger," born in 1678; married Elizabeth Jacob. 8. Catherine, born in 1680; married, October 22, 1700, William Orrick. 9. Mary, born in 1682; married, July 5, 1701, Rev. Henry Hall. 10. Elizabeth, born in 1684. 11. Johanna, born in 1685; married, August 12, 1703, Richard Poole. 12. Benjamin, born in 1692, died in 1774; married, in 1713, Sophia Griffith; grandparents of Justice Gabriel Duvall, of the Supreme Court of the United States.

II. *Samuel Du Val*, son of Martin (Mareen) and Susannah Du Val, was born about 1667, and died in 1741, in Prince George County, Maryland. He married, June 18, 1697, Elizabeth (Ijams) Clark, widow of Daniel Clark and daughter of William Ijams. Child: 1. Elizabeth, of whom further.

III. *Elizabeth Du Val*, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Ijams-Clark) Du Val, married Edward Tyler. (Tyler III.)

(Family chart.)

(The Coffin Line—Line One)

Coffin Arms—Azure, four bezants within five cross-crosslets or.

Crest—A bird or, between two cinquefoils argent, stalked and leaved proper.

Motto—*Post tenebras, speramus lumen de lumine.*

In Fallaise, a town of Normandy, stands the old chateau of Courtiton, once the home of the Norman Coffins. The name is now extinct in that vicinity, but according to information secured through Admiral Henry E. Coffin, of the English Navy (nephew of the Sir Isaac Coffin, born in Boston in 1759, and made a Baronet and granted a coat-of-arms in 1804), the chateau was later owned by Mons. Le Clere, grand-

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son of the last Miss Coffin, who married a Le Clere in 1796. Until her marriage the chateau had always been owned by a Coffin.

The family traces its ancestry to Sir Richard Coffin, Knight, who accompanied William the Conqueror from Normandy to England in the year 1066 and to whom the manor of Alwington in the court of Devonshire was assigned. There are various branches of the family in County Devon. The English records show the name as Coffin, from which it was changed to Cophin, and it is also found as Kophin, Coffyn, and Coffyne. Before 1254 the family was flourishing at Portledge near the sea, in the parish of Alwington, five miles from Biddeford, England. From the time of Edward II to Henry VIII, for a period of two hundred years, the heir always received the name of Richard, and so the family perpetuated for many generations through that name. The name was early brought to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and has been borne by many leading men in every field of activity. The arms described above are those used by descendants of Tristram Coffin in this country.

I. Tristram Coffin, a descendant of Sir Richard Coffin, mentioned above, lived in Brixton, County Devon, England. In his will he left legacies to Anne and John, children of his son Nicholas, of whom further; Richard and Joan, children of his son Lionel; Phillip Coffin and his son, Tristram; appointed Nicholas Coffin, son of Nicholas, as his executor.

II. Nicholas Coffin, son of Tristram Coffin, lived in Butler's Parish, Devonshire, England, where he died in 1613. In his will, which was proved at Totness, in Devonshire, November 3, 1613, mention is made of his wife, Joan, and five children, as follows: 1. Peter, of whom further. 2. Nicholas. 3. Tristram. 4. John. 5. Anne.

III. Peter Coffin, son of Nicholas and Joan Coffin, was born on the Coffin estate at Brixton, Devonshire, England, about 1580, and died there in 1627-28. He married Joan, or Joanna Kember, who, when she was left a widow, came to Salisbury, in 1642, with her children, Tristram, Eunice, and Mary, her two sons-in-law, husbands of her daughters who were married in England, her daughter-in-law Dionis, and five grandchildren. She died in Boston in May, 1661, aged seventy-seven years, and in the notice of her funeral it is quaintly stated that the Rev. Mr.

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Wilson "embalmed her memory." Children, born and baptized in the parish of Brixton, Devonshire, England: 1. Tristram, of whom further. 2. John, born about 1607. He was a soldier and died in the service from a mortal wound received in battle during the four years' siege of the fortified town during the Civil War, and he died within the town about 1642. 3. Joan, born in England about 1609, probably died there. 4. Deborah, died probably in England. 5. Eunice, came to Massachusetts Bay Colony with her mother; married William Butter, or Butler, and died in 1648. 6. Mary, died in 1677, or thereabouts; married Alexander Adams. Children: Mary, Susannah, John, and Samuel.

IV. Tristram (2) Coffin, son of Peter and Joan or Joanna (Kember) Coffin, was born in the parish of Brixton, England, probably in 1605. He was of the landed gentry of England, being heir to his father's estates in Brixton, and he was probably a churchman after the order of the time of Elizabeth. It is a strange fact that the Christian name of the immigrant forefather of all the Coffins in America, Tristram, is repeated and multiplied in every family in every generation, while his wife, Dionis, the foremother, is repeated but once in all the generations, and that was when it was given to the eldest daughter of Stephen, the youngest child of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, but when she married Jacob Norton her name appears as Dinah. It is not known on which of the early ships conveying emigrants from England to New England the Coffin family took passage, but it is generally believed that it was the same ship that brought Robert Clement, the emigrant, who owned the ships "Hector," "Griffin," "Job Clement," and "Margaret Clement," and if Robert Clement, the immigrant, took passage in one of his own ships, Tristram Coffin, the immigrant, was a passenger in the same ship, and both men settled at Haverhill in 1642. The early settlers of Salisbury, which town was established October 7, 1640, commenced a settlement at Pentucket the same year, and the Indian deed for this land was witnessed by Tristram Coffin in 1642, and in 1643 he removed to the place which was established as the town of Haverhill, Norfolk County, Massachusetts Bay Colony. He settled near Robert Clement. Tradition has it that Tristram Coffin was the first man to plow land in the town of Haverhill, he having constructed his own plow. He changed his residence to the "Rocks" the next year, and in 1648-49 removed to Newbury, where he

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kept an ordinary and sold wine and liquors and kept the Newbury side of Carr's Ferry. In September, 1653, his wife was prosecuted for selling beer for three pence per quart, while the regular price was but two pence, but she proved that she had put six bushels of malt into the hogshead while the law only required the use of four bushels, and she was discharged. He returned to Salisbury and was commissioner of the town, and while living there planned the purchase of the estate of Nantucket, where he with his associates removed on account of religious persecution. At least, Thomas Macy, who was the pioneer settler on Nantucket Island, "fled from the officers of the law and sacrificed his property and home rather than submit to tyranny which punished a man for being hospitable to strangers in a rain storm, even though the strangers be Quakers." Macy returned to Salisbury and resided there in 1664, however, and when he left he sold his house and lands, thus spoiling the story of his "fleeing from persecution." History gives the true reason for the migration, the search for a milder climate and better opportunity for cultivating the soil. Early in 1654 Tristram Coffin took Peter Folger, the grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, at that time living in Martha's Vineyard, as an interpreter of the Indian language, and proceeded to Nantucket to ascertain the "temper and disposition of the Indians and the capabilities of the island, that he might report to the citizens of Salisbury what inducements were offered for emigration." The land was secured the same year, and James Coffin accompanied Thomas Macy and family, Edward Starbuck and Isaac Coleman to the island later the same year, where they took up their residence. The Coffin family that settled at Nantucket included Tristram, Sr., James, Mary, John, and Stephen, each the head of a family. Tristram Coffin was thirty-seven years old when he arrived in America, and fifty-five years old when he removed to Nantucket. During the first year of his residence there he was the richest proprietor. The property of his son, Peter, is said to have soon after exceeded in value that of the original proprietor, the family together owning about one-quarter of the island of Nantucket and the whole of Tuckernock. He was appointed the second chief magistrate of the town of Nantucket, succeeding his friend, Thomas Macy, and at the same time Thomas Mayhew was appointed the first chief magistrate of Martha's Vineyard, their commissions signed by Governor Lovelace, of New York, bearing date June 29, 1671, and the two chief

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magistrates, together with two assistants from each island, constituted a general court, with appellate jurisdiction over both islands. The appointment was made by Governor Francis Lovelace, and his second commission, September 16, 1677, was signed by Edward Andros, Governor-General of the Province of New York. Tristram Coffin died at his home on Nantucket Island, New York, October 2, 1681, leaving his widow, seven children, sixty grandchildren, and a number of great-grandchildren. By 1728 there had been born to him one thousand five hundred and eighty-two descendants, of whom one thousand one hundred and twenty-eight were living. He married Dionis Stevens (the diminutive for Dionysia, and after written Dionys), daughter of Robert Stevens, of Brixton, England. (Stevens—American Line—II.) Children, first five born in England: 1. Peter, married Abigail Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line One—Generation I—fourth child.) 2. Tristram, Jr., married Judith Greenleaf. 3. Elizabeth, married Captain Stephen Greenleaf. 4. James. (Coffin—Line Two—Generation V.) 5. John, died young. 6. Deborah. 7. Mary. (Coffin—Line Three—Generation V.) 8. Lieutenant John, of whom further. 9. Stephen. (Coffin—Line Four—Generation V.)

V. Lieutenant John Coffin, son of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, was born October 30, 1647, and died November 5, 1711. He married, about 1668, Deborah Austin. (Austin II.) Children, born in Nantucket, probably not in order of birth: 1. Lydia, born June 1, 1669; married (first) John Logan; (second) John Draper; (third) Thomas Thaxter. 2. Peter, born August 5, 1671; married (first) Christian Condy; (second) Hope Gardner. 3. John, Jr., born February 10, 1673. 4. Love, born April 23, 1676. 5. Enoch, born in 1678; married Beulah Eddy. 6. Samuel, of whom further. 7. Hannah, died January 28, 1768; married Benjamin Gardner. 8. Tristram, died January 29, 1763; married Mary Bunker, daughter of William Bunker. 9. Deborah, of whom further. 10. Benjamin, born in 1683.

VI. Deborah Coffin, daughter of Lieutenant John and Deborah (Austin) Coffin, died September 23, 1760. She married Thomas Macy. (Macy III.)

VI. Samuel Coffin, son of Lieutenant John and Deborah (Austin) Coffin, was born February 12, 1680, and died February 22, 1764. He

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married, in 1705, Miriam Gardner. (Gardner II—first child.) Among their children was Mary, of whom further.

VII. Mary Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam (Gardner) Coffin, was born in 1724, and died August 28, 1777. She married William Barnard. (Barnard IV.)

("Massachusetts Genealogy," Vol. IB, pp. 2586, 2588.)

(The Coffin Line—Line Two)

For introduction and first four generations, see Coffin Line One.

V. James Coffin, son of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, was born in England, October 12, 1640, and died at Nantucket, September 28, 1720, aged eighty years. He came to Nantucket with the first settlers, but subsequently removed to Dover, New Hampshire, where he resided in 1668, being a member of the church there in 1671. On May 31, 1671, he was made a freeman in Dover, but soon after this date he returned to Nantucket, and made his home there until his death. He was one of the associate proprietors of Nantucket and filled several important offices on the island, among them that of Judge of the Probate Court, to which he was the first to be appointed in 1680.

From James Coffin have descended the most notable representatives of the Coffin family, as doubtless the most numerous and generally scattered. This branch furnished the family that remained on the side of Great Britain during the Revolution. Sir Isaac Coffin, brother of General John Coffin (who rendered active service against the Colonies), did not take active part in the War of the Revolution. He was in the British Navy at the breaking out of the war, and at his own request was assigned to the Mediterranean, that he might not have to fight against his own kindred. Although the highest honors had been conferred on him in the Spanish Navy, and he had been made a member of Parliament, he cherished a regard for his native land. In 1826, he visited Boston and Nantucket, and was honorably received. Harvard University conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. At Nantucket he founded a school, chiefly in the interest of the Coffin family. The land on which the school stands was given by Gorham Coffin, who was one of the trustees. The school is still in existence and at the present time is a mechanical training school for the inhabitants of the island. One of the most distinguished women which

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America has produced, Lucretia Mott, was also descended from this line.

James Coffin married, December 3, 1663, Mary Severans. (Severans II.) They had fourteen children, among them being Dinah, of whom further, and Abigail, of whom further.

VI. Dinah Coffin, daughter of James and Mary (Severans) Coffin, married Nathaniel Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line Two—Generation III.)

VI. Abigail Coffin, daughter of James and Mary (Severans) Coffin, died March 15, 1709. She married Nathaniel Gardner. (Gardner III.)

("Massachusetts Genealogy," Vol. IB, pp. 2586-88.)

(The Coffin Line—Line Three)

For introduction and first four generations, see Coffin Line One.

V. Mary Coffin, daughter of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, February 20, 1644, and died November 13, 1717. She became a preacher in the Society of Friends, as were also several of her children, two of her grandsons, and her granddaughter, Priscilla Bunker. Because of her superior judgment she was often consulted in town affairs. She took an active part in practically every phase of the early life of the town, and it is recorded of her that she was a "remarkable woman, anticipating by two centuries the advanced views of women of today. She was as distinguished in her domestic economy as she was celebrated as a preacher." She married Nathaniel Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line One—Generation II.)

("Massachusetts Genealogy," Vol. IB, pp. 2586-88.)

(The Coffin Line—Line Four)

For introduction and first four generations, see Coffin Line One.

V. Stephen Coffin, son of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, was born July 11, 1652, and died November 14, 1734. He married, in 1668, Mary Bunker. (Bunker II—third child.) They had a daughter, Judith, of whom further.

VI. Judith Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Mary (Bunker) Coffin, died December 2, 1760. She married Peter Folger. (Folger—Line Two—Generation IV.)

("Massachusetts Genealogy," Vol. IB, pp. 2586-88.)

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(The Hussey Line)

Hussey Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth, or, a cross vert charged with a mullet of the first; second and third barry of six ermine and gules.

Crest—A hind lodged under an oak tree proper, ducally gorged and chained or.

In the history of England the Hussey name is an old one, being traced to one Hugh Hoesé, who came to England from Normandy with William the Conqueror in 1066, the name in French being De Hosey, through a series of transitions Anglicized to Hussey. In 1172 a branch was planted in Ireland, in the counties of Dublin and Meath, then held by Hugh DeLacy. In County Meath the DeHoseys were made Barons of Galtrim, and they also held possessions in Ely O'Carroll and the country about Birr, in the present Kings County and in ancient Thomond, embracing the present counties of Limerick and Clare. Branches were also found in many counties of England, notably in Surrey. Christopher Hussey, mentioned below, was probably the first of the name in America. His brother, Captain Joseph Hussey, was also of Hampton, which he represented in the Legislature in 1672. Robert Hussey was taxed in Dover in 1659. Other settlers of this name were in New England at an early date and many of them were kinsmen, but the records fail to show what, if any, relation any of them bore to Richard Hussey, who settled in Dover, New Hampshire, about 1690.

I. John Hussey died in 1638. He married, February 5, 1593, Mary Wood, who died August 16, 1660. Among their children was Christopher, of whom further.

II. Christopher Hussey, founder of this American branch of the family, was born about 1597, in Dorking Surrey, England, and died in 1686. When a young man he spent some time in Holland, where, according to early records, he met and married Theodata Batchelder. In 1630 (according to some records 1632), he emigrated to the province of Massachusetts, settling first in Hampton, which he represented for several years in the General Assembly. He was also counsellor of the province, and assisted in the settlement of Haverhill. Christopher Hussey was a member of the Society of Friends, and in association with others signed a protest against an act of the General Court of Massachusetts which made it a "misdemeanor for anyone to preach to the people on the Sabbath who was not a regularly ordained minister of the church." The court, in consequence, threatened severe meas-

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ures to all concerned, and many of the offenders made open apology, but not so Christopher Hussey and those of equal independence of spirit, not even when, in 1658, a new and stringent law was passed against them and several were executed. He was one of an association of ten who had purchased the Island of Nantucket, and when persecution became too strong for them they took up their abode there. The descendants of Christopher Hussey became one of the dominant families of the "seabeat island," and many of them are still to be found on its shores. Christopher Hussey married Theodata Batchelder. (Batchelder II.) Children: 1. Stephen, of whom further. 2. John. 3. Huldah. 4. Mary.

III. Stephen Hussey, eldest son of Christopher and Theodata (Batchelder) Hussey, was baptized June 8, 1632, and died April 2, 1718. Hinckman, in his "Early Settlers of Nantucket," states that Stephen "had lived at Barbados, had considerable property, and was a Friend before a society was formed upon the island." He lived at Nantucket and some authorities have claimed that he was the first of the name to settle in Nantucket. He was at one time representative to the General Court. He died April 2, 1718, and was buried in the Friends' first burial ground in Nantucket. He married, October 8, 1676, Martha Bunker. (Bunker III.) Children: 1. Puella, born in 1677. 2. Abigail, born in 1679. 3. Sylvanus, born in 1682. 4. Bacheller, born in 1685. 5. Daniel, born in 1687. 6. Mary, of whom further. 7. George, of whom further. 8. Theodata, born in 1700.

IV. Mary Hussey, daughter of Stephen and Martha (Bunker) Hussey, was born March 24, 1690, and died January 8, 1771. She married Ebenezer Barnard. (Barnard III.)

IV. George Hussey, son of Stephen Hussey and Martha (Bunker) Hussey, was born June 21, 1694, and died July 7, 1782. He married, at Nantucket, November 12, 1717, Elizabeth Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line Two—Generation IV.) Among their children was Dinah, of whom further.

V. Dinah Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, was born August 8, 1727. She married Reuben Folger. (Folger—Line One—Generation V.)

("Massachusetts Biography," Vol. XII, p. 191. "Pennsylvania Biography," Vol. VI, p. 2215.)

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(The Barnard Line)

Barnard Arms—Argent a bear rampant sable muzzled or.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-bear rampant sable muzzled or.

Motto—*Fer et prefer.* (Bear and forbear.)

Dating back to early times in England this Barnard family is an ancient and honorable one. At various periods it is associated with the history of Counties Essex, Hampshire, Kent, Cambridge, York, and Norfolk, also located in London and elsewhere. Members of the family served as Lord Mayor of London and distinguished themselves in many fields of activity. The armorial bearings blazoned above are those described by Burke as borne by Thomas Barnard, of Linton, County Cambridge, also by one Barnard, Lord Mayor of London, except that the motto is not there given. Members of the family in this country, tracing descent from Thomas or Robert Barnard, quite generally use the motto as given above.

Connected with the family history in England is Barnard Castle, which as part of the Lordship of Gainford, is said to have been granted by William Rufus to Guy Baliol Barnard, son of Guy Baliol, who built the castle and called it after himself, Castle Barnard. To the men of the town which grew up outside the castle walls he gave, about the middle of the twelfth century, a charter making them burgesses and granting them the same privileges as the town of Richmond in Yorkshire. This charter was confirmed by Barnard Baliol, son of the above Barnard. Other confirmation charters were granted to the town by Hugh, John, and Alexander Baliol. The castle and lordship remained in the hands of the Baliols until John Baliol, King of Scotland, forfeited them with his other English estates in 1296. Barnard Castle was then seized by Anthony, bishop of Durham, as being within his palatinate of Durham. Edward I, however, denied the bishop's rights and granted the castle and town to Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose descendants continued to hold them until they passed to the crown by the marriage of Anne Nevill with Richard III, then Duke of Gloucester. In 1630, Barnard Castle was sold to Sir Henry Vane, and in the same year the castle is said to have been unroofed and dismantled for the sake of the materials of which it was built. Though the castle has long been reduced to picturesque ruins its name is preserved in that of the little market town which has grown up around the site of the old castle, and in the parliamentary division of Durham, England, is beautifully situated on the steep left bank of the River

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Tees, about seventeen miles west of Darlington, by a branch of the North Eastern Railway, and in 1901 possessed a population of 4,421. A noteworthy building in the town is the octagonal town hall dating from 1747, and there are other interesting structures, but the object of chief interest is the ruined castle which gives the town its name. Its remains extend over a space of more than six acres. Interest in the picturesque old ruin is increased by the fact that Barnard Castle is the scene of the principal events of Sir Walter Scott's "Rokeby." In the vicinity of the town are Egglestone Abbey, on the Yorkshire bank of the river; Rokeby Park on the same bank, at the confluence of the Greba; and the massive fourteenth century castle of Raby. The principal industry of the little town at the present time is the manufacture of shoe thread, and corn is the staple article sold in its markets.

In this country the history of the Barnard family has been one of distinction and of worthy achievement. Especially in the "learned professions" and in educational activities they have rendered service of high order. Barnard College, the Woman's College of Columbia University, New York, is a splendid memorial to the educational work of Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, tenth president of Columbia College (now Columbia University). Early records state that when John, of Ipswich, came to this country he was accompanied by a son, Thomas. In some of the recorded lists of the children of John Barnard the name of Thomas does not appear.

Besides John, of Ipswich, two Barnard brothers are recorded as having arrived in the New World about 1630: Thomas, of whom further, and Robert.

(The Family in America)

I. Thomas Barnard, one of the founders of the Barnard family in America, was born in England about 1612. In the year 1640 he is found of residence in Salisbury, Massachusetts, and later he bought land on the west side of the Powow River (now in Amesbury) and removed thither. He was prominent in the affairs of both places. On May 1, 1654, when the "Articles of Agreement between the Inhabitants of the Old Town and Those of the New Town" were entered into, his signature, among others, was affixed thereto. In the division of land in 1654 he is among those mentioned, and in the "Amesbury Commoners" of 1667-68, Thomas Barnard, Sr. and Jr., appear. Thomas Barnard is also cited as one of the "Brethren of Ye Church."

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He received land in the first division at Salisbury and also in 1640 and 1643; in 1665, he was grand juror at Amesbury; and his name appears on various lists as late as 1672. In 1659, he joined in one of the most historic transactions preserved in New England history. In that year he entered with others in the purchase of the Island of Nantucket, and acquired there large land holdings. Later he transferred one-half of his Nantucket possession to his brother, Robert Barnard. Whether he actually removed to Nantucket and there resided does not definitely appear; the records of Nantucket simply state that "Thomas Barnard died abroad." This, however, would seem to indicate that he was a resident of Nantucket. A tragic fate awaited him, he being killed by the Indians in 1677. He married Eleanor (surname unknown). She administered upon his estate in 1677. She married (second) George Little, of Newbury, and died November 27, 1694. Thomas and Eleanor Barnard were the parents of nine children, among whom was Nathaniel, of whom further.

II. Nathaniel Barnard, son of Thomas and Eleanor Barnard, was born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, January 15, 1642, and died June 3, 1718. Until about 1665, he continued to reside in Amesbury, but thereafter removed to Sherburn, on the Island of Nantucket, where he remained during the remainder of his life. By marriage he joined the two lines of Barnard, his wife being a daughter of his father's brother, Robert, who was a resident of Salisbury and Andover, and thence removed to Nantucket. Nathaniel Barnard married, about 1666, Mary Barnard, who was born in Andover, Massachusetts, about 1646, and died in Nantucket, January 17, 1718, daughter of Robert and Joanna (Harvey) Barnard. They were the parents of seven children, among whom were: 1. Ebenezer, of whom further. 2. Mary, born in Nantucket, Massachusetts, February 24, 1667, died June 8, 1737; married John Folger. (Folger—Line One—Generation III.)

III. Ebenezer Barnard, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Barnard) Barnard, died May 4, 1767. He married, May 24, 1722, Mary Hussey. (Hussey IV.) Among their children was: 1. William, of whom further.

IV. William Barnard, son of Ebenezer and Mary (Hussey) Barnard, was born November 23, 1724, and died July 11, 1771. He married, in Nantucket, January 5, 1743, Mary Coffin. (Coffin—Line

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One—Generation VII.) Among their children was Tristram, of whom further.

V. Tristram Barnard, son of William and Mary (Coffin) Barnard, was born May 5, 1743. Holographic will proved 1807, Stokes County, North Carolina. He married, in Nantucket, January 2, 1766, Margaret Folger. (Folger—Line One—Generation VI.) Among their children was Mary, of whom further.

VI. Mary Barnard, daughter of Tristram and Margaret (Folger) Barnard, was born in Stokes County, North Carolina, March 14, 1782, and died in Union County, Indiana, August 26, 1850. She married William Macy. (Macy VI.)

(Rhode Island edition, "New England Families," pp. 145, 146. Sir James D. Mackenzie: "The Castles of England, Their Story and Structure.")

(The Folger Line—Line One)

Folger Arms—Azure, on a bend between two bundles of five arrows each argent, three mullets of the field.

It has been supposed, from certain statements made in the genealogical notes of Benjamin Franklin, a descendant of the Folger family, that the Folgers were of Flemish origin and were established in England at the time of Queen Elizabeth. His collection of information is said to constitute practically all that is known of the early history of the family in America. These records are very complete, however, and indicate that the family took an important part in the life and affairs of the early settlement of Nantucket, Massachusetts, from its founding.

I. John Folger, immigrant ancestor and progenitor, was a native of England, and possibly a resident of Norwich, County Norfolk, whence he sailed for America in 1635, with his son, Peter Folger. He is said to have come on the same ship with Hugh Peters. In 1642, John Folger owned a homestead and six acres of land in Watertown. Although there is no actual record of the fact, it is probable that John and Peter Folger accompanied Thomas Mayhew, Jr., to Martha's Vineyard in 1641-42. John Folger owned a house, upland, commonage and meadow land at the Vineyard, and resided there until his death, about 1660. His widow was Meribell Folger, whose surname is said to have been Gibbs.

II. Peter Folger, son of John Folger, was born in England, in 1617, and died in 1690. He accompanied his father to America in

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1635, removing with him to the Vineyard in 1641-42. While here he taught school and surveyed land, also assisting Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in his labors as missionary among the Indians. Rev. Experience Mayhew, in a letter to John Gardner, Esquire, dated 1694, states that when Thomas Mayhew, Jr., left for England in 1657, he left the care of his church and mission to Peter Folger. At a meeting of the proprietors of Nantucket, held in Salisbury, Massachusetts, in the latter part of 1660 or early in 1661, five persons were chosen to measure the land. Peter Folger was one of these and as evidence of the remarkable confidence of the people in him, we have the order stating that the proceedings of any three of this body of men should be accounted legal and valid, if Peter Folger was one. In the summer of 1659 he is said to have accompanied Tristram Coffin and others who visited the Island of Nantucket to view it at the time of the purchase from Mayhew. He was there in 1661-62 as a surveyor, and although not one of the first proprietors he may be regarded as a very early settler, having removed to the Island in 1663, at the invitation of the proprietors, who deeded him half a share of land on the condition that he would live in Nantucket and act as interpreter among the Indians. The following is the deed of the property, dated Nantucket, July 4, 1663:

These presents witnesseth that we whose names are underwritten do give, and grant unto peter foulger, half a share of accommodations on the land above sayd, that is to say half so much as one of the twenty purchasers, both in respect to upland, meadow, wood, timber and other appurtenances belonging to him and his heirs forever on condition that he com to inhabit the Island aforesayd with his family within one year after the sale hereof. Likewise that the sayd peter shall attend the English in the way of an Interpreter between the Indians and them upon al necessary occasions, his house lot to be layd at the place commonly called by the name of Rogers field so as may be most convenient.

Witness our hands.

JOHN SMYTH,
THOMAS MACY,
EDWARD STARBUCK,
JOHN SWAYNE,
ROBERT BARNARD,
RICHARD SWAYNE,
JOHN ROLFE,
THOMAS MAYHEW,

TRISTRAM COFFIN, SR., for
myself and others being
empowered by them;
PETER COFFIN,
STEVEN GREENLEAF,
TRISTRAM COFFIN, JR.,
WILLIAM PILE, two shares;
NATHANIEL STARBUCK,
THOMAS COFFIN.

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Cotton Mather describes Peter Folger as an "Able Godley Englishman who was employed in teaching the youth in Reading, Writing and the Principles of Religion by matters." On July 21, 1673, he was chosen clerk of the court and recorder, which office he held for many years. To him fell the laurels as the greatest scholar of the early community. His poem, "A Looking Glass for the Times," published April 23, 1676, shows him an advocate of religious liberty and strongly condemns the persecuting spirit of New England. It is believed that when an old man he embraced the views of the Friends. Peter Folger died in 1690. In 1644, he married Mary Morrell, who had been an inmate of the family of Hugh Peters; she died in 1704. Among their children were: 1. Eleazer. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Abiah, who became the wife of Josiah Franklin, of Boston, and mother of Benjamin Franklin.

III. John (2) Folger, son of Peter and Mary (Morrell) Folger, was born in 1659. He was a miller and a prosperous farmer. His home was in that part of Nantucket now called Polpis. He married Mary Barnard. (Barnard II—second child). Among their children was Jonathan, of whom further.

IV. Jonathan Folger, son of John and Mary (Barnard) Folger, was born April 10, 1696, and died March 6, 1777. He married, at Nantucket, March 6, 1717, Margaret Gardner. (Gardner IV.) Among their children was Reuben, of whom further.

V. Reuben Folger, son of Jonathan and Margaret (Gardner) Folger, was born August 10, 1722. He moved to Nova Scotia. Reuben Folger married, in Nantucket, March 22, 1743-44, Dinah Hussey. (Hussey V.) Among their children was Margaret, of whom further.

VI. Margaret Folger, daughter of Reuben and Dinah (Hussey) Folger, was born June 27, 1747. She married Tristram Barnard. (Barnard V.)

(Rhode Island Edition, "New England Families," pp. 144-45.)

(The Folger Line—Line Two)

For introduction and Generations I and II, see Folger Line One.

III. Eleazer Folger, son of Peter and Mary (Morrell) Folger, was born in 1648, and died in 1716. He was an uncle of Benjamin

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Franklin. He married, in 1671, Sarah Gardner. (Gardner II—second child.) Among their children was Peter, of whom further.

IV. Peter Folger, son of Eleazer and Sarah (Gardner) Folger, was born October 28, 1674, and died in 1707. He married Judith Coffin. (Coffin—Line Four—Generation VI.) Among their children was Anna, of whom further.

V. Anna Folger, daughter of Peter and Judith (Coffin) Folger, was born May 25, 1703. She married William Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line One—Generation IV.)

(Rhode Island Edition, "New England Families," pp. 144-45.)

(The Batchelder Line)

Batchelder Arms—Vert a plough in fesse and in base the sun rising or.
Motto—*Sol justiter evoritur.*

The English surname Batchelder is identical with Bacheller, and is variously spelled in the early records. The name itself is doubtless from the word bachelor, the ancient meaning of which was simply young man. The earliest mention of the name indicates that it was given originally to mark the condition of its possessor as an unmarried man or a young man when there was another of the same personal name in the vicinity. The English registers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where the name is first found, use the French prefix "le." Thus we find Jordanus le Bachelor and Gilbert le Bachelor, and we may be reasonably sure that the names Jordan and Gilbert were then so common in Normandy that it was necessary to indicate by some addition to the personal name that there was an older or married person of the same name in the neighborhood. In 1297, the "le" was used and dropped at a later date. Before 1660 the name was common in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts, Hampshire, Bucks, Middlesex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, all in southeastern England. There were seven immigrants of this name to New England: Alexander, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Reverend Stephen, of Lynn, Massachusetts, and Hampton, New Hampshire; Henry, of Ipswich; Joseph and John, of Salem; William, of Charlestown, and John, of Watertown, Dedham; Charles, of Reading. A description of Rev. Stephen Batchelder's coat-of-arms blazoned above, is given in Morgan's "Sphere of the Gentry," printed in 1661.

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I. Rev. Stephen Batchelder (Bachiler), the immigrant ancestor, was born in England in 1561, and died in Hackney, part of London, England, in 1660. He matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1581, and in 1586, at the age of twenty-six, was presented by Lord de la Warr to the living of Wherewell (Horral), a pretty village in Hampshire on the River Test. The Oxford registers do not give Mr. Bachiler's home, but there were at Kongsclere, Burghclere and Highclere (a few miles from Wherewell) a large family of Bachilers, and at Upper Clatford, in 1571, there died a Richard Bachiler, whose will mentions several family names found in Hampton, New Hampshire. While Stephen Bachiler was at Wherewell, there were living at Andover and Weyhill, a few miles away, Rev. James Samborne, whose son, Rev. James Samborne, Jr., was rector of Grately (nearby) in 1604, and of Upper Clatford from 1610 to 1628. Mr. Bachiler was deprived of his living in 1605, presumably for holding Calvinistic or Puritan beliefs, and he took refuge in Holland, it is said, but no record of his life there is found. His son-in-law, Rev. John Wing, was the first pastor of the English Church at Middleburgh in Holland from 1620, and it is worth noting that Mr. Samuel Bachiler, minister to Sir Charles Morgan's fighting regiment in Holland, was the same year called to a pastorate in Flushing, Holland. Samuel is thought by some genealogists to have been the son of Stephen; but he was author of a book called "*Miles Christianus*"—perhaps the same volume that Rev. Stephen sent to the wife of Governor Winthrop in October, 1639, from Hampton. He said in this letter: "Present my great respect and thankfulness unto you in a little token. And though it be little in itself, yet doth it contain greater weight of true worth than can be easily comprehended but of the spiritual man. . . . Looking among some special reserved books, and lighting on this little treatise of one of mine own poor children. I conceived nothing might suit more to my love, nor your acceptance. As God gives you leisure to read anything that may further your piety, and hope of a better life than this, if you shall please to vouchsafe a little part of that time to read this by degrees, I shall judge it more than a sufficient satisfaction to my love and desire of furthering you in the way of grace."

When in London in 1631, making preparations to come to New England, permission was granted to him, aged seventy, his wife, Helen, aged forty-seven, and daughter, Ann Sandburn (Samborne), widow,

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who lived in the Strand, London, to go to Flushing for two months to visit his sons and daughters there. Flushing is in Zealand, near Middleburgh, and was garrisoned by the English for half a century beginning in 1572. Soon after leaving Wherewell, Mr. Batchelder settled at Newton Stacy, the nearest hamlet to the eastward, and bought land there in 1622, selling it in 1631. He sailed for Boston March 9, 1632, on the ship "William and Frances," being pastor of the colony sent over by the Plow Company to settle the Plow Patent in Maine. His son-in-law, Christopher Hussey, of Dorking, settled in Lynn, where he was joined by Mr. Batchelder, who formed a small church there, baptizing first his grandson, Stephen Hussey, born in 1630. The Plow Colony was a failure. At Lynn, Mr. Batchelder came into collision with the authorities and was restricted for a time to preaching to those that came with him. He was admitted a freeman, May 6, 1635. In February, 1636, he removed to Ipswich, where he was granted fifty acres of land. He was one of the founders of Sandwich, Massachusetts, and though seventy-six years old at that time, walked from Ipswich to Sandwich. But he soon moved again, this time to Newbury, where he had a tract of land, July 6, 1636. Finally, he and his company who petitioned therefor, were granted liberty to begin a plantation at Winnicunnett. It was begun October 16, 1638. The town was incorporated June 7, 1639, and soon afterward named Hampton. In 1639, Ipswich voted to give Mr. Batchelder sixty acres of upland and twenty of meadow, if he would reside in that town as preacher, three hundred acres for a farm, besides his house lot. He gave the town a church bell, which was used until it cracked in 1703, and was then sent to England to help pay for a new bell. Soon trouble arose in the church and raged for several years. Even the personal character of the octogenarian was assailed. He had a call to Exeter, New Hampshire, and Casco, Maine, but finally accepted neither. He left Hampton and resided in Portsmouth in 1647. He gave all his property to his grandchildren in that year and returned to England, sometime between 1650 and 1658, and settled in Hackney, part of London, where he remained until his death.

Rev. Stephen Batchelder's first marriage occurred in England, but wife's name cannot be learned; married (second), in England, Helen, born in 1583, died in 1642. His third marriage, about 1648, to Mary, was unfortunate. Grave charges were made against her and he sued

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for divorce. When he went to England, he left her behind. He may have erred, but in the main his life was clean and honorable. He was learned and had a very long and eventful, if not entirely successful, life. Children: Nathaniel, born in 1590; married Deborah Smith. 2. Deborah, born in 1592; married John Wing. 3. Stephen, born in 1594. 4. Theodata, of whom further. 5. Ann, born in 1601; married John Sanborn.

II. *Theodata Batchelder*, daughter of Stephen Batchelder, was born in 1596, and died December 1, 1649. She married Christopher Hussey. (Hussey II.)

("Massachusetts Genealogy," Vol. III, pp. 1440-41.)

(The Gardner Arms)

Gardner Arms—Or, a griffin passant azure, on a chief sable three pheons argent.
Crest—A griffin's head couped or, gorged with a chaplet vert between two wings azure.

Gardner, the surname, is placed by the noted authority, Charles Wareing Bardsley, M. A., in the class of patronymics known as occupational. Another authority states that the name is Saxon in origin, derived from two Saxon words, the first *gar*, signifying a weapon, dart, javelin, etc, and the second syllable *dyn*, indicating a sound, noise, or alarm. The "er" ending is declared to denote merely the habitation of a specified place.

In England the name is widely distributed, both forms, Gardner and Gardiner appearing in numerous sections of the country. Families bearing the name Gardner were distinguished in the Isle of Ely; in Counties Cambridge, Kent, Lincoln, Suffolk, Middlesex, Somerset, and Surrey; in London and in Ireland.

The Gardners were among the earliest settlers of New England, and take prominent rank among the notable Colonial families of this historic section of the country. Richard Gardner, a seaman, came in the "Mayflower," but returned to his native land; Thomas Gardner, a native of Weymouth, in Dorsetshire, where the family had flourished for three centuries, came in 1624, with Rev. John White and other companies, and settled at Cape Ann, where he was overseer of the plantation. There are but two of the many representatives of this noble name who before 1700 were represented in the New World colonies by prominent and influential members of communities in which they had taken up residence.

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I. Thomas Gardner, immigrant ancestor and progenitor, was a native of Dorsetshire, England, and his migration to the New World was made in association with one of the most famous colonization movements for which the century was notable. He was a member of the historic "Dorchester Company" and came with the members of that expedition in the vessel chartered for their use, in company with the Rev. John White and others, in 1624. Fourteen colonists were landed at Cape Ann, and among these was the pioneer, Thomas Gardner. He was a man so well endowed mentally and so highly esteemed by the company that he was placed in leadership over the pioneer enterprise, and after making the landing, he began at once to oversee the planting of the new settlement. The hardships of life at Cape Ann were too great to be overcome, and in 1626 the colony was moved to Naumkeag, and a settlement was made there and called "Salem." Thomas Gardner became a freeman, and continued prominent in the affairs of the community until his death, having several grants of land in Salem and also at Danvers. In 1626 he removed to Salem, where he became a freeman, March 17, 1637, and in the same year was appointed one of the "Twelve Men" of the town. On July 26, 1637, he was elected to represent Salem in the Massachusetts General Court. He also served as juror, was overseer of highways, 1638; town surveyor and "constable," 1639; and in later years appears to have been chosen to fill almost every one of the principal offices in the town. He was owner of a bull, and in 1640 "was given XX's for its use in the herd of the season." He was known as "The Planter," and had large grants of land made to him in Salem. His will was dated 7th, 10, 1668, and was probated March 29, 1675; his widow, Damaris, was bequeathed the estate she brought him and a yearly income of eight pounds; to his daughter, Sarah Balch, he bequeathed fifteen pounds; to his daughter, Seeth Grafton, he gave fifteen pounds; and the balance of his estate was distributed among his other sons and daughters, as well as his grandchildren. He was buried in the Gardner burying ground. He married (first) Margaret Fryer, or Friar. He married (second) Damaris Shattuck. (Shattuck I.) Child of first marriage, among others: 1. Richard, of whom further.

II. Richard Gardner, son of Thomas and Margaret (Fryer) Gardner, was born in England and died January 23, 1688. He married, in 1652, Sarah Shattuck. (Shattuck II.) Children (among

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others): 1. Richard, born October 23, 1653, died May 8, 1728; married, May 17, 1674, Mary Austin. (Austin II.) They had a daughter, Miriam, born July 14, 1685, died November 17, 1750; married, in 1705, Samuel Coffin. (Coffin—Line One—Generation VI.) 2. Sarah, died December 14, 1729; married Eleazer Folger. (Folger—Line Two—Generation III.) 3. Deborah, born December 12, 1658, died in 1712; married John Macy. (Macy II.) 4. Nathaniel, of whom further.

III. Nathaniel Gardner, son of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, was born January 16, 1665, and died in England, in 1713. He married, about 1685, Abigail Coffin. (Coffin—Line Two—Generation VI.) Among their children was Margaret, of whom further.

IV. Margaret Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, was born January 28, 1695, and died July 16, 1727. She married Jonathan Folger. (Folger—Line One—Generation IV.)

(Rhode Island Edition, "New England Families," pp. 119, 120.)

(The Shattuck Line)

Chattock-Shattuck Arms—Gules, an inescutcheon argent, charged with a plain cross of the field within an orle of martlets of the second.

Crest—On a ducal coronet or, a martlet gules.

The name Shattuck appears upon the rolls of Somersetshire in the list of assessments of the subsidies granted by Parliament in 1524, when Samuel and Alice Shattocks are recorded. At Welles in the county is deposited the will of John Shattocke, of Bekenaller, proved in 1533. In the subsidy rolls for 1597, John Shattuck was assessed for lands, and William Shattocke and Joanna Shattuck, of Burland, were assessed for goods. In the parish register of St. Lawrence in Reading, Berkshire, are found the baptisms of the following children of William Shattuck: William, May 3, 1628; Susan, September 14, 1632; Elizabeth, April 29, 1635; also the marriage of Samuel Shattuck and Mary Snell, July 19, 1628. The name might probably be discovered in other counties by examination of the records.

In numerous records are also found names which it has been supposed were once synonymous with Shattuck, as Shaddock, Chittock, and Chadwick, Chadioke is another name, which were probably originally the same. There was a Sir John De Chydioke (sometimes written Chideoke and Chadioke), who was one of the Barons of Somerset-

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shire, as early as the thirteenth century, and who in the time of Henry VII, was described as one of the "noble families related to the Royal Blood." From him are descended, in male and female lines, many families of great distinction and great wealth, as well as others in the untitled ranks. It is a matter of historical interest that members of the family, spelling the name Chattock and Chaddock, are recorded as entitled to bear arms. The armorial bearings described above are recorded for Chaddock, of County Warwick, also for Chattock. The citizens bearing the cognomen performed yeoman service in the Colonial days in the founding of the civil liberties that their descendants, in common with all other Americans, now enjoy. A goodly per cent. of Shattucks have fought in all the principal wars of the Nation, and a due proportion have filled places of influence, honor and trust in the various professions and institutions of learning, and under the government.

Careful search has failed to reveal the English ancestry of Damaris Shattuck, mentioned below, though a list of her children has been preserved.

I. Damaris Shattuck (Gardner) died in Salem, Massachusetts, November 28, 1674. The christen-name of her first husband, Mr. Shattuck, is not known, neither is her own surname. She was a widow in 1641, when she was admitted to the church in Salem, and that year is recorded on one of the family charts as the date of the death of her husband. Whether she came to this country before or after her husband's death is not known. She married (first) a Shattuck; married (second) Thomas Gardner, of Salem. (Gardner I.) Children by first marriage, all probably born in England: 1. Samuel, born in England about 1620. 2. Damaris. 3. Mary. 4. Hannah. 5. Sarah, of whom further.

II. Sarah Shattuck, daughter of Damaris Shattuck, was born probably in England, in 1631, and died in Nantucket, Massachusetts, in 1724. She was attached to the Society of Friends and suffered much in consequence. In the county court records at Salem, Case 57, Term 5th Mo., 1658, the following record appears: "The wife of Richard Gardner was convicted of her frequent being absent from the public ordinances on the Lord's Day, fees of Court 30sh." She was brought before the court several times in the next few years, either for neg-

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lecting to attend the service at the First Church in Salem, or for being present at a "Quaker Meeting." She was excommunicated from the First Church in Salem in 1662 for attending the assemblies of the Friends. She and her husband removed, in 1666, to Nantucket. She was evidently a woman with a strong character, and one who was not afraid to act and speak her convictions. She died in 1724, in her ninety-third year. She married Richard Gardner. (Gardner II.)

(Burke: "General Armory." Family chart.)

(The Bunker Line)

Boncourt-Boncoeur-Bunker Arms—Gyronny or and gules.

French in origin the surname Bunker is derived from the French "boncoeur," meaning "good heart," and corresponds to the English surname Goodheart. Several of the name were entitled to bear arms. Those described above are recorded by Rietstap in his "Armorial Général" for Boncourt of French Flanders. The Bunker family, of Nantucket, traces its origin to William Boncoeur, of whom further.

I. William Boncoeur, variously referred to as Guillaume Boncoeur, or Boncourt, also William de Bonquer. This ancestor was a French Huguenot, born in Nancy, capitol of the Department of Meuse at Moselle, situated on the River Meuse, one hundred and seventy miles from Paris. William fled from France with about half a million compatriots when the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685. He is said to have gone to Holland and then to England, where he was living when his grandson, William, was born in New England, America. The date of his removal to England is apparently unknown. The registers of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, London, mention Guillaume Boncourt, son of Guillaume and Anne (Gossellive) Boncourt. After his death his "widdow" lived in Phinex Street at the Widdow Wall.

II. George Bunker (as the name was spelled in this country), son of William (Guillaume) Boncoeur, of France, came to Topsfield, Massachusetts, where he was drowned May 26, 1658, while crossing a stream with a load of lumber. He was with his ten-year-old son, William, who saved the team, delivered the lumber, and got back safely. It is recorded that he was in Charlestown, Massachusetts, also that he contributed \$10,000 toward the foundation of Harvard College.

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George Bunker married Jane Godfrey. She married (second) Richard Swain, who brought Jane and her children to Nantucket. It is through the descendants of George that the Nantucket line of Bunkers originates. Jane (Godfrey-Bunker) Swain died December 31, 1662. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born in 1646; married Thomas Look. 2. William, born in 1647; married Mary Macy. 3. Mary, born in 1652; married Stephen Coffin. (Coffin—Line Four—Generation V.) 4. Ann, born in 1654; married Joseph Coleman. 5. Martha, of whom further.

III. Martha Bunker, daughter of George and Jane (Godfrey) Bunker, was born November 1, 1656, and died November 21, 1744. She married Stephen Hussey. (Hussey III.)

(Hurd: "History of Essex County, Massachusetts." Hinchman: "Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 52. Transactions Amesbury Historical Society. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXIV, p. 152. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. I, p. 299.)

(The Starbuck Line—Line One)

Starbuck Arms—Argent, a fess gules, bordered azure, between four stars of six points each, of the third.

Crest—A lion's head erased or.

The surname Starbuck, according to Lower, quoting Ferguson partially, is derived from the old Norse, with the following explanation: In the Old Norse, "*bokki*" means *Vir grandis, corpore et animo*. Hence "*Storbocki*," from "*Stor, great, vir, imperious*." The name means, literally, "great man or leader," and is first found in English records in the poll tax for the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the year 1379.

The American Starbucks, one of the foremost families of the Island of Nantucket for over two and a half centuries, comprise the progeny of Edward Starbuck, an Englishman of substance, who was among the earliest and most influential settlers of Nantucket.

I. Edward Starbuck, immigrant ancestor and founder, was born in 1604, and died February 4, 1690-91. He came to America about 1635, from Derbyshire, England, bringing with him his wife, Katharine. He settled in Dover, New Hampshire, where he is first mentioned, June 30, 1643, when he received a grant of forty acres of land on each side of the Fresh River at Cutchechoe, and also one plat of

STARBUCK

Arms—Argent, a fess gules, bordered azure, between four stars of six points each, of the third.

Crest—A lion's head erased or.

GAYER

Arms—Ermine, a fleur-de-lis sable.

Crest—A lion rampant sable, supporting a spear.

STEVENS

Arms—Per chevron argent and gules, in chief two falcons rising proper, belled or.

Crest—A falcon rising or, wings azure, each charged with an estoile of the first, gorged with a collar gemelle of the second.

AUSTIN (AUSTEN)

Arms—Or, a chevron gules between three lions' gambs erect, erased sable, armed of the second.

Crest—On a mural crown or, a stag sejant argent attired gold.

SEVERNE (SEVERANS)

Arms—Argent on a chevron sable nine bezants.

Crest—A cinquefoil or.

MACKAY (MACQUAID—MCQUAID)

Arms—Argent, three five-pointed stars azure, in chief a sinister hand couped at the wrist, gules.

STARR CK

Arms—Argent a fess gules bordered azure between four stars of 4 points each of the third.
Crest—A lion's head erased or.

CLARK

Arms—Bar Azure a fess-de-lis sable.
Crest—A bent rampant sable supporting a spear.

STUBBS

Arms—Per chevron argent and gules in chief two falcons rising proper belled or.
Crest—A falcon rising on wings azure each charged with an estoile of the 1st, surmounted with a collar gemelle of the second.

AUSTIN (AUSTIN)

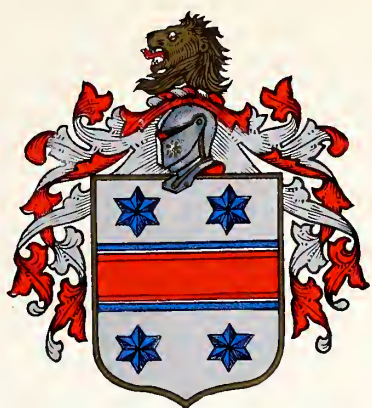
Arms—Or a chevron gules between three lions' heads erect erased sable, or chief of the second.
Crest—On a mount erect a star argent in chief argent gold.

SEVERINE (SEVERINE)

Arms—Argent on a chevron sable nine bezants.
Crest—A cincture or.

MACRAY (MCCOY—MCCOY)

Arms—Argent three bezants stars argent in chief a sinister hand couped at the wrist gules.



Starbuck



Gayer



Stevens



Austin
(AUSTEN)



Seberne
(SEVERANCE)



MacKay
(MAC QUAID, M^CQUAID)

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marsh above Cutchehoe Great Marsh, "that the brook that runs out of the river runs through, first discovered by Richard Walderne, Edward Colcord, Edward Starbuck, and William Furber." He received other grants of land at different times, including one of marsh in Great Bay in 1643, one of the mill privilege at Cutchehoe 2d Falls (with Thomas Wiggin), and one of timber to "accommodate" in 1650, and various others. He was one of the foremost settlers of Dover, a representative of the town in 1643 and 1646, and undoubtedly would have lived comfortably there until his death, honored and respected by his fellow-townsmen, had he not embraced the Baptist faith. He was the owner of extensive properties, and was in all probability a man of substance as to possessions, as tradition says he was in body. Despite this he fell into disrepute for daring to differ in faith from the intolerant Puritans of his day. In "Provincial Papers of the New Hampshire Historical Society," we find the following:

October 18, 1648.—The Court being informed of great misdemeanor Committed by Edward Starbuck of Dover with profession of Anabaptism for which he is to be proceeded against at the next Court of Assistants if evidence can be prepared by that time & it being very farre for witnesses to travill to Boston at that season of the year. It is therefore ordered by this Court that the Secretary shall give Commission to Capt. Thomas Wiggan & Mr. Edw. Smyth to send for such persons as they shall have notice of which are able to testify in the Sd. cause & to take their testimony uppon oath & certifie the same to the secretary as soon as may be therein, if the cause shall so require.

It is not to be wondered at that Edward Starbuck was quite ready to leave Dover, despite his advanced age, and his interest in and around the town. He was fifty-five years of age when he joined Thomas Macy in his voyage from Salisbury to Nantucket. They arrived at Nantucket in the autumn of 1659, and remained during the winter at the outskirts of the Island, removing later to a more central location, now called Cambridge. In the spring of 1660, Edward Starbuck returned to Dover for his family, all of whom returned with him except his daughters, Sarah Austin and Abigail Coffin. On his return to Nantucket he at once became active in official affairs, and was at one time magistrate. He died at Nantucket, February 4, 1690. He married Catharine Reynolds, a woman of Welsh parentage. Children, most of whom were born in England: 1. Sarah, married three times in Dover, New Hampshire; (first) William Story; (second)

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Joseph Austin; (third) Humphrey Varney, as second wife. 2. Nathaniel, of whom further. 3. Dorcas, died about 1696; married William Gayer, of Nantucket. (Gayer—American Line—I.) 4. Abigail, married Peter Coffin, son of Tristram, of Dover. (Coffin—Line One—Generation IV—first child.) 5. Esther, married Humphrey Varney, as first wife. 6. Jethro, killed by accident, May 27, 1663.

II. Nathaniel Starbuck, son of Edward and Catharine (Reynolds) Starbuck, was born in Dover, New Hampshire (some records say in England, 1636), and as he was a taxpayer in 1658, this is probably correct. He died at Nantucket, Massachusetts, August 6, 1719. He was the only son who lived to perpetuate the name. He was a wealthy landowner, and a man of no mean abilities, yet he seems to have been eclipsed by the exceptional brilliancy of his wife. He married, in 1662, Mary Coffin. (Coffin—Line Three—Generation V.) Children, born in Nantucket, Massachusetts: 1. Mary, born March 30, 1663, the first white child born in Nantucket. 2. Elizabeth, born September 9, 1665; married cousin, Peter Coffin, Jr. 3. Nathaniel. (Starbuck—Line Two—III.) 4. Jethro, of whom further. 5. Barnabas, born in 1673, died in 1733. 6. Eunice, born April 1, 1674; married George Gardner, son of John Gardner. 7. Priscilla, married John Coleman. 8. Hepzibah, born April 2, 1680; married Thomas Hathaway, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. 9. Ann, died single. 10. Paul, died single.

III. Jethro Starbuck, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, was born in Nantucket, December 14 (or 24), 1671, and died in Nantucket, August 12, 1770. He married, December 6, 1694, his cousin, Dorcas Gayer. (Gayer—American Line—II.) Children, born in Nantucket, Massachusetts: 1. Sarah, born December 20, 1696. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Eunice, born February 4, 1701. 4. Lydia, born September 15, 1704. 5. Thomas, born December 12, 1706. 6. Dorcas, born April 13, 1710, died in December, 1710. 7. Jemima, born July 2, 1712. 8. Mary, born September 8, 1715.

IV. William Starbuck, son of Jethro and Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, was born July 22, 1699, and died in 1760. He married, at Nantucket, December 9, 1720, Anna Folger. (Folger—Line Two—Generation V.) They had a daughter, Mary, of whom further.

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V. Mary Starbuck, daughter of William and Anna (Folger) Starbuck, was born at Nantucket in 1738, and died in Guilford, North Carolina. She married Joseph Macy. (Macy V.)

(The Starbuck Line—Line Two)

For introduction and Generations I and II, see Starbuck Line One.

III. Nathaniel Starbuck, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, was born in Nantucket, October 9, 1668, and died 9d, 2 mo., 1753. He married, November 20, 1690, Dinah Coffin. (Coffin—Line Two—Generation VI.) Among their children was Elizabeth, of whom further.

IV. Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Dinah (Coffin) Starbuck, was born November 27, 1698, and died February 9, 1770. She married George Hussey. (Hussey IV.)

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." "New England Families," Rhode Island Edition. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," three volumes.)

(The Gayer Line)

Gayer Arms—Ermine, a fleur-de-lis sable.

Crest—A lion rampant sable, supporting a spear.

The surname Gare, or Gayer, later Gear, originated from residence "at the gare," which, from the form, indicates "gear," or moveable property; but if it started in northern England, suggests the "gair," or gore of land, of North Britain. Stephen de la Gare is in the Hundred Rolls of Kent, A. D. 1273; also Lucas de la Gare, who appears in Placita Quo Warranto of 1294, and Lucas atte Gare.

(English Pedigree)

I. William I, of England, known as the Conqueror, married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V, of Flanders. (William the Conqueror I.) (House of Capet VII.)

II. Henry I, son of William I, married Matilda, of Scotland.

III. Matilda (Maud), daughter of Henry I, was left all the possessions of her father, Henry I, but the throne was usurped by her cousin, Stephen. Upon his death it reverted to Henry II, son of

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Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet. Matilda married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou.

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," fifth edition.)

IV. King Henry II (Henry Plantagenet), son of Matilda (Maud) and Geoffrey Plantagenet, reigned from 1154 to 1189. He married, in 1152, Eleanor, Countess of Poitou and Aquitaine, daughter of William, of Aquitaine.

V. King John (Lackland), son of Henry II and Eleanor, of Aquitaine, reigned from 1199 to 1216. He married, as his second wife, Isabelle Taillefer, of Angoulême, daughter of Adomar Taillefer, Count of Angoulême.

VI. King Henry III, son of King John and Isabelle Taillefer, reigned from 1216 to 1272. He married Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Berenger IV, of Provence.

VII. Edward I, King of England, son of Henry III and Eleanor, of Provence, married (first), in 1254, Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III, King of Castile. (House of Castile VIII.)

(J. and J. B. Burke: "The Royal Families of England, Scotland and Wales," Vol. I, p. xxxi (1848).)

VIII. Elizabeth, fifth daughter of Edward I, married Humphrey de Bohun, eleventh Earl of Hereford, and ninth Earl of Essex, who was born in 1284, and died in 1321. Humphrey de Bohun was descended from that Henry de Bohun who was one of the Magna Charta Barons.

(*Ibid.*, p. xxxii.)

IX. Margaret, daughter of Elizabeth and Humphrey de Bohun, married, August 11, 1325, Sir Hugh Courtenay.

(*Ibid.*)

X. Sir Philip Courtenay, third son of Sir Hugh and Margaret (de Bohun) Courtenay, of Powderham, died July 29, 1406. He married Ann, daughter of Thomas Wake.

(T. Westcote: "View of Devonshire in 1630," pp. 571-73 (1845).)

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XI. Sir John Courtenay, son of Sir Philip and Ann (Wake) Courtenay, married a daughter of Sir Richard Champernon. Authorities disagree as to her first name, some saying Agnes, some Joan, and some Isabel.

(*Ibid.*)

XII. Sir Philip Courtenay, son of Sir John and Agnes (or Joan, or Isabel) (Champernon) Courtenay, was born in 1404, and died in 1463. He was Sheriff of Devon. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, Lord Hungerford.

(*Ibid.*)

XIII. Sir William Courtenay, son of Sir Philip, was High Sheriff of Devon in 1482. He married Margaret, daughter of Lord Bonville, Knight of the Garter.

(*Ibid.*)

XIV. Edward Courtenay, son of Sir William and Margaret Courtenay, died in 1509. He married Alice Wotton, daughter of and heiress of John Wotton, of Wotton, in Landrake, Cornwall.

(Lyson: "Magna Britannia," Vol. III, p. 171. Westcote: "View of Devonshire in 1630," pp. 573, 575.)

XV. Alice Courtenay, daughter of Edward and Alice Courtenay, married Reginald Gayer, of Liskeard.

(A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," pp. 1, 2 (1870).)

XVI. John Gayer, son of Reginald and Alice (Courtenay) Gayer, was a member of Parliament from Cornwall in 1553, 1557 and 1571. He died in 1593. It is not known whom he married: Children: 1. Reginald. 2. Otho or Otys. 3. Stephen, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

XVII. Stephen Gayer, son of John Gayer, married Jane Tembrace, daughter of William Tembrace.

(*Ibid.*, p. 9. "Herald's Visitation of Cornwall," 1573.)

XVIII. John Gayer, son of Stephen and Jane (Tembrace) Gayer, married Sibell Treffrey, daughter of Thomas Treffrey.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.)

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XIX. Thomas Gayer was the son of John and Sibell (Treffrey) Gayer.

(*Ibid.*)

XX. John Gayer, son of Thomas Gayer, married Margaret Trelawney, daughter of Robert, of Tidiver.

(*Ibid.* Sir L. Stephen and Sir S. Lee: "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VII, p. 972.)

XXI. Humphrey Gayer, son of John and Margaret (Trelawney) Gayer, married Jane Spark, of Plymouth. They had four children. Children: 1. Jane, married a Lee. 2. Joan, married a Hooper. 3. William, of whom further. 4. Elizabeth, married a Matthews. 5. Mary. 6. Sir John, married (first) a Harper; (second) Mary, left no issue. Was Governor of Bombay in 1694; left a will, dated October 5, 1710, probated in 1712. In his will he mentions his brother, "My brother William Gayer, of the Island of Nantucket."

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLV, p. 188. Sir L. Stephen and Sir S. Lee: "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VII, p. 972. A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," p. 5.)

(The Family in America)

I. William Gayer, son of Humphrey and Jane (Spark) Gayer, came from Devonshire, England, and was an early settler in Nantucket, but not among the earliest. He was a farmer, a justice of the peace, and in June, 1692, with Captain John Gardner, he was the first representative from Nantucket after its transfer from the Colony of New York to the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Additional proof that he was the son of Humphrey and Jane (Spark) Gayer, and that he came from Devonshire, England, are letters from his mother and his son, the latter dated from Barbados, March 20, 1698-99. William Gayer married (first), about 1672, Dorcas Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line One—Generation I—third child.) He married (second) Widow Mary Guard, of Boston, but survived her, and died at Nantucket, September 23, 1710. Children of first marriage: 1. Damaris, born October 24, 1673, died November 6, 1764; married, in 1692, Nathan-

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iel Coffin. 2. Dorcas, of whom further. 3. William, Jr., born June 3, 1677, died in England, in 1712 or 1713; married Elizabeth Gayer.

(*Ibid.* "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXI, pp. 297-302.)

II. Dorcas Gayer, daughter of William and Dorcas (Starbuck) Gayer, was born August 29, 1675, and died at Nantucket, December 11, 1747. She married Jethro Starbuck. (Starbuck—Line One—Generation III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(William the Conqueror Line)

William the Conqueror Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.

William of Normandy, later known as William the Conqueror, was born in 1027 or 1028, bastard son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, sometimes called Robert the Devil, and of Arietta, daughter of a tanner of Falaise; and grandson of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. In 1034, Robert of Normandy induced his Barons to acknowledge William as his successor. The following year he died on the return journey from Jerusalem, and the Barons kept their promise by acknowledging the lordship of the boy William. The Conquest of England, in 1066, and the years immediately following, gained for William the title of Conqueror, as well as that of King William I, of England. Recent authorities state that though in England many legends survive of arms borne by the Conqueror and his companions, nothing is more certain than that no armorial bearings appeared on either side of the battle of Hastings.

I. William I married Matilda (sometimes recorded as Maud), daughter of Baldwin V, of Flanders, who traced descent in the female line from Alfred the Great. (Gayer Pedigree I.) (House of Capet VII.)

II. Henry I, fourth and youngest son of William I and Matilda (Maud), of Flanders, was known as Beauclerc. He is recorded in Burke's "Royal Armory" as bearing arms identical with those of his father. He married (first), in 1100, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland. He married (second), in 1121, Adelaide, daughter of Godfrey, Count of Louvain. There was no issue by his second marriage.

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III. Matilda, daughter of Henry I and Matilda, of Scotland, died in 1167. She married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. (Gayer Pedigree III.)

(Burke: "Royal Armory." George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," fifth edition, III.)

(The House of Capet Line)

House of Capet Arms—Azure, semée-de-lis or.

Capet is the name of a family to which, for nearly nine centuries, the kings of France and many of the rulers of the most powerful fiefs in that country belonged, and which mingled with several of the other royal races of Europe. The original significance of the name remains in dispute, but the first of the family to whom it was applied was Hugh, who was elected King of the Franks in 987. The real founder of the house, however, was Robert the Strong, who received from Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, the countship of Anjou and Blois, and who is sometimes called Duke, as he exercised some military authority in the district between the Seine and the Loire. According to Aimoin, of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, and the chronicler, Richer, he was a Saxon, but historians question this statement. Descent is traced as follows:

I. Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou and Blois, was sometimes called Duke of Anjou and Blois.

II. Robert, second son of Robert the Strong, was Duke of Anjou and Blois, also King Robert I, of France, or, more accurately, King of the Franks. He was the brother of Odo (or Eudes), who became King of the Western Franks in 888. He was himself crowned King of the Franks at Rheims, June 20, 922, but Charles III marched against him, and he was killed in a battle near Soissons, June 15, 923.

III. Hugh the Great, son of Robert, King of France, 922-23, married Hedwiga, daughter of Henry I, King of Germany, of the Saxon line. They had Hugh Capet, of whom further, and Beatrix.

IV. Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great and Hedwiga, was King of France from 987 to 996.

V. Robert, son of Hugh Capet, was King 996-1031. He married (first) Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy; (second) Constance, daughter of William, Count of Toulouse. Children: 1.

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Hugh, died in 1025, without issue. 2. Henry I, King of France, 1031-60; married Anne of Russia. 3. Adela, of whom further. 4. Robert, Duke of Burgundy.

VI. Adela, daughter of Robert and Bertha Capet, married (first) Richard III, Duke of Normandy; (second) Baldwin V, Count of Flanders. They had Baldwin VI, Robert I, and Matilda, of whom further.

VII. Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders, and Adela Capet, married William the Conqueror. (William the Conqueror I.)

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," fifth edition, XII.)

(The House of Castile Line)

House of Castile Arms—Gules, a tower triple-towered or.
Crest—The tower.

Castile, or Castille, an ancient kingdom of Spain, is said to have derived its name from the numerous frontier forts (castillos) erected in the Middle Ages, as a defense against the Moors. The transformation of Castile from a small county in the north of what is now Castile into an independent monarchy was one of the decisive events in the reconquest of Spain from the Moors. Ferdinand I, of Castile (1035-65), by his marriage with Sancha (Sancia), widow and heiress of the last King of Leon, was enabled to unite Leon and Castile in a single kingdom with its capital at Burgos.

I. Ferdinand I married Sancha, heiress of Leon. They had a son, Alphonso, of whom further.

II. Alphonso VI, son of Ferdinand I and Sancha, reigned in Castile from 1065 to 1109. He married Constance, daughter of Robert, Duke of Burgundy.

III. Urraca, daughter of Alphonso VI and Constance, married (second) Alfonso I, of Aragon and VII of Castile and Leon. They were the parents of Alfonso, of whom further.

IV. Alfonso VIII, son of Alfonso I of Aragon and VII of Castile and Leon, and of Urraca, reigned in Castile from 1126 to 1157. He married Berengaria, daughter of Raymond, of Barcelona. They were the parents of Ferdinand II.

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V. Ferdinand II, son of Alfonso VIII and Berengaria, reigned from 1157 to 1188. He married Urraca, daughter of Alfonso I, of Portugal and Matilda. They were the parents of Alfonso IX, of whom further.

VI. Alfonso IX, son of Ferdinand II and Urraca, of Portugal, reigned in Castile from 1188 to 1230. He married Berengaria.

VII. Ferdinand III, of Castile, son of Alfonso IX and Berengaria, reigned from 1230 to 1252. He married (second) Joanna, daughter of Count of Aumale and Ponthieu. They were the parents of Eleanor, of whom further.

VIII. Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III, of Castile, and Joanna, married King Edward I, of England. (Gayer Pedigree VII.)

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," fifth edition, XXXVI.)

(The Stevens Line)

Stevens Arms—Per chevron argent and gules, in chief two falcons rising proper, belled or.

Crest—A falcon rising or, wings azure, charged with an estoile of the first, gorged with a collar gemelle of the second.

The family name Stephen, Stephens, or Stevens, is from the christen-name Stephen, not found in Domesday Book 1086 A. D., except as Fitz-Stephen. It gained popularity during the reign of King Stephen, 1135-54. Richard Stephen is in the Hundred Rolls of Oxfordshire, A. D. 1273, and Richard Stephens, in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, 1327, also Philip and William Stevene. Ralph Fitz-Stephen, and his brother, William, were joint high sheriffs of Gloucestershire from 1171 for four years, and William continued high sheriff thirteen years longer. From the Gloucestershire stock are the Stephens of Little Sudbury and Eastington; of St. Faiths, in Norfolk; of Colchester and Arden in Essex; of Tregony in Cornwall; and with variation, Stevens of Devonshire and of Berkshire. The earliest recorded use of a seal in the family is in a deed between Roger, prior of Lothbury Abbey, and Roger Fitz-Alan, for the chapel of Harscombe, to which were affixed the seals of Margaret de Bohun and William Fitz-Stephen, brother of Ralph Fitz Stephen, Baron of Wapley, in 1131, both later high sheriffs, as described above.

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I. Airard Fitz Stephen, a nobleman of Normandy, was placed by William the Conqueror in command of the "Mora," the ship presented by his duchess and eventual Queen, Matilda of Flanders, for his personal use in the fleet conveying the Norman forces to England for the battle of Hastings, 1066.

II. Thomas Fitz Stephen, son of Airard Fitz Stephen, commanded the "Blanche Nef" or "White Ship," the finest vessel in the Norman Navy; a vessel forever associated with the great catastrophe by which, while conveying Prince William, heir to the throne, accompanied by a large number of the nobility, from Harfleur, Normandy, to England, it struck a hidden rock and went down, in 1120, with the loss of all but one of those on board. Thomas left sons, Ralph and Stephen, who married Nesta, daughter of Rys ap Tewdwr, King of South Wales, whose son, Robert, was active in the Conquest of Ireland.

III. Ralph Fitz Stephen, oldest son and heir of Thomas Fitz Stephen, married (his wife's name unknown). His son, William, was a Benedictine monk; in 1171-90 High Sheriff of Gloucestershire and Chief Justice Itinerant as late as the first year of Richard I, 1189. He died about 1190.

IV. Ralph Fitz Stephen, son of Ralph Fitz Stephen, was Baron of Wapley by feudal tenure, and became treasurer of the great Abbey of Malmesbury in Gloucestershire and was possessed of landed estates in the shire. He died in 1190, having married a de Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle, County Gloucester, near Eastington.

V. Fitz Ralph Fitz Stephen, son of Ralph and (——— de Berkeley) Fitz Stephen, was one of the Crusaders under Richard I, Coeur de Lion.

VI. John Fitz Stephen, son of Fitz Ralph Fitz Stephen, married a daughter of De Bradeston.

VII. Henry Fitz Stephen, son of John and (——— de Bradeston) Fitz Stephen, was Baron of Winterbourne conjointly with Thomas, first Lord Bradeston, in the reign of Edward III (1327-77).

VIII. Henry (?) Fitz Stephens, son of Henry Fitz Stephen, whose death is referred to in documents as occurring during the life of his father.

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IX. John Fitz Stephens, grandson of the first Henry Fitz Stephen, succeeded to his grandfather's share in the lordship of Winterbourne, and died in 1374.

X. John Stephens, son of John Fitz Stephens, was the first to omit the "Fitz" from his name. The joint holding of Winterbourne Manor ended by the extinction of the male line of De Bradeston. John is recorded to have held land at St. Brivals Castle in 1386. He married a Spelly, of Lewynesmede, County Gloucester.

XI. Richard Stephens, son of John Stephens, was Baron of Lewynesmede, and married a daughter of John Castel, of Bristol, and died in 1390.

XII. John Stephens, son of Richard Stephens, was Baron of Lewynesmede by feudal tenure; member of Parliament for Bristol; and mayor of Bristol in 1403. He married Margaret Didbrok, daughter of Robert Didbrok, of Bristol. She was alive in 1417.

XIII. John Stephens, son of John and Margaret (Didbrok) Stephens, Baron of Lewynesmede in the reign of Henry V (1413-22.) He married Alice (surname unknown).

XIV. Thomas Stephens, Esq., son of John and Alice Stephens, was in the French wars of Henry V and M. P. for Gloucester, 1422, 1423, 1427, 1430, 1432, and 1442.

XV. John Stephens, Esq., son of Thomas Stephens, took part in the ending of the Wars of the Roses, and was M. P. for Bristol in the reign of Henry VII.

XVI. Henry Stephens, son of John Stephens, was of Froaster in Gloucestershire, in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and died in 1552. He married a daughter of Edward Lugg, of Lugwardim, County Hereford, an elder branch of the family of Legge, or De La Lega, now represented by the Earls of Dartmouth. His sons, Richard, a barrister of London, and William, of the Inner Temple, London, who had patronage of the livings of Illsington, County Devon, begin connections in those parts. Another son, Robert, of London, died in 1592.

XVII. Edward Stephens, son and heir of Henry Stephens, acquired the manors of Eastington and Alkerton, County Gloucester,

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in 1573. He died October 27, 1587. He married Joan Fowler, daughter of Richard Fowler, of Stonehouse, County Gloucester. She died August 5, 1587. His son, Thomas, of Lypiatt Park, born in 1558, was the ancestor of John Stephens (or Stevens), founder of the Guilford, Connecticut, family.

XVIII. Richard Stephens, son and heir of Edward and Joan (Fowler) Stephens, married (first) Margaret St. Leo, daughter of Edward St. Leo, of Knighton, Wiltshire; married (second) Ann Kery.

XIX. Nathaniel Stephens, son and heir of Richard and Margaret (St. Leo) Stephens, born in 1589, was a member of Parliament in 1638-39 and 1640-48. He raised a regiment of horses, of which he was colonel, and fought on the Parliamentary side against Charles I, and died in 1660. One of his daughters married Sir John Fitz James, 1638, and another married Sir John Stawell, of Devonshire. He had a son, Robert, born in 1633, but said to have died unmarried. Robert Stevens, of whom further, was probably a second cousin of Nathaniel.

(The Family in America)

I. Robert Stevens, of Brixton, Devonshire, was probably second cousin of Nathaniel Stephens, above. The will of Dionis Stephens (Stevens), "of Brixham," is in the Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exeter, 1648. Probably wife of Robert Stevens.

II. Dionis Stephens (or *Stevens*), daughter of Robert Stevens, married Tristram Coffin. (Coffin—Line One—Generation IV.)

(Burke: "General Armory." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Stevens: "Stevens Genealogy, Some Descendants of Fitz Stephen.")

(The Austin Line)

Austin-Austen Arms—Or, a chevron gules between three lions' gambes erect, erased sable, armed of the second.

Crest—On a mural crown or, a stag sejant argent attired or.

The surname Austin, Aust, Austen, Austing, Asen, Astin, Astins, is derived from the baptismal name meaning "the son of Augustine," and was very popular in the thirteenth century. The cause of this favoritism was the Austin Friars, or Black Canons, as they were often styled from their black cloaks, who were established in England early

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in the twelfth century and were possessed of about one hundred and seventy houses. Aston, compounded with the local Aston, was an early form. The family was prominent in England, as is evidenced by the fact that fourteen coats-of-arms are recorded for individuals and groups bearing the name Austen, Austin, and Auston, located in Counties Kent, Surrey, and Norfolk, also in Scotland. The family of Austen, of Hertfordshire and Hampshire, to which belonged Miss Jane Austen, the celebrated novelist, derives from Austen, of Grovehurst and Broadford, County Kent. The arms described above are the bearings of Austen of Grovehurst and Broadford, County Kent. The earliest immigrant of the name in this country came from County Hampshire, England, and is thought to have been related to the Richard just mentioned.

Richard Austin (Austen) was born in England in 1598 and resided in Bishopscocks, Hampshire County. He sailed for America in 1638 on the ship "Bevis," of Hampton, accompanied by his wife and two sons, Richard and Anthony. They settled in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The son, Richard, was the head of the Boston branch, and Anthony was head of Connecticut and New York branch, the latter having moved to Rowley, Massachusetts (1666), and to Suffield, Connecticut, then part of Massachusetts, and finally to New York. This relationship between these families and Joseph, mentioned below, has not been definitely established, but it is thought that he was of the Hampshire family and related to Richard.

I. Joseph Austin is said to have come to Dover about 1647, from Hampton, New Hampshire, where was a Joseph Austin in 1642. He was taxed at Dover in 1648. In 1649, he purchased of Richard Waldron one-fourth part of the "old mill" at Cochecho, Lower Falls, for "accommodation" of which he received, in 1652, the wood of three acres. In 1658, he exchanged with Elder William Wentworth "Emery's farm" for other lands. Joseph lived at Cochecho. His will was dated "6 June 1662, proved 1 July 1663." He gave his wife some portion, the remainder to be equally divided among his children (their names not given) save that the eldest son, Thomas, was to have a double share. He also had a son Benjamin, "first wife's child," and a son Nathaniel. (Nantucket Vital Records.) Richard Waldron, William Wentworth, and his "brother Peter Coffin," were named as executors. Joseph Austin married, in 1659 (probably his second wife),

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Sarah Starbuck, daughter of Elder Edward Starbuck, and widow of William Story (died about 1658). After Joseph Austin's death Sarah married Humphrey Varney. Among his children were: Deborah (by first wife), of whom further, and Mary, of whom further.

II. Deborah Austin, daughter of Joseph Austin, died February 4, 1718. She married, about 1668, Lieutenant John Coffin, son of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin. (Coffin—Line One—Generation V.)

II. Mary Austin, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Starbuck) Austin, married Richard Gardner. (Gardner II—first child.) She died before her husband.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Burke: "General Armory." "New England Historical and Genealogical Register.")

(The Severans Line)

Severne-Severans Arms—Argent on a chevron sable nine bezants.

Crest—A cinquefoil or.

The family name Seaverns or Severance, Severans is probably a late variation of the old English Sebern (e); a Christen-name, corresponding to the old Norse Sigbjorn, conquering bear. Sebern appears as a tenant in Domesday Book, 1086 A. D.; Geoffrey Sebern appears in the Hundred Rolls of Cambridgeshire, and William Seberne on those of Oxfordshire, A. D. 1273. Thomas Severne, of Broadway and Powick, Worcestershire, son of John of Shrawley, living in the reign of Henry VIII, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Nash, of Martley, in Worcestershire, and died in 1592, leaving a son, John, born in 1588, whose second son, John, was born in 1622. The latter was perhaps a relative of the following emigrant.

I. John Seaverns, or *Severans*, was of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1636; a freeman of Boston, May 17, 1637; and received land in Salisbury in the first division in 1639, with additions in 1640 and 1654. He was a "victualler and vintner," licensed to keep the "ordinary," or tavern, in 1662, and died at Salisbury, April 9, 1682. He married (first), in Ipswich, England, in 1635, Abigail Kimball, born in England in 1616, and died in Salisbury, June 17, 1658. She was the daughter of Richard and Ursula (Scott) Kimball. He married (second), October 2, 1663, Susanna Ambrose, widow of Henry Ambrose. She

FOY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

signed the Bradbury petition in 1692. Children, born in Salisbury, all of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born September 19, 1637, died young. 2. Ebenezer, born March 7, 1639, died in 1667, unmarried. 3. Abigail, born January 7, 1641, died March 7, 1641. 4. Abigail, born May 25, 1643; married, November 29, 1664, John Church. 5. Mary, of whom further. 6. John, born November 24, 1647; married, August 15, 1672, Mary (surname unknown). 7. Joseph, born February 14, 1649. A Joseph Severans, of Yarmouth, Plymouth Colony, sold land in Salisbury, November, 1682. 8. Elizabeth, born April 8, 1652, died June 23, 1662. 9. Benjamin, born January 13, 1654, living in 1665. 10. Ephraim, born April 8, 1656. 11. Elizabeth, born June 17, 1658; married Samuel Eastman.

II. Mary Severans, daughter of John and Abigail (Kimball) Severans, was born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, August 5, 1645. She married James Coffin. (Coffin—Line Two—Generation V.)

(Burke: "General Armory." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Seaborn: "Severans-Severance Genealogical History.")

(The McQuaid Line)

MacKay-MacQuaid-McQuaid Arms—Argent, three five-pointed stars azure, in chief a sinister hand couped at the wrist, gules.

The family name McQuaid, MacQuaid, or MacQuade, is from the old Scottish Gaelic Aed, later still Aod, later aspirated Aodh, in English Iye, the founder of the clan MacKay, of County Sutherland, in northernmost Scotland, one of the largest Highland clans, in a recent enumeration, twenty-seven thousand persons. Only a small group of the clan retains the ancient form of the name which inserts an *i* in the genitive case, which must follow the prefix Mac; thus MacAoid, Anglicized as MacQuaid, MacQuead, MacQuoid; the aspirated MacAoidh, which is MacKay in the north, and Mackee in Argyle, being almost universal. The clan MacKay, including MacQuaid, had a badge, the broom plant, worn in the bonnet, or cap, for the same purpose as the feudal knights wore a coat-of-arms, namely, for family identification, and Mackay was created baron Reay in 1627. The coat-of-arms described above is the one given in "The Book of MacKay." The clan Aid, whose genealogy is given in the Advocate's Library MSS. of 1450, and an offshoot of the early founders of clan MacKay, appears to be the original of the MacQuaid branch or sub-

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clan MacQuoid, was among the emigrants to Ulster, Ireland, and are on record in County Down, soon after A. D. 1600, in the vicinity of the Ards and Castlereagh. Some of the McQuaids were in the great immigration from Ulster, chiefly by way of the port of Philadelphia, from 1727 to 1750.

I. Henry McQuaid, of East Town, Chester County, Pennsylvania, was taxed on one hundred and sixty acres of land, four horses and four cattle, in 1765; and in the tax of 1769 is called "weaver." His name does not appear in the 1774 tax list. Arthur McQuaid is in the list of freemen at the same place and time. The name in the census of 1790 appears to be confined to Pennsylvania. No Henry or James McQuaid, however, appears in that list. Henry McQuaid's inventory filed at Shelbyville, Kentucky, January, 1805.

II. James McQuaid, son of Henry McQuaid, born about 1658, died May 23, 1828, aged seventy, was a Baptist preacher and farmer. A James McQuaid served with the Stockle Rangers on the frontier of Pennsylvania, 1778-83, Washington County. James McQuaid married, in 1784, presumably in Shelby County, Kentucky, Isabel Pearce, and they were the parents of a daughter: 1. Margaret, of whom further.

III. Margaret McQuaid, daughter of James and Isabel (Pearce) McQuaid, was born January 10, 1785. She married Charles Polk, 3d. (Polk V.)

(MacKay: "The Book of MacKay" (arms in colors). Douglas: "Peerage of Scotland," Vol. II, pp. 389-95. Hanna: "The Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania Archives," Series III.)



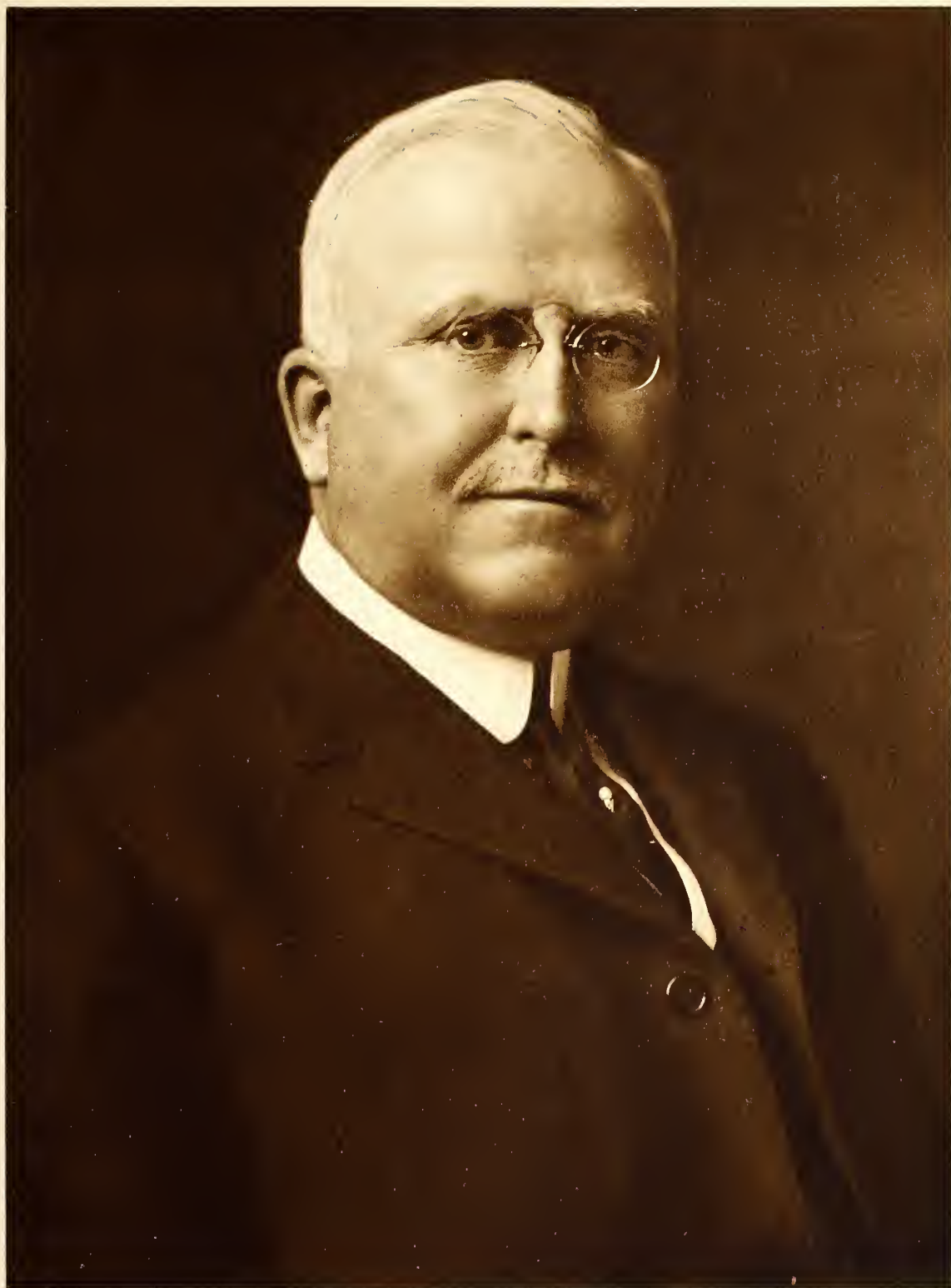
John W. Kiser—Capitalist

BY V. R. BEGHTOL, NEW YORK CITY



OUR generations of the Kiser family are now of interest to those who look into the industrial and financial records of our American families; and of these four generations the two of greatest note are represented by the third and fourth to bear the surname: John W. Kiser, since deceased, and his son, John W. Kiser, Jr., who continues as a capitalist the traditions of the extended affairs established by the former.

In the present biographical narrative we treat principally of the late John W. Kiser, who brought distinction to the name and to his native State of Ohio—the Commonwealth in which, incidentally, all four generations have been and continue to be represented today. A chronicler writing of the outstanding men of Champaign County, Ohio, in 1917, had the following to say regarding John W. Kiser, here reproduced by way of introduction to a character that was dominant in financial spheres for many years: "There have been many men born in Champaign County who have achieved distinction in many lines. There have been men high in army and navy circles, eminent in political affairs, bankers, musicians, artists, and men prominent in other lines of activity; but in the field of finance there is one figure who so far overshadows all others that there is no comparison. This man, a native of Champaign County, was the late John W. Kiser. To have started with small beginnings, and to have built up a vast fortune, is but one of the features of the life of this man; but the fact that he contrived so to accomplish is sufficient evidence that he was of extraordinary ability." This, written from the limited viewpoint of a county history, fails to give the properly broadened realization of his influence; for John W. Kiser was a world figure, outstanding in the United States as industrialist, capitalist, man of culture, and benefactor whose gifts, quietly bestowed, did much to alleviate the sufferings of mankind. Yet he was loyal to Champaign County until the last, loyal with that loyalty distinguishing his forebears, and retained in the generation coming after him. Chicago and New York knew him well; his circle of associates spread 'round the continent, and his name was



J. M. Kaiser

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heard frequently upon the bourses of foreign lands. But the family as a family, and each of the four generations mentioned below, always has preferred close identification with Ohio and Champaign County. The family is one of the oldest in the United States. Date of landing of the progenitor is not preserved, and for the purposes of this chronicle we begin with Nicholas Kiser, native of Tennessee.

I. Nicholas Kiser, of Tennessee, was a pioneer in Ohio, coming here early in the last century, more than a hundred years ago. He married Margaret Kiser (same name, but not a blood relation), of Pennsylvania. They lived for a long time in Shelby County, Ohio, and Nicholas, the pioneer, died in 1843, leaving a widow and twelve children. She lived till her eightieth year. Eleven of the children lived to maturity, and all but one of these married.

II. George R. Kiser, seventh child and fourth son, was born in Shelby County, Ohio, on his parents' pioneer farm acreage. He secured the general education of his time and circumstances and at the age of sixteen set out to make his own way in the world, doing so as a prosperous citizen of Champaign County, with which county his father before him had been identified by interest and proximity. He became one of the wealthiest men of the region, beginning as a farm hand, then operating a sawmill, and lastly buying and selling livestock. Nearly the whole of his experience was centered in Johnson Township. In 1866 he opened a residence at St. Paris (and it is of note that the family has been represented continuously here from that year down to the present, through a period of more than sixty years), where he resided until 1875, at which time he moved to a country place on one of his farms, also in Johnson Township, but always kept up business in St. Paris. In 1886 he returned his residence to this community and lived here until his death, leaving a large estate, including twelve hundred acres of valuable land in Shelby and Champaign counties, the most of it being in the latter area. George R. Kiser married, in 1856, Margaret McVey, a daughter of William and Susan (Stockton) McVey; and of this union were born twins: 1. John William, of whom further. 2. Mary Belle.

III. John William Kiser was born in Johnson Township, Champaign County, Ohio, June 20, 1857, and died, at the Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, October 31, 1916. He attended the schools of St. Paris, was

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of remark for scholastic excellence there, then entered Wittenberg College at Springfield, Ohio, and took his academic degree there in 1884. That same year, in Springfield, he secured a valuable practical business experience as special collector for Reinhardt, Ballard and Company, later transferring as collector to the Springfield Thresher Company, being put on the road by the second house and given charge of collections in several states. As he worked he formed acquaintanceships of worth in subsequent years of greater responsibility, and next became associated with the Chandler-Robbins Sewing Machine Company of Chicago. It was while with that organization that he conceived the idea of entering the manufacturing business for himself. The bicycle had come into its early popularity; in the bicycle he saw his opportunity.

In 1889, with five years of good experience to his credit, John W. Kiser looked about him in Chicago to find an opening for his bicycle manufacturing project. He had vision and courage, and a modest capital under his control; but he would not grasp his opportunity until he saw clearly that all things were in readiness, and accordingly he spent three more years in the sewing machine collection field, meanwhile keeping his eyes and mind occupied with his personal future. In 1892, ready at last and knowing the time to be propitious, he organized the Monarch Bicycle Company of Chicago. His start was ample; he had sufficient funds saved up and available otherwise; and his success was almost instantaneous. The dollars, literally, "rolled in," just as his product with equal literalness "rolled out." And the highways of the Nation knew the treads of his bicycles for two decades. Then, as the bicycle trade gave unmistakable signs of waning, he was as quick to leave the business as he had been to enter it, exercising a rare judgment which colleagues much admired. The automobile ruined the bicycle trade; and one might think that the horseshoe trade would offer little, for that very reason; but to this trade he now turned with full vigor.

As a manufacturer of horseshoes, John W. Kiser came into the full of his economic spread. The Phœnix Horseshoe Company had been organized some years before, and its chief mills were located at Poughkeepsie, New York, and Joliet, Illinois. In 1902, when John W. Kiser became identified with the growing concern, its principal stockholders were doing a very good business, these holders being

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headed by E. H. Miller; but within five years, by 1907, Mr. Kiser had acquired chief control, and became the company's president, carrying it forward to rapid and concrete prosperity. When he assumed the presidency in 1907 the capital stock was increased to three millions, and a short time afterward Mr. Kiser was found to be almost the sole owner of this valuable property. In 1910 he secured control of the Cincinnati Horseshoe and Iron Company, and he retained connection with this firm until the last. His holdings caused him to be known as the largest manufacturer of horseshoes in the entire world.

Concurrent with these shifts of enterprise and the building of his vast fortune were several changes of residence and incidental businesses. He never forgot his old home in Champaign County, and throughout his career contrived to spend as much time here as was possible, of later years making it a rule to visit St. Paris during the warm months of summer. Here he erected one of the finest houses in all Ohio, in 1912, creating a home always open to his many friends of boyhood and subsequent career. This home today is pointed out as a masterwork of structural charm and dignity, graciousness and space, beauty and comfort, the appointments within its exquisite rooms being harmonious with its exterior. John W. Kiser was a man of choice taste who enjoyed living among beautiful things. In 1915, a year before his death, he bought a country residence at Port Chester, about thirty miles from New York City, and intended to make that his permanent summer home; but when he became seriously ill he disposed of it. He also built a splendid residence in Chicago, on Michigan Avenue, near the lake, but the demands of his business caused him to abandon this residence for an eastern location; and he lived in New York City, where he leased apartments at the Ritz-Carlton. The increasing seriousness of his physical condition at last caused him to return again to St. Paris, where he lived four months; then he went to Chicago and lived at the Blackstone where, as previously mentioned, the end came. One of his favorite recreations was farming, and Mr. Kiser purchased extended lands in Champaign County. In fact, his friends around Chicago jested with him on that score, saying that his purpose was to buy the whole State of Ohio. During the Great War, however, following his death, the majority of these realty holdings were disposed of, very satisfactorily. He owned several counties in Ohio, if the aggregate of his pieces of land were blocked off solidly.

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Besides this interest in land holdings, and as head of the greatest horse-shoe producing plant in the world, Mr. Kiser had numerous affiliations of business. He was a director of the First National Bank of Chicago, a stockholder in the Miehle Press and Manufacturing Company, Chicago, and died leaving an estate worth eight millions, which has been increased under the able direction of John W. Kiser, Jr., of whom later.

John W. Kiser married, in 1884, upon graduation from college, Thyrsa W. Furrow, daughter of Ezra Hogue and Rachel (Brown) Furrow, her father having been the first large merchandiser of St. Paris, Ohio. Mrs. Kiser was one of four children: 1. Thomas Jefferson. 2. Elizabeth L., who married Dr. B. F. Baker, a surgeon of Civil War renown. 3. Thyrsa W. (Furrow) Kiser, who was born in St. Paris, June 29, 1858. 4. Jacob Laurence. To Mr. and Mrs. Kiser were born children: 1. John W., Jr., who has taken charge of the business interests left by his father and of whom follows under another numeral. 2. Furrow John, who was killed in an accident, April 29, 1902.

IV. John W. Kiser, Jr., was born June 10, 1889, in Chicago, and was educated in preparatory schools there and elsewhere, attending the Howard School of Chicago, the Lawrenceville School of Lawrenceville, New Jersey, and University High School, Chicago. He took his advanced studies in two major colleges, the University of Chicago and Yale University, from which latter he was graduated in 1915 with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. At once, upon his graduation, he became associated with his father, and his father being ill, took active charge of the greater share of the Kiser properties, distinguished himself quickly as an able director, and has since added to the prestige of the Kiser name in industry and finance. He is now president of the Phœnix Manufacturing Company, formerly the Phœnix Horseshoe Company; a director of the Miehle Printing Press Manufacturing Company of Chicago, a director of the First National Bank of St. Paris, and retains several other affiliations of industrial and financial importance.

John W. Kiser, Jr., married Mary Peirce, of Chicago, and they have two children: John W., 3d, and Peirce. Mr. Kiser and his family live in New York City the most of the time, but are frequent

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visitors at St. Paris, with which community Mr. Kiser has not lost contact.

His mother, Mrs. Thyrza W. (Furrow) Kiser, makes her residence at St. Paris in summer, and the rest of the year is at her New York address, No. 300 Park Avenue.

In private life, the late John W. Kiser was without a blemish, devoted to his family, beloved of all associates in business and society, a friend to whom they turned constantly for counsel and assistance. Politically he adhered to the policies as an independent, and for two terms sat as member of the Chicago City Council. He belonged to the Union League Club of Chicago; the Chicago Athletic Club; the Mid-day, Glen View and South Shore Country clubs, Chicago; Blind Brook Country Club, New York; Automobile Club of America, the Ohio Society of New York, and the Chicago Historical Society.

John W. Kiser was more than a maker of money; he was a friend to mankind, a philosopher, who seemed to carry forward his important works in realization of the truth written by Henry Ward Beecher, who said: "We sleep, but the loom of life never stops; and the pattern which was weaving when the sun went down is weaving when it comes up tomorrow." Until the very last he adhered to his ideals, and was a benefactor to those less fortunate than himself. His was a life full and rich, inspiring to those who came in contact with it; and though he is gone, his memory continues fresh, and the works that he set in motion continue in their usefulness, a constant memorial to one of high character, courage and vision beloved of men.





July 1931



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The International Deserts League

BY MRS. A. SHERMAN HOYT,* SOUTH PASADENA, CALIFORNIA



UNTIL comparatively recent times this country remained a thinly settled land. It seemed that the plenitude of natural resources could never be adequately exploited and that the teeming flora and fauna would never be exhausted and the scenic beauty of the country marred or destroyed. But the denudation of forest land, the partial or complete extinction of much interesting animal life, and the triumph of scientific irrigation over natural conditions inimical to agriculture have shown us how illusory that confidence was. When men need land for agricultural purposes they usually obtain it, as has been demonstrated in the conversion of the former waste land of the Imperial Valley in California into an area rich in its many crops of fruit, vegetables and cotton.

Desert land is no more safe from exploitation than forest land has been. If we wish to preserve any portion of it for posterity and to protect its rare and beautiful flora and fauna in their natural habitat we must see to it that parks and reservations are created in which the unique desert atmosphere and its matchless growth and its silence and mystery are preserved for the education and delight of the people.

*Mrs. A. Sherman Hoyt, descendant of Southern families of notable record, a resident of South Pasadena, California, has long been active in civic, philanthropic, and social service work. Always a lover of the desert, she has devoted the greater part of her time in recent years toward the conservation of desert country, and in disseminating knowledge of the beauties to be found there. The International Deserts Conservation League (which she originated) is the organization through which she has accomplished much along this line, and this article tells something of the manner in which it has been done. In 1931, while heading the Mexican Expedition of the International Deserts League, there was conferred upon Mrs. Hoyt the highest honor of the National University of Mexico, Professor Extraordinary of Botany, with all the privileges of the Doctorate degree. She is the first woman in the world to be so honored by this ancient university, the oldest seat of learning in the western hemisphere.—Ed.

THE INTERNATIONAL DESERTS LEAGUE

After many years of acquaintance with the desert I have come to believe that adequate conservation of these areas and their protection from the vandal, the thoughtless tourist, the commercial collector and the mistaken land agent cannot be accomplished through the enforcement of our present conservation laws, which have become far too numerous to be efficiently executed by officers. In this article, therefore, I have been requested to tell the story of the formation of the International Deserts Conservation League and to explain its aim and object and the plan through which our difficult problem of conservation may be solved.

Nearly forty years ago I first visited that world of strange and inexpressible beauty, of mystery and singular aloofness which is yet so filled with peace, which men refer to as the "Desert," when I came out from New York to make my Western home in Pasadena, California, then a little hamlet with only a few houses fringing the banks of the Arroyo Seco. There was plenty of work for us all to do, for out of these beginnings a new town had to be developed, but there was time for play, too. Our little group frequently rode on horseback to the hounds and hunted jackrabbits in the Arroyo. We facetiously called ourselves the "Valley Hunt Club" and later this band formed itself into the present "Valley Hunt Club of Pasadena," which has in its turn been responsible for the world-famed Tournament of Roses.

Those early days in the California town were busy and interesting, yet the call of the desert through which I had come on my way to Pasadena remained persistent and I found myself frequently invading it on horseback or in a buckboard. During nights in the open, lying in a snug sleeping-bag, I soon learned the charm of a Joshua Forest as I listened to the noise of the night wind which sounded not unlike the sighing of pine trees yet seemed to my imagination inexpressibly more primeval and eerie. Within these Joshua Forests grew the Juniper, sending out its pungent odor. Above, the bright desert constellations wheeled majestically toward the west, a timepiece for the wakeful. Those were nights to be remembered.

Of all the desert birds, the Road-runner seemed to me most fascinating. The colored maid who usually accompanied me on these trips used to say of the bird: "He's jist er ole fashion plesant (pheasant)," but his well-conducted battle with the rattlesnake, as a rule resulting in the death of the snake, was indeed a work of art. This

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desert with its elusive beauty of which it has been said "its secret is secrecy," possessed me, and I constantly wished that I might find some way to preserve its natural beauty.

Nevertheless, it was not until thirty-five years later, when I was traveling East by motor and making the desert trip by night, that I decided to find some way to take this beauty to the East and find for it friends who would assist in its conservation. A full moon shone with a clear white light, transforming the distant piles of sand to piles of snow and making ghostlike the grotesque plants. To transport a desert atmosphere was a difficult if not impossible proposition, but to take plants in their natural habitat of rocks and sand and to also bring desert animals, birds and reptiles was a thing that might be accomplished.

Deciding upon a desert exhibit in the New York International Spring Flower Show, I realized that Eastern connections must be established. It was in Boston that I found coöperation and the desert found another friend in Mrs. S. V. R. Crosby, and returning to California I immediately set about the task of securing collectors, having drop-curtains painted and other preparations made. Finally, after the stuffed birds and animals and the plants in their own sand and rocks were loaded into a refrigerator car, I realized that the flowers were missing and could not be carried in this way. For desert flowers, though coming from thorny rugged plants, are very delicate and fragile, having in most cases a satin texture of incomparable beauty which is all too perishable. In consequence, I decided to have daily airplane shipments of these flowers made to the show. This was efficiently accomplished and the entire exhibition was very successful. The New York press referred to it as "the Spirit of the Desert," so realistic and atmospheric was the scene, and prizes were won and many friends made for the movement to conserve the natural flower gardens found in the alluring desert of America. This exhibit was presented in its entirety to the New York Botanic Garden.

A few months later Mr. A. C. Burrage, of Boston, urged that a larger and more comprehensive exhibit be set up at the Massachusetts Horticultural Centennial Flower Show. As it was desirable to represent more completely the State of California, this exhibit included not only a desert garden such as had been shown in New York, but also a picture of Death Valley and, lastly, an exhibit of the wonderful Redwood trees for which California is so well known.

While the space allotted to the New York exhibit had been thirty

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by twenty-two feet, in Boston one hundred and twenty by eighty feet were granted to the larger exhibit, and this space was divided by three arches, each carrying a drop-curtain appropriate to the subject. Within the first arch was the desert garden, very similar to the one shown in New York the previous year and containing desert plants, birds and reptiles found in the Mohave and Colorado Deserts. A refrigerator car was again used to transport it from California to Boston. In the second arch was an alluring scene of grim Death Valley, showing the reptiles, animals, plants, insects and, especially, the wonderful colored stones, soil, and rock crystals called "Death Valley Diamonds," clear glass turned to violet in the Death Valley sun. The drop-curtain was most realistic, depicting the Devil's Golf Course, the lowest level ground in the United States, with the dark Funeral Range of mountains on one side and on the other the beautiful purple Panamints. In the distance could be seen snow capped Mt. Whitney, highest peak in the United States. The Redwood exhibit within the third arch contained a section of a giant tree, 1,500 years old, specimens of the curly redwood bark, a giant redwood tree and numerous small trees from Richardson Grove in Humboldt County. The drop-curtain portrayed a winding road through the forest of these great trees. Flowers and undergrowth of the forest were brought by airplane shipments twice daily, and were in marvelous condition upon their arrival.

This combined exhibit won the one thousand dollar gold cup, the Grand Centennial Gold Medal, and the Redwood exhibit alone received the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society Gold Medal.

But I had small time to rest after the conclusion of this show for I received an invitation from England to exhibit in the great Chelsea Spring Flower Show to be held in May of that year. Acceptance involved many difficulties, as it would be necessary to do without the excellent team work which had resulted in the Boston exhibition and a new collection of desert plants, with their roots, had to be made for shipment abroad, together with last minute Redwood shipments to catch fast boats across the water.

A special tent was built for this exhibit there, the Royal Horticultural Society giving me the greatest space yet allotted in any of my exhibits. Dr. Hill, of Kew Gardens, loaned me three men from Kew who were remarkably efficient, but had never seen a desert, and my work of making new plans and installations began. And this work soon justified itself. London was pleased. The "London Times"

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said: "Two Coyotes have taken London." The Royal Horticultural Society of London and the English people espoused our cause, awarding this exhibit the gold medal at the Chelsea Flower Show and later giving me the much coveted Lawrence Gold Medal.

Germany recognized the exhibit, as did also Africa, and the untold anxiety, the labor, financial burden and sceptical criticism was forgotten in the formation of the International Deserts Conservation League, having as its object the protection of rare desert flora and fauna, meriting and needing protection, in the deserts of the world.

These arid growths are slow growths, and destruction by vandals, commercial collectors or by land agents often sweeps out of existence in a day what it has taken nature hundreds, perhaps thousands of years to make. Especially in the American deserts is conservation of vital importance. This saving of the desert, if accomplished at all, must be done quickly, for there is already comparatively little left after the severe inroads upon desert plants which have been taking place for the last thirty years or more.

The exhibits previously described were only forerunners of a constructive effort to organize public opinion with regard to this important matter, through the formation of a conservation league which has already accomplished much for education and conservation through its work for desert parks and its board of scientific research. Just one year after the Chelsea Flower Show, when I was asked to speak at the World's Botanic Congress which met in Cambridge, I was able to announce, as its originator and president, the formation of the International Deserts Conservation League and to incorporate in my address communications from Mexico, Germany, and other countries where there was an interest in the work of the league and a desire to coöperate with it. The league was founded as an international society for scientific research and to respond to an urgent demand for the protection of desert plant-life and the conservation of desert beauty spots in the form of park areas containing rare desert flora and fauna.

Among the letters which were embodied in my address was the following one from Dr. Nathaniel Britton, of the New York Botanic Garden, honorary president:

The International Deserts Conservation League:

The recent organization of an association for the protection of desert life and the preservation of desert beauty under the presidency of Mrs. A. Sherman Hoyt, of California, supported by a large and influ-

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ential body of Honorary Vice-presidents widely distributed and an Advisory Board, is an event of great interest as a noteworthy contribution to the cause of conservation. It follows Mrs. Hoyt's long continued interest in the desert areas of California, and she will always be known as the originator and founder of this movement. Her exhibits of desert vegetation set up at flower shows at New York, Boston and in London, and subsequently installed by her at the New York Botanical Gardens and at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, have already given delight and information to many thousands of persons.

The necessity of withdrawing from private ownership selected desert areas with their characteristic, often endemic plants and animals, and prohibiting the removal of floral and fauna elements has become apparent, and this is given emphasis as the major purpose of the league herein.

It is with high significance that among the first responses has been the action of the Mexican Government in dedicating a large area in Lower California for this purpose. We may confidently expect that other governments will promptly take such enlightened action herein.

Encouragement of growing for commercial purposes of prize desert plants from seed instead of extensively gathering them in the natural habitats is also given prominence.

The scientific possibilities in the work of the league may become highly important; preliminary suggestions as to the League have been made by Professor Cockerell, one of the Honorary Vice-presidents.

August 1st, 1930.

(Signed) N. L. BRITTON.

This outline for our scientific research sent me by Dr. Cockerell, chairman of our Scientific Research Board, and also embodied in my Cambridge address, reads as follows:

PROJECTS FOR THE STUDY OF DESERT LIFE

The outline here given implies a large and varied program, which nevertheless can be adopted bit by bit as opportunity offers. The work will never be finished, but it may occupy many people for many years. The general purpose is to create interest in the contemplation of desert life and scenery, and use the facts obtainable for the better understanding of the processes of life, of growth, evolution and adaptation.

1. Define a desert area, as having a certain maximum precipitation in relation to evaporation and the water content of the atmosphere. It will probably be difficult at present to exactly outline the deserts on a purely physical basis, but the nature of the flora will usually suffice for practical purposes.
2. Map the desert areas of the world, as so defined.
3. Compile a list of the most useful writings relating to these areas.

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4. Compile lists, from the literature, of the principal animals and plants in each area.

5. Compile lists, with addresses, of those known to be interested in deserts or to have contributed to the knowledge of desert life.

6. Examine as means and opportunity may permit the various desert regions, with the idea of establishing stations where investigations may be carried on, on reserves which can be protected by law from commercial exploitation or wanton injury.

7. Publish, from time to time, accounts of special aspects of desert life, these publications to range from short technical papers to elaborate monographs, and from severely scientific discussions to popular articles and books, in all cases as well illustrated as possible.

June, 1930.

(Signed) T. D. A. COCKERELL.

An international society organized to respond to an urgent demand for the protection of desert plant life and the conservation of desert flora and fauna, finding in parks created for this purpose a field for scientific research, the International Deserts Conservation League received as its first gift a park in Mexico, which has already been referred to in the letter from Dr. Britton, previously quoted. The park was given to the league through the following letter:

CHIEF, DEPARTMENT OF TRADE, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES
GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF BAJA CALIFORNIA,
MEXICO

BIJUANA, BAJA CALIF., July 23, 1930.

*Mr. Walter Sylvester Hertzog,
Executive Board, International D. C. League,
Los Angeles.*

DEAR SIR:—I am directed by the Governor of this District to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of the 22d, with reference to Mrs. A. Sherman Hoyt's initiative to establish a permanent park for the purpose of conservation of desert plants in Lower California, as President of the International Deserts Conservation League.

The Governor wishes to express to Mrs. A. Sherman Hoyt through you, that he will be very pleased and feels disposed at naming a zone to be considered as a reserve for conservation of desert plants, and authorizes that this fact be announced at the World's Botanic Congress meeting at Cambridge University, England.

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You are advised, however, that the actual site or location of such land for the purpose above outlined will be made later, as Federal Government lands must be secured through our Department of Agriculture in the City of Mexico. It is assumed that this appointment must be deliberated upon jointly later and a decision thereon reached to suit the requirements of such a conservation grounds.

The Governor expresses to Mrs. A. Sherman Hoyt and yourself his appreciation for your interest in Lower California, and extends assurances of his highest esteem and consideration.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) SANTIAGO B. REACHI,
Secretary to Gov. Tapia.

The immediate interest in the formation of the league which was displayed in Europe is very well illustrated by the following letter from Germany and also incorporated in my address at Cambridge:

BERLIN, N. 4, DEN 27, Juni, 1930.

*Mrs. Sherman Hoyt,
President of the International
Deserts Conservation League,
Pasadena, Cal.*

DEAR MRS. SHERMAN HOYT:—With great satisfaction, the Deutsche Gartenbau-Gesellschaft has learned about your foundation of the International Deserts Conservation League. Your act is the beginning of a very important and laudable work; for there is no doubt that by the expansion of traffic, industry and industrial works nature's equilibrium will be menaced in a disastrous manner. Certain plants will become more and more rare, certain kinds of animals are on the point of being destroyed. At the same time the danger is increasing that the inhabitants of large towns will lose the knowledge and the love of our beautiful earth.

Your intention to prevent this destruction while there is time, to preserve the present state of nature and to strengthen men's love of plants and flowers is a worthy aim.

We esteem highly your most splendid work which you intend to propagate all over the world; therefore, the presidency of the Deutsche Gartenbau-Gesellschaft has unanimously resolved to submit to you a request to become "Honorary Member for Life" of our society.

We hope you will concede to our resolution and we shall be glad at the coöperation which will lead us in our high quest for the benefit of present and future generations.

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE
DEUTSCHE GARTENBAU-GESELLSCHAFT.
PROF. DR. KARL LUDWIG.

(SEAL)

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Perhaps our organization cannot be better defined and its form and purposes made clear than by the following letter to Dr. Thomas Wayland Vaughan, President, Pacific Division, American Association for Advancement of Science, La Jolla, California:

*Dr. Thomas Wayland Vaughan,
President, Pacific Division,
American Association for Advancement of Science,
La Jolla, Calif.*

MY DEAR SIR:—The International Deserts Conservation League is an organization with scientific purpose and program, and as such it seeks affiliation with the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The purpose of the International Deserts League is wholly constructive:

1. to conserve for posterity in the form of park areas or reserves the desert beauty spots which contain rare desert flora and fauna, and to secure for these areas protection from commercial exploitation and wanton injury;

2. to bring together in at least some of these areas representative desert species of other lands as a desert botanical garden;

3. to carry out an educational program by such garden and parks, as well as by desert exhibits in non-desert lands;

4. to awaken public interest in the need of desert conservation.

5. to promote a program for scientific research in connection with desert life, by establishing research stations with proper facilities;

6. to facilitate publication of such research, as well as of material of a more popular sort.

To sum up the purpose of the league, it may be said that it is to create interest and pleasure in the contemplation of desert life and scenery, to obtain and use scientific facts for the better understanding of the processes of life, of growth, and of evolution and adaptation, and to conserve for future generations, at least, some of the more favored desert areas with their flora and fauna.

The accomplishment of the Deserts League can already be measured, even though the organization is only a year old. It may be suggested in connection with the points above enumerated:

1. The setting aside of definite areas is under way. The league is working in an attempt to secure some 22,000 acres, including Painted Canyon and adjacent areas on the Colorado Desert for a desert park.

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It understands that Secretary Wilbur is interested in reserving a vast area in the Death Valley. Through various members it has coöperated with State and county in the San Jacinto Mountains and Borrego Valley projects. It has suggested the formation of an international Peace Park at favored locations along the boundary between the United States and Mexico with areas in both countries; and has received assurance of support of persons of influence in Mexico. It has secured the promise of Governor Tapia, of Lower California, that a large area will be set aside as a desert park somewhere near La Paz. It has taken steps in encouraging the formation of preserves in areas of importance in South Africa. It has coöperated with various agencies in protecting scenic features in Red Rock Canyon.

2. There has been formed a preliminary set of suggestions as to the scientific work by the Committee on Scientific Research:

- a. to define a desert area as having a certain maximum precipitation in relation to evaporation and the water content of the atmosphere, using to some extent at least the flora as an indicator;
- b. to map the desert areas of the world as so defined;
- c. to compile a list of the most useful writings relative to these areas;
- d. to compile lists of the principal plants and animals in each area;
- e. to compile lists, with addresses, of those known to be interested in deserts or to have contributed to the knowledge of desert life;
- f. to examine as means and opportunity may permit the various desert regions, with the idea of establishing stations and for investigations.

3. The league also aspires to publish from time to time accounts of special aspects of desert life, these publications to range from short technical papers to elaborate monographs, and from severely scientific discussions to popular articles and books, with as adequate illustration as possible.

It should be stated also that the league is a non-profit organization and that it is international in scope and interest as well as in membership. Its Board of Regents is made up of laymen, but its Honorary President is Dr. N. L. Britton, of the New York Botanic Gardens. On its list of Honorary Vice-presidents, in addition to a large group of wealthy and influential laymen, is a very considerable group of working scientists, many of whom are members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Among these scientists may be listed Director A. W. Hill, of the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew; Director

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E. D. Merrill, of New York Botanic Gardens; Professor Karl Ludwig, of Berlin; President H. L. Shantz, of the University of Arizona; Professor Karl von Goebel, of Germany; Dr. I. B. Pole-Evans, of Pretoria; Dr. R. H. Compton, of Capetown; Professor Sydney Cockerell, of Cambridge; Dr. A. E. Douglas, of the University of Arizona; Dr. P. A. Munz, of Pomona College; Dr. and Mrs. T. D. A. Cockerell, of the University of Colorado; Miss Alice Eastwood, of the California Academy of Science; Dr. O. G. Abbott, of the Museum at San Diego; Mr. Ralph Hoffman, of the Museum at Santa Barbara; Dr. Aven Nelson, of the University of Wyoming; Dr. E. L. Hewett, of the Museum at Santa Fé; Dr. A. G. Tansley, of Oxford University; Dr. C. G. Abbott, Secretary of Smithsonian Institute; Sir David Prain, of London; Dr. M. A. Howe, of New York Botanic Gardens.

With this program and purpose, the International Deserts League seeks affiliation with the American Association for the Advancement of Science and hereby makes application to you for such affiliation.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) MRS. A. SHERMAN HOYT,

(Signed) DR. P. A. MUNZ,

(Signed) DR. H. L. SHANTZ,

Committee.

In 1931, Mrs. Hoyt, of Pasadena, Founder; Dr. Walter Sylvester Hertzog, Director of American Historical Research of the Los Angeles City Schools; Dr. Philip Munz, Professor of Botany of Pomona College, and Miss Hamilton, constituted the Mexican Expedition of the International Deserts Conservation League.

The expedition traveled along the West Coast of Mexico, making a study of the cacti of the states of Sonora, Nayarit, and Sinaloa, and visiting the cities of Hermosillo, Mazatlan, Tepic, and Culican. At Nogales, Arizona, the expedition met Francisco Elias, Governor of Sonora, who accompanied them as far as Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora. From Tepic, the party crossed the High Sierras of Mexico and finally reached the city of Guadalajara, the second largest city in Mexico, where they made a study of the cacti of the surrounding country, especially Canyon Oblata.

The expedition was met at Guanyuato by Hon. Francisco Vasquez del Mercado, personal representative of Gen. Lagaro Cardenas, who piloted the party to the city of Mexico. At the capitol of the Republic the party of scientists was received by Dr. Ochoterina, Director of the Biological Museum of the National University of Mexico, and a large group of the faculty.

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The National University of Mexico assigned its chief botanist, Prof. Ramirez Laguna, to escort the expedition to the southern part of Mexico, where they studied the magnificent cactus forests in the vicinity of Tehuacau, in the southern part of the state of Puebla, and the wonderful forests of the Columnar cacti at Tetitlan, in the state of Oaxaca, the only species of their kind in the world. While at the city of Puebla, the expedition took part in the festivities incidental to the four hundredth anniversary of that beautiful city.

The International Deserts Conservation League is still young, but it has already performed valuable service in a cause which is enlisting the interest and support of an ever-growing number of people. Initiated because of the need for preserving the unique and beautiful life of the American deserts for the benefit of future generations to which it will be an education and a delight and for the benefit of science, this organization and the movement which it sponsors has already achieved recognition and backing of an international character. As has been happily said: "It had its birth in the golden State of California, it found its godfather in England, while Germany, Africa and Australia asked to be present at the christening." Only through such a program as it has announced can the elusive charm, the silence, mystery and strange beauty of our deserts be saved from spoliation and ruin.



Thomas Mayhew, Patriarch to the Indians*

BY LLOYD C. M. HARE, LL. B., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER XI

THE APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS



AS late as April, 1658, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at London wrote the commissioners in America that Mr. Garrett's ship is "yett mising." Its members had hoped for a report in person from young Mayhew concerning the progress of his work, "but wee feare that the ship wherin hee was is miscarryed which is noe smale greife unto us and therfore wee desire if soe sad a Prouidence haue befallen vs that a fitt and able pson might succeed him in carrying on the Indian worke which wee leaue vnto your selues."

In response the commissioners replied that "the losse of Mr. Mahew in relation to this worke is very great; and soe farr as for the present wee can see irreperable; our thoughts haue bine of some and our endeauors shalbee Improued to the vttermost to supply that place which is the most considerable in that pte of the countrey his father though ancient is healpfull with an other English man [Folger] and two Indians that Instruct the rest vpon the Lords day and att other times."

During the period of uncertainty and transition the thoughts of the father turned to the appointment of a successor in the Vineyard mission. As early as the fall of 1658 he addressed the commissioners of the United Colonies with the suggestion that they urge either the Rev. John Higginson or Rev. Abraham Pierson to take over the superintendency of the island mission. Even now, hope more than expectation lingered that his son might yet return, for he later comments, "If my sonne be gonne to heaven, I shall press very hard vpon Mr. Higginson to come here, as I have written the commissioners."

In response to the prayers of the father, the commissioners assured him that they would use every diligence to "make a supply as the Lord

*This is the third of four parts of this historical study. The fourth will appear in an early number of "Americana."—Ed.

THOMAS MAYHEW, PATRIARCH TO INDIANS

may direct us," but confessed their inability to move either Mr. Higginson or Mr. Pierson to take up the crook dropped by the Vineyard shepherd "unless the Lord strongly sett in to pswade them."

That the Reverends Higginson and Pierson did not see fit to bury themselves upon the Vineyard among the lowly Indian at a parsimonious wage was soon evident, and they were not "pswaded."

Meanwhile the governor continued to carry the burden that should have passed to the shoulders of a younger man. He was resolved that the work commenced by his son should not be imperiled for want of hearts stout enough to assume its burdens with nothing in sight "but God's promises." Something of this he must have written to the commissioners, as his old acquaintance, John Endicott, writing as president of that body, addressed him September, 1658:

Youers of the 25 of the sixt month wee receiued and rejoyce that it hath pleased god in any measure to beare vp youer hart and support you vnder those sad thoughts and feares concerning youer son; wherin wee can not but deeply sumpathise with you and Indeed doe mind it as that which att the present seemeth to be almost Irreparable; but hee that is the lord of the haruist will (wee hope) send forth his labourers therunto; and you may assure youer selfe that wee will vse all Diligence to make a supp[ly] as the lord may direct vs.

Duties as a missionary were labors, as we know, not strange to the ageing chief magistrate. The Indians had found him a protector and friend. His deportment and fair dealings had won their confidence and approval. But the magistrate's advanced years and his numerous administrative duties were drawbacks to a missionary career.

Mayhew came soon to the realization that help was not forthcoming. The commissioners, although professing diligence in persuading a clergyman to settle upon the island, appeared fully satisfied that the work should continue under his guidance, writing Mayhew that "wee thinke that god doth call for youer more then ordinery Assistance in this worke and are very well pleased that youer speritt is soe farr Inclined thervnto; and desire you may pseuere therein."

The commissioners were potent leaders in the New England colonies; their body including governors and ex-governors. As fiscal agents of the English society they had been in correspondence with Mayhew concerning Indian affairs and well knew his accomplishments. They were satisfied with his ability to carry on successfully the work that was so important to the peace and welfare of the colonies.

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It was obvious that there was none in New England of the same spirit as the younger Mayhew, who had spent his strength, yet had rejoiced, in the midst of many "Aches, Pains and Distempers," contracted by lodging on hard mats in exposed wigwams. Thomas Mayhew, Senior, "sees no Probability of obtaining so sufficient a *Salary* as might invite a *regular Minister* to engage in the *Indian Service*; he has little or no Hopes of finding any of the Spirit of his deceased *Son*, to bear the Burden."

The sorrowing father concluded that the spirit and sacrifices of his son had been "all of GOD, and not merely of Man: and when he looked on the *Indians*, he could not bear to think that the Work so hopefully begun, and so far advanced by his Son, should now expire with him also." This and a compassion for the souls of a perishing people, raised him above all "Ceremonies and petty Forms and Distinctions that lay in the Way, and which he accounted as nothing in competition with their *eternal Salvation*"; and so, although a governor, he was not ashamed to become a preacher among them.

He alone of the colonial governors kept in person the covenant the men of England made unto their King when he granted them New World charters, that one of the principal ends of their going into America was to carry the gospel of Christ to the native inhabitants.

The patentee of Martha's Vineyard was one of the founders of the New World, in him was vested powers of government; owning vast tracts of land upon numerous islands he was in the light of prevailing standards a wealthy man. He might have spent the declining years of his life on the laurels of the past; yet he was not content. The greatest years of his life lay before him, in his sixty-fifth year.

Having lost the comfort and devotion of an only son, he felt that he could build no better memorial to the memory of the one departed than to carry on the work which had lain closest to his heart. So the Worshipful Thomas Mayhew, Esq., the sixth decade of his life half out, came to a resolution to do what he could himself and entered upon the arduous duties of the priesthood evangelistic.

He preached to some of the Indian assemblies one day every week so long as he lived, a period of twenty-five years, until the sands of time had run their course in his eighty-ninth year. "And," says Prince, "his Heart was so exceedingly engaged in the Service, that he spared no Pains nor Fatigues, at so great an Age therein; sometimes travel-

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ling on Foot nigh *twenty miles* thro' the Woods, to preach and visit, when there was no English House near to lodge at, in his absence from home."

At the end of the first year the missionary writes, "I have through mercye taught them this yeare, and doe still goe on, and the Lord hath strengthened me much of late, beyond my expectation." The stout heart still beat. And again, he writes, "I thought good to certifie you that this ten yeares past I haue constantly stood ready to atend the work of God here amongst the Indians. Verry much time I haue spent, & made many journies, and beene at verry much trouble & cost in my howse."

In his first year Mayhew was assisted by a staff of four workers. These were Peter Folger, two Indian interpreters and schoolmasters, and a Mrs. Bland "for healpfulnes in Phiscike and Chirurgery."

To Mayhew the commissioners, with no very great show of liberality, granted a salary of twenty pounds for his "paines in teaching and instructing the Indians this year." His assistant, Folger, received twenty-five pounds.

Mayhew was not present at the annual meeting of the commissioners, and they were not in a position to realize how completely the old man had entered the work nor the extent of the duties performed by him, preaching to some of their assemblies one day every week and sometimes traveling on foot "nigh *twenty Miles*" in the performance of his duties. The commisisoners doubtless believed that during this period of adjustment, subsequent to the death of his son, the work of the elder Mayhew had been more or less supervisory.

John Eliot, too, at one time had experienced difficulties with the picayunish conduct of the commissioners. It is recorded that his complaints stirred both England and America, so much so that the president of the society wrote the commissioners that Eliot by his lamentations which "flyeth like lightening" had cost the society some thousands of pounds in gifts from philanthropic Englishmen who had become doubtful of the society's integrity. In England the commissioners were accused of hindering the progress of the Gospel by their failure to allow competent maintenances to the Lord's "Instruments" employed in his American vineyards.

The commissioners retorted with figures showing Eliot to be in receipt of twenty pounds per annum from their funds besides money

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given him from other sources in England and a salary of sixty pounds per annum from his church. But the income, good as it was, did not compensate him for his labors, especially as he was in the practice of giving away much of his salary to needy Indians. The society defended itself with the statement that it was far from justifying Mr. Eliot in his "Turbulent and clamorous proceedings," but intreated the commissioners to better encourage the work by the allowance of greater disbursements.

Like Eliot, Thomas Mayhew was not satisfied with the honorarium which so inadequately recompensed him for many hours of weary labor, a situation aggravated by the fact that his income compared unfavorably with that awarded others engaged in the same work. He took steps to present to the commissioners a picture of what had been accomplished by the island mission. He addressed a letter to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut [one of the commissioners], to explain something of conditions at Martha's Vineyard. He writes, "I am sorry that the Commissioners did not send some trustye & considerable person to see how things are carried on here. Mr. Browne of Seacunck, ere he went for England, wrote me he would com on purpose to sattisfie himsellfe about these Indians, whoe had, as I perceiued, many doubts of these & all the rest."

The progress of the Vineyard mission was so astonishing that stories of its successes were received at a discount by persons not having the cognizance of first hand information. Too, the settlement of Martha's Vineyard at this time was no part of any greater colony, and was without representation in the meetings of the United Colonies. It may be supposed that the commissioners were inclined to spend the money of the English society in accordance with economic principles not yet dead among merchants and traders. They believed the money should be spent at home. The commissioners from the rich and powerful colony of Massachusetts dominated the deliberations of the conferences and were inclined to spend money more freely for missions about Boston, than elsewhere.

Thomas Mayhew, Jr., had originated the work of evangelizing the Indians. Not detracting one iota from the greatness of Eliot, it cannot be gainsaid that Eliot had the overwhelming advantage of laboring near a seat of population, where his activities and triumphs were easily brought to the attention of wealthy and influential men.

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Great sums were given to his work; in comparison only pennies dribbled into the coffers of the Vineyard mission. In 1658 less than one-fifth of the entire sum of money spent by the society was appropriated for Vineyard workers. From 1655 to 1662, Eliot received an annual salary of fifty pounds. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., who had received nothing in the early years of his work, received in 1654 a salary of forty pounds, a like sum in 1655, and fifty pounds the year succeeding. The elder Mayhew, who had helped commence the work and who was now ably continuing its existence, was for the year 1657-1658 paid a salary of twenty pounds compared with Eliot's fifty.

But the commissioners were good men and willing to encourage the poor old gentleman. With the twenty pounds they conveyed the hope that God would afford him strength who had given him a "hart" for the great work.

However, the missionary-governor was not satisfied with divine aid alone. He recalled the treatment his son had received. He compared the progress of the Vineyard natives with those elsewhere, and the number of converts which was uniformly greater on the islands than at any mission on the mainland, and determined to win justice for his cause. As he expressed it, the main end of the society and the money raised by it was "for the comfort of those that began it," but these were not the ones liberally provided for. "Methinks," writes Mayhew, "that which I haue had is verry little. Truely yf I were now to be hired to doe ass much yearely as I haue donne, thirtie pownds per annum & more to would not doe it."

Not only were the salaries paid the Mayhews discriminatory, but the moneys appropriated the Vineyard mission for the pay of assistants and other purposes were less than allotments to the Eliot mission.

The financial administration of the society's funds did not pass unnoticed. Samuel Maverick, one of the four commissioners appointed by Charles II in 1664 to settle American problems, in a written description of New England referred to the matter thus:

Almost South some what Westerly from Billingsgate is Natuckett Island on which many Indians live and about ten leagues west from it is Martines Vinyard, whereon many Indians live, and also English. In this Island by Gods blissing on the Labour, care and paines of the two Mayhews, father and sonn, the Indians are more civilized then anywhere else which is a step to Christianity, and many of them have attained to a greate measure of knowledge, and is hoped in a short

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time some of them may with joy & Comfort be received into the Bosome of the Church. The younger of those Mayhews was drowned coming for England three yeares since, and the Father goes on with the worke, Although (as I understand) they have had a small share of those vast sumes given for this use and purpose of the Revenues of it. It were good to enquire how it hath been disposed of I know in some measure or at least suspect the business hath not been rightly carryed.

The truth of the statement that the Indians of the islands were "more civilized than anywhere else" is attested by the historian Hubbard, a contemporary. Says he:

The greatest appearance of any saving work, and serious profession of christianity amongst any of them, was at Martin's Vineyard, which beginning in the year 1645 hath gradually proceeded till this present time, wherein all the island is in a manner leavened with the profession of our religion, and hath taken up the practice of our manners in civil behaviour, and our manner of cultivating of the earth.

Elsewhere he refers to "The Cape Indians, upon Cape Cod and some other islands neere adjoyning, as at Martin's Vineyard, where civility and Christianity hath taken a deeper roote than in any other plantation of the Indians."

Hubbard is wrong in setting the year 1645 as the date of the beginning of missionary activity at Martha's Vineyard, but his statements in other respects are amply supported by the facts.

Edward Godfrey, governor of the Province of Maine, alludes to the financial activities of the commissioners in an indictment against the Massachusetts government. Says he, "I have endeavoured to screw into the Great Benevolences that have been so publicly knowne to propagate the Gospell in New England . . . there is a snake in the weeds." Justice requires the comment that Godfrey and Maverick were unfriendly to Puritan Massachusetts. It is not believable that the commissioners were guilty of anything worse than favoritism, and sloth in making investigations.

In his letter to commissioner Winthrop, Mayhew concludes with the hope that if he finds himself unable to attend the next meeting of the commissioners "that the Commissioners of the Bay may haue some power granted to consider with me, & determine what they shall see good grounds for. . . . Yow may be pleased to tell the Commissioners that I say, & tis true, that I haue great neede to haue what may be justly comminge to me for this work, to supply my wants."

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The work done by Mayhew was a drain not only upon his bodily strength, but upon his private purse.

It is not to be wondered that as he saw the outlays made to the Indians of Massachusetts for books and spectacles and salaries of assistants he was convinced that the work at the Vineyard was being slighted so far even as to hinder its progress if in fact it did not jeopardize what had already been accomplished.

"Yf I had not seene my help had beene necessary & allso muche desired," writes the missionary, "I woulde neuer haue followed after them [the Indians] as I haue donne, I pray take it for graunted, but yf such an imployment as myne amongst the Indians be not to be considered, or verry litle, I hope I shall sattisfie my sellffe whether the call of God by the Indians, which is still contynued by them verry lately expressing themselves to that purpose."

With these words the old man placed the issue squarely before the commissioners. If his work was valued so little by them that they would not even investigate its progress so as to fix the amount proper for its support, at least he could satisfy himself that the Indians continued to desire his services in the call of God.

By this time he is convinced that there it "litle or no hopes of Mr. Peirson" accepting the call of the Vineyard Church. But he still hoped that a clergyman might be obtained to fill the pulpit of the English church and perform the duties of a missionary to the natives: "though he hath litle or noe Indian language, he will soon attaine it, with the hellpes that are here now." Further, "I desire, yf it may be a sollid man & a scholler for both works. Yf not, for the present the Indians are comfortably supplied. Yf I should be taken by death, here is helpe that the Schoolemaster, who hath some languadge, and my sonne Doggett that hath, I think, much more than any English man vppon the Iland, and is a considerable youn[g] man."

With these words the sixty-five-year-old missionary-magistrate planned the future of his Indians beyond his grave.

At this time he gives a picture of his methods. "I doe speake to them sometimes about an howre. I ask sometimes where they vnderstand; they say yes; and I know they doe, for in the generall I really know they vnderstand me, but sometimes I doubt mysellfe, & then I ask." Occasionally he uses the services of an interpreter who can clearly make known "what I know my sellfe."

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Notwithstanding scanty revenues, the progress of the Vineyard mission grew apace. At the next meeting of the commissioners, Mayhew's salary was increased and the native staff of assistants doubled in number. The commissioners continued to make amends and in the following year their accounts show an island staff of ten teachers, Mayhew, Folger, Hiacoomes ("An Indian Scoo[1]master and Teacher of them on the Lords day"), and "seaven other Indian Teachers comended to us by Mr. Mahew that are healpful in Teaching others." There appears to have been a falling off in the need of "Phiscike and Chirurgery." In neither year is there a record of any payment for medical treatment.

The large number of native teachers utilized by Eliot and the missionary-governor of Martha's Vineyard in their work is noticeable. Both leaders were advocates of a teaching method that made use to a great extent of the services of Indian instructors. By this use the missionaries were able to reach the psychology of the native, so that religion would be to him something more than an outward observance of rites, the significance of which he would be unacquainted and which he would in time continue to heed only for profit or love of his teachers. Profit, in a material way, there was little. Geographic reasons forbade the mission stations from holding large and fertile tracts of lands that could be farmed by the natives in communal fashion, and gifts to the natives were few, beyond books, and salaries to teachers. The Indian was converted by an appeal to the mind and soul and it was hoped that he could be held in the same manner.

In furtherance of this hope John Eliot had undertaken the staggering task of translating the Bible into the Algonquin tongue. It was thought that the Indian could be easier taught to read his own tongue, and with better understanding, than English. A Catechism was printed at Cambridge as early as 1653 or 1654. The New Testament in Indian followed in 1661 and the Old Testament two years later.

Before the printing of these books the younger Thomas Mayhew had opened a school for Indian children. We have the authority of Prince that "quickly there came in about thirty Indian children; he found them apt to learn; and more and more were coming every day."

A modern writer states that this school was the first Indian school opened within the present confines of the United States. Eliot is known to have given some of the funds received by him from England

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to instructors for the purpose of teaching Indian children around Boston, but there is no evidence that such tutoring was carried on in an exclusive Indian school or that it was any more than occasional, as appears the case.

After the death of the son the father continued the education of the Indian children with the ambition that a number of the more promising pupils might be given an opportunity to study at the grammar school at Cambridge, and in time attend Harvard College.

The fathers of New England had founded Harvard College while the country was a wilderness in order to maintain the supply of an educated clergy. At this institution the missionaries hoped to train Indian scholars to carry the gospel to their countrymen and to fill the pulpits of Indian churches to be formed when the natives were far enough advanced on the road to civilization.

As early as 1653 the society suggested that half a dozen "hopefull Indians" should be trained at the college under some fit tutor that, preserving their own language, they might attain the knowledge of other tongues and "disperse the Indian tonge in the college."

In half a decade students of the Vineyard schools were ready for the higher branches of education. When Matthew Mayhew was sent off-island to Cambridge for schooling, about the year 1657, he was accompanied, or soon followed, by a number of Vineyard Indians. In September, 1659, the records of the commissioners disclose payments to Mr. Thomas Danforth "for dieting fve Indian Scollars and clothing them; and M^r Mahews son; Att Cambridge," and to Mr. Corlett, master of the grammar school, for his "extreordinary paines in Teaching the Indian Scollars and M^r Mahews son about two yeares."

It was the intent of Thomas Mayhew to send four more converts the following year, for we find the commissioners cautioning him that they desired the scholars to be well grounded in their grammar, or fit for the "accidence" as it was then termed.

A grammar school at this time in New England was an institution where Greek and Latin grammar were taught and in no wise corresponded to the grammar school of later years. In accordance with English practice, it was the purpose of the school to fit students for college. The grammar school at Cambridge was a noted school. Its building adjoined the college and appears to an uncertain extent to have been part of it.

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Two decades after the settlement of the island of Martha's Vineyard, inhabited by a savage people known to have murdered English sailors, four Indian youths sat at the feet of Master Corlett in the grammar school at Cambridge to enter upon the study of Latin and Greek. Of the five subjected to the "extreordinary paines" of Schoolmaster Corlett, death removed one the following year; the records disclosing a debit "for Charges of buriall."

In 1659 there were five Indian youths at Cambridge in the grammar school whose diligence and proficiency in studies were reported very encouraging. They were described as being very prudent and pious, diligent in their studies and civil in their carriage. Examined openly by the president of Harvard College at commencement, for the edification of the Godly in the colony, they gave good satisfaction of their knowledge of the Latin tongue to the examiner and the "honored and Reuerent ouerseers."

In a couple of years, two had made sufficient progress to matriculate at Harvard. In this year appears an item for "clothing an Indian att his first coming" to Cambridge. The year following, the commissioners ordered several of the Indian scholars at Mr. Weld's school in Roxbury to be removed to the grammar school at Cambridge "att the expiration of this yeare and hee is alowed to take another youth now sent from Martins Vineyard that came to him about the 9th of this Instant."

For the encouragement of the students, books, papers, inkhorns, and even "blanketts and Ruggs for the Indian Scollars of Cambridge and Roxburry" were supplied by the society, with firewood and candles in addition.

It may be that two of the "scollars" at the grammar school were not Vineyard Indians, but certain it is that one was from that place and that the two in the "colledge" were Mayhew protégés. The latter were Joel and Caleb, chosen for the honor from among the most apt and studious of their race; the first Indians in America to matriculate at an English college. In order to do so they passed an examination including among other accomplishments "so much Latin as was sufficient to understand Tully or any like Classical author, and to make and speak true Latin, in prose and verse, and so much Greek as was included in defining perfectly the paradigms of the Greek nouns and verbs."

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The student Caleb was son of Cheschachaamog, sachem of Holmes Hole, a district now embraced within the beautiful and more euphoniously named town of Vineyard Haven. He was destined to be the only Indian to climb the long road from barbarism to the bachelor's degree at Harvard. "At the conclusion of two Latin and Greek elegies which he composed on the death of an eminent minister, he subscribes himself Cheesecaumuk, Senior Sophista. What an incongruous blending of sounds!"

At the close of the collegiate year in which this triumph of learning was profounded, Caleb took his degree with the class of 1665. His name appears in the catalogue of New England's oldest institution of higher learning as *Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, Indus*. Included in the class of seven members is the son of Governor Thomas Dudley—the Honorable Joseph Dudley, President of the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, Chief Justice of the Province of New England, Chief Justice of the Province of New York, Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, Member of Parliament, President of New England, Captain-General and Governor of Massachusetts, and a Commissioner of the United Colonies. Such was Harvard College!

The career of Caleb was unfortunately terminated by his death of consumption at Charlestown, where he had been placed under the care of a physician in order to regain his health. "He wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of good and physick; but God denied the blessing, and put a period to his days."

Joel, the other of the two Indians to enter the college at Cambridge, was an especially "hopefull" young man and is said to have made "good proficiency" in his studies. Being ripe in learning he was about to take his first degree of bachelor of arts when he took voyage to Martha's Vineyard in a bark to visit his father and kindred. On his return, the vessel with other passengers and mariners suffered shipwreck on the shores of Nantucket. The bark was found and it was believed that its passengers reached shore safely to be murdered "by some wicked Indians of that place; who, for lucre of the spoil in the vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people in it; for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed afterwards," informs Gookin.

"Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man, as I judge," continues our authority, "I

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knew him well; for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwell. I observed him for several years, after he was grown to years of discretion, to be not only a diligent student, but an attentive hearer of God's word; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lectures; grave and sober in his conversation."

Meantime the friends of Indian education had induced the English society to erect a brick building at Harvard for the use of the natives, called the Indian College, of sufficient size to accommodate about twenty scholars. In a letter to the society the commissioners estimated the cost of such a structure at a hundred pounds, being desirous that "the building may bee stronge and durable though plaine." They were authorized to proceed with the erection of the same; "which Rome [room] may bee two storyes high and built plaine but strong and durable the charge not to exceed one hundred and twenty pounds besides glasse which may bee allowed out of pcell the Corporation hath lately sent ouer vpon the Indian account."

According to Gookin the building was constructed of brick, fitted with convenient lodgings and studies. As is customarily the case, its ultimate cost exceeded the original estimate and ran between three and four hundred pounds. The edifice failed of the purpose for which it was designed. We are told that "There was much cost out of the Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen. Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth, the design was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the college. And some returned to live among their countrymen; where some of them are improved for schoolmasters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged by their education."

It cannot be said of the experiment that it was a total failure. Although the primitive savage was not qualified by constitution, mentality or temperament to cope with the arduous and confining labors of scholastic life, numbers of them trained in the Latin school went back to their people and performed good work as teachers and preachers. The scholars attending these schools appear to have been an orderly, conscientious, and sincere group of young men. They were of reli-

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gious temperament and impelled by good motives, but generations of simple life had not fitted them for the mental rigors of the student's lamp. So ended a great experiment in education. Thirty-one years after the landing of Winthrop and his colonists at Boston with the charter of the Bay Colony, a college was founded for the Indian scholar on the frontier of civilization. The charge cannot be made that effort was not made to give the red man the opportunities of the white man's civilization.

The halls of the college at Cambridge resounded no more to the tread of the Indian; his fading footsteps echoed into the stilly silence of forces that have spent their strength, and in each feeble resonance the dream of his preceptors for a college-bred ministry of native preachers flickered into the void of broken hopes.

The missionaries were handicapped now by the tumult raised among the "vulgar" who were not in sympathy with any effort to raise the standards of the Indian. Much stress was laid on the impropriety of herding the Indian youth into four walled rooms, where his constitution was sapped of its strength. The death of Caleb by consumption was cited as an example of a white man's disease upon a body accustomed to the lusty outdoors.

In these charges there was truth, but the situation was not so extreme. Contrary to popular information, consumption was a common disease among the Indians, and its ravages, then and since, cannot be contributed solely to a change of living conditions brought about by the white man's civilization.

"Of this disease of the consumption," remarks Gookin, "sundry of those Indian youths died, that were bred up to school among the English. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians; and sundry died of it, that live not with the English. A hectic fever, issuing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among them."

General Lincoln, in his "Observations on the Indians of North America" adds, "Their tender lungs are greatly affected by colds, which bring on consumptive habits; from which disorder, if my information is right, a large proportion of them die."

The strength of the Indian was a peculiar phenomenon. He was at home in the water, and on land his dog trot would carry him with no apparent effort over miles of territory which was the awe of the

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European. But his physique was a brittle thing. In sustained manual labor the Indian was found worthless, and this alone saved him from the fate that was soon to become the negro's.

Three hundred years have not changed him greatly. Lack of initiative and inability of sustained effort is still the handicap of his race. Receiving his education, his clothes, and food from the government, he returns to a life that is neither ours nor that of his fathers. He fears to strike out to the great cities, but prefers to eke a living on reservation lands. Although opportunity is as open to him as to any European immigrant, he lives in obscurity, cursing the government that aids him, while descendants of immigrants become bankers and lawyers and merchants. The barbaric negro in less time is self-sustaining. The sin cannot be all the white man's blame.

There are critics who charge the missionaries with all the ills of Indian life, as well as those of the savages of the South Pacific islands and elsewhere. The missionaries should stay at home and mind the sins of their own race, is the well-known cry. The reason for the missionary is simple, notwithstanding the writings of some pseudo psychological-biographers in the field of religious history.

It was, and still is to a certain extent, a concept of Christianity that the soul of man is forever doomed unless he accepts before death the teachings of the One who died on the Cross at Calvary. Souls living in far away corners of the earth who had never heard His name were doomed to eternal torment. It was a sad and harsh picture that was held of the great Father of us all, but so man read in the blessed Book and believed. And how could the heathen be saved who had never heard the message, good men asked one another, unless Christians traveled the sands and mountains of far away places and brought salvation to souls dying for water in the waste places of earth? It was the Christian's duty. *Noblesse oblige!* And so upon the face of the earth swarmed men and women, carrying the gospel of the faith into every corner and nook of the known world.

Militant soldiers of the cross, in their souls burned a deep desire to diet the heathen on Friday, to baptize the infant and to bring all before that golden throne upon the great day of judgment—saved, even against their will! Superficially at times their tactics and their rituals have seemed not far removed from the black paint, the gibberish, and the howlings of the Indian powwow. But at heart there was a dif-

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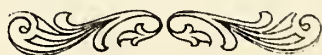
ference. A brilliant fire burned in their souls. For their God they suffered indescribable pains, fatigues, disease, and death. Into the unforged trails of the wilderness they went, black robed Jesuits, eating the nauseating food of the Indians and lifting high their robes that they might not overturn canoes getting in and out, as thoughtfully they had been instructed; far into China, penetrating the jungles of Africa, Protestants and Catholics, the banner they carried, with medicine, law, order, and good government.

And small minded men, for a moment detracted from the material things of life, have sneered at their efforts and accentuated their errors. Authors with figments of imagination that might better be devoted to a nobler cause have pictured the idyllic life lead by any number of primitive peoples until the missionaries came, reputedly bringing with them all the horrors of civilization, the Bible, the Constitution, the army and the navy.

The ancestry of this school may be traced to Rousseau. The fable of the natural man that so pleased an overly sophisticated world in the eighteenth century has long ago been exploded.

In America is heard the cry, the white man spoiled the Indian with his teachings. And in the distance resounds another charge, the white man has failed to teach the Indian and to do his duty towards him.

The missionary is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't. And popular opinion, like the poet's well regulated stream, flows on forever.





CHAPTER XII

THE DUKE OF YORK

After the return of Governor Nicolls to England, matters drifted along at the islands of the Mayhew proprietary in bucolic fashion, the inhabitants undisturbed by great events abroad, until a shipwreck brought to a focus the undesired attention of the successor of Nicolls at New York.

The new governor was another ducal favorite, Colonel Francis Lovelace, a cavalier of the court of Charles II. Intelligence of the wreck reaching his ear, Lovelace, after a silence of more than a year and a half since his arrival at New York, addressed a letter to the patentee of Martha's Vineyard, in which he reiterated the duke's claim to the islands that lay two hundred miles from the capital.

Respecting the wreck driven on "shoare at Matyns Vyneyard without any man left aliue in her" (although fortunately forty hogsheads of rum were saved), Lovelace comments that he had hithertofores expected an account of the wreck and what had been done in the premises, especially, one gathers, with the liquor, which had a great value.

Adds he, "As my Predecessor Coll Nicolls did often expect you here, but had his Expectation frustrated by yor age or Indisposition I haue the same desire, or at least that amongst yor Plantation, you would depute some pson to me to give me Account of Affaires there, That being undr the same Governmt belonging to his Royall Highnesse I may be in a bettr Capacity of giving you such Advice & assistance as need shall require & send his Royall Highnesse a more Exact Account of you then as yett I can, you being the greatest Strangrs to me in the whole Governmt. So expecting a speedy a Retorne from you in Answr hereunto as can be I comitt you to the heavenly protection & remayne."

Mayhew, always deliberate in his actions, awaited a number of months before sending his grandson Matthew to New York with a reply. John Gardner, of Nantucket, wrote that the letter "was so far slighted as to take no notice of it," but it is probable Mayhew was awaiting the end of winter before sending a messenger on the long journey to "York."

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The claims of Thomas Mayhew to the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were presented by young Matthew to the Governor in Council at New York the May following the receipt of the Lovelace letter. After the hearing it was ordered by the council that a letter be sent to the senior Mayhew requesting him to appear in person before them to adjust the relations of his islands to the government of New York, and that he bring with him his patents and papers.

You may please to take your best time in coming this summer, in substance writes the amiable Lovelace, as you shall find yourself disposed, and shall receive a very hearty welcome and all due encouragement as to your concerns.

Copies of a notice addressed to all "pretenders" laying claim to any interest in lands on Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Islands were enclosed in the letter.

These were duly distributed to the several landholders, including a number of residents in Massachusetts and elsewhere. Communication between the scattered settlements of New England was uncertain and irregular in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The absentee landlords were widely scattered over a number of colonies—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, and Rhode Island. Something like a year elapsed before all were heard from.

Meantime the inhabitants of the town on Nantucket met and elected Mr. Thomas Macy their agent to present their claims and to "treat" with the ducal governor. The town also desired Mr. Tristram Coffin to assist Mr. Macy in his task. Coffin had previously been chosen by his family to represent their great interests on Nantucket and their entire ownership of the island of Tuckernuck. Daniel Wilcox, of New Plymouth Colony, possessing two small islands in the Elizabeth group by virtue of a "Patent of Right from M^r Thomas Mayhew and Matthew Mayhew of Martins Vineyard," had early appointed Matthew to appear on his behalf and to act therein "as if I myselfe were there."

In the summer of 1671 all was ready for the conference with Lovelace at Manhattan. Armed with his patents and papers and Indian deeds, Thomas Mayhew, now seventy-eight years of age, set sail from Great Harbor in the month of June accompanied by his grandson, Matthew, who was to represent the proprietary interests of the younger Thomas Mayhew, deceased.

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Another crisis had come in the life of the merchant-colonist. At an age when the average man is content to mark time and gaze backward, he was on his way to New York for still greater honors.

From Nantucket went Tristram Coffin and Thomas Macy, the one representing the House of Coffin, the other "ye inhabitants" of the town of Nantucket.

At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket all eyes turned westward where the embarked agents had gone "in their Behalfe and Stead" to "Treat w'th ye Hon'ble Coll. Lovelace concerning ye Affayres of the several islands."

As the envoys neared the little fort on the Bowling Green they must have wondered how the cavalier governor in all the scintillating splendor of his great office would greet the planters of the islands claimed by his Royal Highness, James, future King of England, after so many years of waiting.

The fort which they saw at the tip of Manhattan Island in "New Yorke towne" was quadrangle in shape, and had a bastion at each corner; its earthen parapets frowned over the waters of the Hudson River and the Upper Bay. An ancient fort as forts went in America in that day, it had witnessed and was to see, considerable history of a bloodless sort. This ideal state of affairs was due to no good fortune of peace, but instead to the fact that as the fort was chronically in a state of disrepair, it was always good policy to surrender it whenever the warships of a belligerent nation hove to in a menacing manner, and so demanded.

"Forte James" was built under the nomenclature of Fort Amsterdam by the officers of the Dutch West Indies Company and was well armed with iron cannon and some few small brass pieces, all bearing the arms of the Netherlands. It was the social and military center of both the city and the colony under the Dutch and English, as well as the seat of governmental activity.

Within its walls towered the church of St. Nicholas with its steep double-pointed roof. The Dutch, with their love of utilization of space, had further encroached the limited area of the interior with a windmill, guardhouse, barracks, and a pretentious governor's mansion. Outside the battlements on the river side were gallows and a whipping post. A distance off in the other direction stood the ancient Stadt Huys of the Dutch, which did duty under English administration as

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the capitol house of the province, where the governor and council and the royal courts convened in sessions.

As the island envoys neared the scene of their intended conferences they saw the ensign of England flapping in the breeze from the flag pole in the fort and noted the long arms of the Dutch windmill turning lazily before the breeze and viewed with uncertain emotions the spectacle of gallows and whipping post, eloquently silent testimony of the law's eternal vigilance.

It is probable that the Mayhews, Coffin and Macy were entertained in the governor's house within the fort, and took occasion in hours not devoted to business to look at the Bowling Green and the Battery. To see New York took but little time in those days and necessitated the use of no guide book or personally conducted tour. There was no Chinatown. The city itself was wedged in between the waters on three sides and the wall which gave present Wall Street its name, on the fourth. It was a small village of quaint houses populated with a heterogeneous collection of Dutch burghers, English merchants, and officials, all living in peace and harmony and intent on the mutual object of fattening their fortunes in trade.

The social life of the little city centered around the amiable governor's elegant mansion and the tavern which he had judiciously erected next the Province House, with a door that afforded convenient access (some say by bridge) to the court room on the second floor, a door that was a constant gates-ajar invitation to the honorable mayor, aldermen, and sheriff of the city to step into the taproom beyond, there to gain inspiration before, and solace after, sessions of court.

The Province House itself was a quaint inheritance from the Dutch régime in days when New York was New Amsterdam. It stood some distance from the fort with its back to the East River, the wash of whose changing tides might plainly be heard within its walls. In Lovelace's day its face was the west side, its stoop opening onto Dukes Street, the original *Hoogh Straet* of the Dutch, known to the present generation as Stone Street. A lane by one side connected the street with the open stretch to the rear of the building that bordered on the water. This was called by the English, State House Lane. The house itself was a substantial edifice of stone, two stories in height with a basement underneath and spacious lofts above under its steeply pitched roof.

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In this house were held the formal sessions of the Governor in Council with the emissaries from Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.

The Mayhews appear to have arrived in New York a fortnight before the stated meeting of the Governor and Council in the matter of Martha's Vineyard. The first of the official conferences appertaining to island affairs was convened the twenty-eighth of June. "The Matt. under Consideracon was the Business of Nantuckett; two Persons being sent from thence hither." Tristram Coffin and Thomas Macy, the "two Persons" designated, produced documents from Thomas Mayhew and the Indians to make good their claim of title to Nantucket and adjoining islands and tendered "some Proposals in Writing" for the scheme of government to be established thereat.

It may be supposed that the proposals were drawn with the advice or consent of the Mayhews as their influence upon the island at that time was considerable. They owned an interest in the proprietary as well as a tract in severalty.

The plan of government proposed by the emissaries had no doubt been submitted to the unofficial scrutiny of the governor and province secretary, if in fact it did not originate largely from that source. It embraced a comprehensive scheme of government, providing for a court of magistrates to be presided over by one "to be Chiefe," and the establishment of an annual General Court for all the islands to be composed of judges from Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. It was further proposed that the Indians of Nantucket should be made subject to judicial process in "Matt^{rs} of Trespass, Debt, & other Mis-carriages"; that the laws of England should prevail in all matters "soe farre as wee know them"; and lastly that a military establishment for defense against the Indians or "Strang^{rs} invadeing" should be authorized.

On the day the memorial was submitted, the governor was ready with a reply "In Answer to ye Proposals Delivered in by M^r Coffin and M^r Macy & on y^e behalfe of themselves & y^e rest of y^e Inhabitants upon y^e Island of Nantuckett."

The reply provided for a frame of government substantially as requested. A chief magistrate was to be appointed annually by the governor-general from two nominees recommended by the electors of Nantucket and Tuckernuck. The inhabitants were to have power by a majority vote to elect assistant judges, constables, minor town officers,

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and such inferior officers for the military company as should be thought needful.

The inhabitants were left a liberal discretion in the handling of Indian affairs, although warned to be "carefull to use such Moderacon amongst them, That they be not exasperated, but by Degrees may be brought to conformable to y^e Lawes." They were empowered to nominate and appoint constables among them who were to have staves with the King's Arms upon them, "the better to keep their People in Awe, & good Ord^r. as is practized wth good Success amongst y^e Indiyans at y^e East end of Long-Island."

Tristram Coffin was commissioned chief magistrate of Nantucket and Tuckernuck Islands for a term of office extending something beyond one year.

A week later came the "Affayre about Martins Vineyard." This conference was held in the Province House, where once the painted coat-of-arms of New Amsterdam, together with the orange, blue, and white colors of the West Indies Company, had hung over the justices' bench.

In the dim room the ducal governor, Francis Lovelace, was, of course, the dominating figure on that summer's day when the first meeting was scheduled. The second son of an English baron, he is described as a roystering cavalier of the Restoration, a fitting representative of the "Merrie Monarch" and his brother James. Notwithstanding his Stuart partisanism and the fact that before the Restoration he had languished a term in the Tower by order of Richard Cromwell, he appears to have been a genial and kindly soul to English Protestant and Dutch burgher alike.

Unfortunately for the fame of this governor, his character has been epitomized in a statement attributed to him relative to the rebellious Swedish farmers on the Delaware, that "the method of keeping the people in order is severity and laying such taxes as may give them liberty for no thought but how to discharge them." In his defense it is alleged that the remark was a mere quotation on his part of what a Swede had once said to him of his own people. It can be imagined best of Lovelace that the remark was uttered with all the amiability with which he was endowed.

Nevertheless, the cavalier governor was much that in habit and religion was diametric to the Puritan Mayhew.

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Matthias Nicolls was the second man of importance in the room. Bred a barrister at Lincoln's Inn, he received from the King an appointment as secretary of the royal commission sent to America and at the same time a commission as captain in the forces under Colonel Richard Nicolls. After the peaceful capitulation of New Amsterdam, in which he participated, Captain Nicolls became the first secretary of the English province and a member of the Governor's Council.

The first code of English laws in New York was largely the fruit of his drafting. It was a just and liberal body of laws. Qualified by legal training, the author held several judicial posts. He was presiding judge of the Court of Assizes and after the conference was judge of the Supreme Court. He was also an early mayor of New York City. He was without doubt the best educated and one of the most capable British officials in America.

The third member of the governor's staff present at the conference was Cornelius Steenwyck, a former burgomaster of New Amsterdam. His blood antecedents were as clear of definition as his name, but his political fealty less certain. He was a prominent officeholder under both Dutch and English administrations, willing to lend his name to the Dutch civil list when the colony was New Netherlands and to the English when it was New York, and back again with alacrity to the Dutch when the province was recaptured by Calve two years to the month after the conference. Steenwyck was an enormously wealthy merchant, and what is popularly termed a "mixer."

On the opposite side of the table sat the Puritan, Thomas Mayhew, already famed at home and in the mother country as a successful missionary to the Indians of New England. By his side sat Matthew, his eldest grandson, a promising youth of twenty-three years of age, later author of "The Conquests and Triumphs of Grace," a tract describing the Indians of New England and the success of the gospel among them.

What took place during the stay of the Vineyard delegates at York and the conference that concluded their labors, Thomas Mayhew himself describes. He states that he showed the governor his grants, which the governor approved, "and the printed paper" from his Majesty, at which Lovelace "stumbled much," also he showed the ducal representative what General Nicolls had written of his not being informed what the King had done, to which the governor "stumbled

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very much likewise"; then he asked if the colonel had Stirling's patent with him, to which the colonel gave answer in the negative, whereupon Mayhew went to Captain Nicolls and acquainted him of his "discourse" with the governor and "prayed him to search in Matters of Long Island" to see if he could not find the date of Lord Stirling's patent to the islands. This Nicolls did, finding it more ancient than the Gorges patent.

But Mayhew questioned whether it were safe for him to "meddle" or declare the Gorges government. The royal weathercock at Windsor had spun so many times, there was no telling how it would spin again. It was, therefore, agreed between His Honor Francis Lovelace and Thomas Mayhew that the latter should be granted a new "Charter and Liberties" to the islands, grounded on his first grant from Lord Stirling and the "Resignation of L'd Sterling's Heirs to his Royall Highness," and that Mayhew should pay an acknowledgment to the Duke which under the grant from Forrett he was obligated to pay yearly to Lord Stirling.

Thus the patentee of the islands was confirmed in his title by the weakest of all claims, the grant from Lord Stirling. It has been aptly stated that "Loyal subjects were expected to give way and vacate the 'king row.'"

The time which Mayhew took before acknowledging the Duke's authority is evidence of no supine surrender. Writing in regard to the search in matters of Long Island conducted by Matthias Nicolls, he says, had the date of Stirling's patent been not found, then "I could doe nothing at Yorke." He had not been ready to acknowledge ducal claims upon terms other than favorable. This stand was made secure by the King's attitude in both confirming the islands most strongly to be in Gorges and in granting them to his brother. Whichever way the conflict was resolved, Thomas Mayhew could find royal support in extenuation of his conduct.

A number of other important matters were decided at the conference. Most noteworthy was the appointment of Thomas Mayhew to be governor of the island of Martha's Vineyard for life:

Whereas M^r Thomas Mayhew of Martins or Martha's Vineyard hath been an auncient Inhabitant there, where by Gods Blessing Hee hath been an Instrum^t. of doing a greate deale of Good both in settling severall Plantacons there, as also in reclayming & Civilizing y^e

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Indyans; ffor an Encouragem^t to him in prosecucon of that Designe, & in acknowledgm^t of his Good Services, It is Ordered & Agreed upon That y^e said M^r Thomas Mayhew shall dureing his naturall Life bee Governo^r of y^e Island called Martins or Marthas Vineyard. . . .

A comission to Matthew Mayhew as Collector and Receiver of his Majesty's customs "as now are or shall bee brought into y^e Harbour at Martins Vineyard, or any other Creek or Place upon y^e Island, or Jurisdiction thereof" was also executed.

The "townes Seated" on the Vineyard were granted new charters of confirmation. In the baptism Great Harbor emerged as Edgartown, in honor of the Duke's infant son Edgar, the news of whose death had not reached America. Great Harbor became another of those many communities that bear the name of some petty princeling tacked to the unimaginative and generic term, town, ville, or burg. Distinction lies in the fact that it is the only town so named in the world.

Middletown was more fortunate in choice of names, and received that of Tisbury in honor of the little Wiltshire village where Thomas Mayhew was born.

A government for the towns and the island was discussed and decided. The towns were to have such elected magistrates and officers as other "corporations" in the province. For the jurisdiction of Martha's Vineyard island a local court was provided, to consist of Thomas Mayhew and three assistants; the governor to have a double vote as presiding officer, a power not granted the chief magistrate of the local court at Nantucket.

Minor changes were made in the framework of the General Court established during the conference with the Nantucket delegates. It was determined that the members of this court should be the governor of Martha's Vineyard and four assistants, two from each island. In deference to the great experience and reputation of Thomas Mayhew it was ordered that he should sit as president during his life whenever the court was in session, whether at Martha's Vineyard or Nantucket, with the privilege of a double or casting vote.

The plan of government conceived for Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket was part of the ducal scheme for a strong government in places where the central power was far removed. "No such strong and yet liberal scheme of vice-regal government was established under the British flag for many a year."

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The conference closed the history of the colony of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket as an independent entity. For thirty years the islands had been ruled by the proprietor independent of higher suzerainty. But Mayhew lost little by the change. His powers and prestige, supported now by a closer alliance with royal authority, were in fact increased rather than diminished.

The government of the islands was still a government under Mayhew's supervision, only henceforth to be subject to the oversight of a governor-general at New York. Laws were now to be made by Thomas Mayhew as governor, with the aid of assistants, instead of by the "patentee" or "the single person."

Other matters at the conference were determined which were not of political import. The influence of Thomas Mayhew directed the flow of thought into Indian channels. Even in this day while honors were being thrust upon him, he thought of the humble Indian and the work of the propagation of the gospel among them, which had been the lifework of his son who had not lived to share the honors now freely bestowed.

The pregnant move of the conference in this respect was the appointment of Thomas Mayhew "too bee Governo^r. over y^e Indians upon Martin's Vineyard." He was authorized to "follow ye same way and Course of quiet & peaceable Governm^t amongst them as hitherto hee hath done, w^{ch} will tend to their mutuall Benefitt and Satisfaction, and by Degrees bring them to Submit to, & acknowledge his Ma^{ties} Lawes Establisht by his Royall Highness in this Province."

Further Governor Mayhew was ordered: "You are to cause some of y^e Principall Sachems to repaire (as speedily as They can) to mee, that soe They may pay their homage to his Ma^{tie}, & acknowldge his Royall H^s. to bee their only Lord Proprieto^r."

It was a well tamed savage that the ducal governor expected to come to him at York, three hundred miles by water, to pay homage to a Scotch-French-Italian-Danish King across the sea.

Lovelace was not much interested in the spiritual or material well-being of the untutored savage, but he was an amiable man and willing to assist the Puritan Mayhew in anything that would cost the Duke of York and Albany, and etc., no extra penny.

In response to request he even addressed a letter to Governor

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Prince recommending that official to use his influence in obtaining added financial assistance for Mayhew as a missionary to the Indians.

A unique feature of the conference was the grant to Thomas Mayhew and his grandson of a charter creating a manor out of parcels of territory within the present bounds of Chilmark, Tisbury, and the Elizabeth Islands.

At the quiet Vineyard reappeared one of the oldest of English social institutions. The wind-swept moors, the occasional parks of forests, the green meadows, sheep pastures, and plough lands of the island, dotted plentifully with great lagoons and smooth flowing streams, like the famed waterways of old England, lent themselves geographically to the English manor and countryside.

In the course of time, the island with its quaint mills, two-storied houses, miles of fencing and herds of sheep, became a transplanted bit of the home country where lords and squires and landowners ruled fertile acres and sat as justices of the peace at shire courts.

Thomas Mayhew was of ancient years. He "had risen to a unique position among his colonial confreres," says the island historian. Doubtless his thoughts harked back to the place of his birth and the scenes of his childhood, and the recollections of Tisbury with its manor aroused in him a desire to become the head of a like social institution, the first of a line of Lords of the Manor in another Tisbury. He had recollected the Arundels of Wardour, the hereditary Lords of Tisbury Manor in Wiltshire, living but a short distance from his boyhood home, and the grandeur of their position, holding dominion over their broad acres, with tenants filling the manor barn every harvest, as acknowledgments of their fealty, in lieu of knightly service; and having already had a taste of the headship of a community for many years . . . he now wanted the legitimate fruit of his position made distinctive."

Mayhew was ambitious to establish on the Vineyard the good old customs of Merrie England with its armorial gentry and leading families of the shire, but too, he saw in the feudal government of the manor a means whereby he might exercise untrammelled administration over Indian tenants without the interference of jealous and encroaching Englishmen.

The Manor of Tisbury was the only fully established manor erected within the confines of New England, save the Lordship of Martha's Vineyard created by a later governor of New York in favor of Matthew Mayhew.

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The manor is an estate in land to which is incident certain rights. Blackstone tells us that manors were held by lords or great personages who kept in their own hands so much land as was necessary for the use of their families, which was called demesne lands, being occupied by the lord and his servants. The other or tenemental lands were distributed among tenants, which from the different modes of tenure were called and distinguished by different names.

The proprietor of a manor is a feudal lord, known in the old feudal system as a minor baron, in contradistinction of the great barons who possessed a number of manors grouped into a lordship called an Honor. In the course of time the great barons were patented with titles by the kings, and out of this practice grew the present peerage or titled nobility. The lesser barons continued to be members of the untitled nobility. Although they could and may rightfully follow their names with the appendage "Lord of the Manor," they are not privileged to use the title "Lord" as a prefix.

Generally speaking the peerage is today considered the nobility of England. That nation has always been jealous of the dignity of the members of her upper class and their ability to maintain their positions in proper style, consequently she is not prone to recognize the members of the untitled nobility as anything more than gentry. Strictly speaking, however, any person entitled to coat armour is a member of the nobility. In many localities on the Continent all the sons of a feudal lordship retain their membership in the nobility and bear the title of their ancestor, even unto the ultimate generation. This accounts for the great number of impecunious Counts to be found in some Latin countries, and by marriage in American families.

With the growth of the peerage in England and the ennoblement of the great barons, manors ceased to be called baronies, although they are still lordships.

The highest privilege appurtenant to manorial lordship was that of holding private or domestic courts. At these courts the feudatory or his steward sat as judge. Customarily the courts were two in classification, called Court Baron and Court Leet. At Court Baron matters pertaining to the lands of the tenants were heard, disputes as to ownership of properties and rights of commonage adjusted, alienations of land recorded, and new tenants and heirs placed in possession, regulations and by-laws concerning the upkeep of fences, roads, and other

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matters relating to the farming of the manor lands, passed. Jurisdiction also extended in actions for debt and damages in limited sums.

The Court Leet was a criminal court exercising the King's jurisdiction in the punishment of minor infringements of law not grave enough to be brought to the attention of the royal courts of the district. At the Leets scolds were fined for annoying neighbors, millers for taking excessive toll of tenants, and brewers for making flat beer. Petty offenses against the customs of the manor, such as bad ploughing, improper taking of timber from the lord's woods, and the like, were heard. This tribunal was the police court of the manor.

At these courts the tenants played an important rôle. Aside the presiding officer of the court and the bailiff who represented the lord as public prosecutor, the generality of the officers of the manor and court were elected by the tenants from their own ranks. Among these officials were the reeve, the tithing-man or constable, surveyors of hedges, ditches, and waterways, the swineherd, and the cowherd.

It has been pointed out that the appellation of many municipal officers in English towns are carried back in their origin to the agricultural and manorial officers of early days.

Traces of these officials are found in the records of New England towns, where tithing-men, constables, fence viewers, surveyors of highways, surveyors of lumber, hog reeves, field drivers, and poundkeepers were annually chosen in town meeting, much as their prototypes were in the manor courts of the mother country.

Manorial lands in the seventeenth century were customarily held by either copyhold tenure or in fee. The copyhold tenant held land by grants recorded in the books of the manor, which did not descend to the heirs by law. Copyhold tenants were not freemen. They constituted the peasantry of the country.

Lands in fee were held by freemen. These constituted a smaller and more important class in the manor. Unlike the copyhold tenant, the freeman was not bound to the soil and owed the lord no menial service upon the lord's lands as rent service, but was quit of all obligations by the payment of a small rent in money, called quit-rent, or some inexpensive trifle. The freemen of manors were customarily yeomen, but they might also be gentlemen and maintain seats, whose lands would be farmed by servants of their own.

Although a number of attempts were made to transplant the feudal

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system to America, in but few provinces did the manor become an institution. Nowhere in the New World did it function more normally than in New York. Manors were early erected in Maryland, where prior to 1676 about sixty were in existence, each containing an average of approximately three thousand acres. In North Carolina an elaborate feudal system of government was worked out by the philosopher John Locke, wherein provision was made that tracts of land of more than three thousand acres might be erected into manors by special patent. In colonizing Pennsylvania the Proprietary divided the lands of that colony into manors, but these, held by the Penn family, were hardly more than manors in name. Wealthy landed proprietors owned tracts of baronial dimensions in some of the other colonies, notably Virginia, and rented farms to tenants, but these possessions were not manors in law and only so called by the self-endowed courtesy of the owners.

The manors of New York were of enormous acreage. Cortlandt Manor contained eighty-three thousand acres, and Livingston one hundred and twenty thousand acres. Tisbury, itself containing many square miles of land, was one of the earliest established in the province.

The manorial lords of New York were men powerful in the social and political history of the Colony and State, and have left an impress in both local and national spheres.

Feudalism in America was destined to be a failure notwithstanding traces of it lingered in varied form until many years after the American Revolution. The anti-rent riots of New York, which broke out in 1839 when the executors of the estate of Stephen Van Rensselaer attempted to collect back quit-rents, resulted in the last stand of feudalism. The great Van Rensselaer manor had to this day remained intact, but thereafter it was largely sold to the dissatisfied tenants who, with their fathers, had so many years tilled the soil of a lord.

At Martha's Vineyard feudalism lived a healthy existence for sixty-nine years until the death of Matthew Mayhew in 1710; thereafter it lead a precarious life until with the Revolution it passed into oblivion. In 1776, Captain Matthew Mayhew, of Edgartown, last of the Mayhew lords of Tisbury, accepted a commission as commander of of a company in the Dukes County Regiment of Militia on the side of the struggling colonists.

The Rev. Experience Mayhew, as late as 1756, is known to have

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laid claim to rights as a Lord Proprietor, perhaps in descent from Thomas Mayhew as patentee of Martha's Vineyard, and not as an heir of the family manor. Others of the family made similar claims. As late as 1838 Judge William Mayhew, of Edgartown, as senior heir of the first Thomas Mayhew in the eldest male line, conveyed his interest in the Gravelly Islands, and in the year following, his interest in Muskeget Island, to his son Thomas.

During the lifetime of the governor parts of Tisbury Manor were fenced and a number of tracts of land sold. These were conveyed subject to a nominal quit-rent to reserve the lords' jurisdiction. The governor's grandsons, Thomas and John Mayhew, were purchasers in the Quansoo region, and John Haynes, of Rhode Island, bought land at the Elizabeth Islands, for which he agreed to pay a quit-rent of "2 good sheep at the Manor House on November 15th yearly and every year."

After the death of the elder Mayhew, Matthew, as surviving lord of the manor, kept up the custom of exacting quit-rents in true English style. One holder of land in the manor was obliged to bring annually to the lord "a good chees," another "one nutmeg," and Matthew's "beloved brother John" was under duty to pay one mink skin annually as tribute "at my mannor house in the mannor of Tisbury" on the fifteenth of November each year.

The lord's brother-in-law, Major Skiffe, held land under a quit-rent of "six peckes of good wheat" annually. In 1732, Sarah, widow of Thomas Mayhew, III, of Chilmark, in a deed conveying land referred to the "Quitt-rents which shall hereafter become due unto the Lord of the Manner . . . which is one Lamb." The lord at this time was Micajah Mayhew, of Edgartown, great-great-grandson of the governor.

Due to the peculiar nature of the manor as a feudal institution, its early settlement was not effected in the customary manner. Home lots were not distributed among the planters, and a town proprietary was not formed until 1695, when Matthew Mayhew, as lord of the manor, created by document a proprietary of thirty shareholders to settle a tract in the manor known as the town of Chilmark. In the corporation, Matthew kept a controlling interest of eighteen shares, distributing the balance among grantees holding land in the district and members of his immediately family, including two sons, a brother, and three brothers-in-law.

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After the transfer of Martha's Vineyard to the Province of Massachusetts Bay the status of Chilmark was for many years anomalous due to the fact that it was not incorporated by the General Court of Massachusetts as a town until 1714 when, upon petition of the Rev. Experience Mayhew, acting as "Agent for the Manour of Tisbury," it was ordered that the manor "commonly called Chilmark, have all the Powers of a Town given and granted them, for the better Management of their publick affairs, Laying and Collecting of Taxes granted to his Majesty for the Support of the Government, Town charges and other affairs whatsoever, as other Towns in the Province do by Law enjoy." Thereafter the town and manor had a dual existence, although before this a quasi-legal form of town government had been in existence and it had been represented at the General Court as a pocket borough controlled by the Mayhew family.

At the close of the conference with Lovelace, Thomas Mayhew and his grandson returned to the Vineyard, armed, in the language of the elder with "a new Charter and Liberties in it made, grounded upon my First Graunt and the Resignation of L'd Sterling's Heirs to his Royall Highness, &c., thankfully by me accepted there and by all at Home, and also at Nantuckett soe farre as I know."

The conference had been seven years in partuition, but had proved well worth the cost to Mayhew of "29 daies from the Island." The Lord of the Isles was now governor and Chief Magistrate for life, President of the General Court of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, Chief Justice of the courts at Martha's Vineyard, and Lord of the Manor of Tisbury. In addition to these honors he was eligible to sit as a justice in the General Court of Assizes, the supreme court for all the territories governed by the Duke of York in America.



CHAPTER XIII

THE DUTCH REBELLION

After the arrival home of Thomas Mayhew from the conference with Lovelace he summoned in convenient time a general meeting of the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard. Upon this occasion he related the change of island jurisdiction, and had his commission as governor publicly read. He acquainted the sachems and chief men of the Indians of his appointment over them, "which every man accepted of thankfully."

Seizing the enthusiasm of the moment, the newly acclaimed governor of the Indians spoke of religion. "After much discourse" he put "a vote as to the waie of God and there was not one but helld upp his hand to further it to the uttmost. Many of them not p'fessed praying men diverse allso spake verry well to the thing p'pounded. I remember not such an unyversall Consent till now."

In his new dignity Thomas Mayhew took care to keep up the state and authority of a royal governor by means of a constant gravity and a wise and exact behavior as always raised and preserved the Indians' reverence.

Insistence for respect of station is well illustrated by an incident which took place during the visit of an Indian prince, ruler of a large part of the main land, who, coming to Martha's Vineyard in royal manner with an attendance of about eighty persons well armed, called at the governor's house. The governor upon entering the room where sat the visiting prince, being acquainted with the Indian custom that as a point of honor it is incumbent upon the inferior to salute the superior, took no notice of the other's presence. A silence ensued which the native chieftain was obliged to break, notwithstanding his kingly retinue, saying at length, "Sachem, Mr. Mayhew, are you well?" Whereupon the governor gave a friendly reply.

In the inauguration of the duke's government, Mayhew proceeded with customary deliberation. Eleven months elapsed before the General Court provided for in the new scheme of government was convened by him at Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard, the 18th of June, 1672. The fruits of the first session was a body of just, liberal, and sensible laws.

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Thus far the transmutation of government had been effected without dissension. But at the second sitting of the General Court, holden at Nantucket the year following, dissatisfaction disclosed itself. The Nantucket judges refused to follow the rules of procedure provided for their guidance at the Lovelace conference. "After very much Debate" the governor and the members of the bench from Martha's Vineyard "came away resolving speedily" to apply to the governor-general for a ruling. For once Thomas Mayhew moved with alacrity. He dispatched Matthew to the capital for the purpose, but Matthew, on his way, was met with the news that New York had been captured by the Dutch, and returned without completing his journey.

The information that New York had been taken by the Hollanders was seized upon by malcontents residing on both islands as an opportunity to disavow the authority of the duke's government. A number of them arose in open rebellion.

The historian of Martha's Vineyard regards this uprising as an endeavor upon the part of the freemen to "get rid of hereditary rulers and lords of the manor, of which they supposed their New England to be quit." Whatever conjecture may be made as to the cause of dissension, the facts established from contemporary documents circumscribe the issue of the rebellion at Martha's Vineyard to one grievance. According to the tenor of a letter sent by some of "his Majesties subjects the free houlders in the two towns settled on Martha's Vineyard" to the Right Worshipful John Leverett, Esq., governor of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, complaint is made solely that the inhabitants no longer had the "Boston form of government." Reference is not made to manorial privileges, and it may be added that at that time in no document now extant is criticism directed to this form of social structure.

There is little likelihood that the relation of the manor at this time to the rest of the island, due to any possible discrimination in taxation, could have affected materially the state of mind of the rebellious freemen. At the breaking out of the rebellion, the manor's population, exclusive of Indians, was limited to one white settler, the Rev. John Mayhew. The manor is mentioned only once in the course of the rebellion. In a letter to the governor of New York Simon Athearn comments on the fact that a large number of the Indians on the island were Mr. Mayhew's tenants.

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Englishmen of the seventeenth century were accustomed to feudalism. It was to them no great bogey. The Puritans did not entirely cast aside social, even political, distinctions. Far from it, they limited suffrage and office holding to a small select group, and were particular to preserve the hierarchy of rank with special attention to gentlemen and noblemen. John Haynes, returning to England, was honored with a salute of guns at the Castle in Boston Harbor, he being the son of a Privy Councillor. The young Sir Henry Vane, when but twenty-four years of age and without great experience, was elected Governor of Massachusetts soon after his arrival in the country, on account of his impressive bearing and title—and ships in the harbor honored the event with a volley of shot.

The rebellion at Martha's Vineyard may, in part, have been directed against the rule of the Mayhew family and the nepotism that thrived under powers granted the ruling family by the ducal government. It may be that the disaffected inhabitants sought to put to an end the establishment of the House of Mayhew as an hereditary aristocracy, and that they rebelled at the existence of a family bench headed by a governor holding office under life tenure, assisted by a grandson, a son-in-law, and a stepson-in-law as associate justices, and the spectre of manorial lords exacting quit-rents on the fifteenth of each November annually, or any other time. But mainly the freemen chafed because the privilege of representative government in province affairs was not accorded.

While Mayhew was not a staunch advocate of democratic government of the unheard of twentieth century type and was not imbued with the sophistry that any man is qualified to govern so long as he is elected to office by a majority of equally unqualified citizens, it cannot be said that under the duke's government Mayhew in any way attempted to withhold any privilege from the freemen of the island that was rightfully theirs by law.

But the people of New York, unlike those of New England, had no voice in the general government of the province. A General Court of Freemen was not in the scheme of government established by the Duke of York and was denied by him upon several occasions during his proprietorship. Laws of the province were enacted by the governor-general with the advice of a council largely supine. It was an autocratic government, arbitrary in form, but mild in practice.

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But in local affairs the freemen of the Vineyard had a large share of self-government. The members of the Court of Assistants of each island and all the judges of the General Court, save Mayhew, were elected by the freeholders.

Thomas Mayhew, as governor, had no power of veto, only a double or casting vote in cases of disagreement. With a representative General Court for local concerns, an elective bench, and a right to manage town affairs, the freemen of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket had a government that was exceedingly democratic for the century.

But it was not the representative government the freemen of the Vineyard had been accustomed to in Massachusetts. It was not the government provided for in the Stirling patent, by whose terms many of them had been induced to emigrate from their old homes to the new. They had seen Mayhew lay claim to certain vested rights superior to theirs under the Stirling patent. Now they saw a further curtailment of liberties under the duke's government.

Considerable unrest seems to have existed among some of the freemen on account of the fact that the governor of the island held office under life tenure, although elected executives were not common in the seventeenth century. From various complaints it may be gathered that the malcontents objected to the rule of Thomas Mayhew for the reason that he too keenly championed the cause of the Indians.

In an effort to show that Mayhew held sway over the Vineyard as a petty tyrant, Simon Athearn, in a letter to the governor-general, launches into an involved account of several incidents, which from his own recital do not bear the result wished for by him. On one count Athearn complains that Governor Mayhew and his judges allowed an Indian servant belonging to Athearn to return to his family because struck by Athearn after repeated runnings away. Athearn complains that it was an established rule on the island promulgated by the governor for the protection of the Indians that no master should strike his servant and that if the servant was not willing to abide with the master, the master should let him go. This humane rule was irritating at times to masters dealing with refractory servants. These were not the harsh laws of England to which Englishmen were accustomed, but they were the means of preventing the servitude of an inferior race and the breeding of ill will towards the English.

In another charge Athearn recounts the tale of an illiterate Eng-

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lishman named Perkins who called an Indian a lying rogue, whereupon the Indian "laid hold with his hand on Perkins his hair and plucked him down and swore he would kill him and called to his fellows for a knife to kill him." Complaining to the governor and Judge Daggett, the Englishman was "much threatened" for his conduct in the matter and talk was made that he ought to be fined for calling the Indian a lying rogue. And, continues, Athearn, the Indian on the other hand was told "very mildly" that if he carried any stick or weapon in his hand within a certain period of time he would be fined five pounds.

Athearn claims that bad feeling existed between Judge Daggett and Perkins, but the ruling of the court appears fair when one bears in mind the primitive psychology of the Indian and the supposed better judgment of the Englishman.

It was under laws and rulings such as these that the rebellious free-man of the Vineyard chafed. Even in the heat of controversy they could think of nothing more disparaging with which to charge Thomas Mayhew than friendliness towards the Indians.

Mayhew, with painstaking conscientiousness, writes Governor Prince, "Sir, it is so, that my favour unto Indians hath been thought to be overmuch; but I say, my error hath been, in all cases, that I am too favourable to English; and it hath always been very hard for me to preserve myself from being drawn to deal over-hardly with the Indians."

Legal cause is a desirable attribute with which to bolster any rebellion. The disaffected inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard were not long in finding one, even if it was not a good one. They professed to doubt the power of Lovelace to appoint a governor for life for Martha's Vineyard. That Lovelace had power to appoint a governor is indisputable, and having that power the tenure of his appointee was in no way dependent upon his own. The appointment made by Lovelace was in law the appointment of the Duke of York, and lasted so long as the Duke was proprietary of New York or any portion of it.

The malcontents refused to follow this reasoning. They argued that as the ducal authority at the capitol had fallen so had fallen Mayhew's life tenure as governor, that as the island had not been formerly within the jurisdiction of New Netherlands and was not comprehended in the revived Dutch province established by the Hollanders at New York, it was no longer under the Duke's government, but was in a

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state of complete independence of any colony, and without authorized government.

Following this line of thought William Root Bliss in his interesting book, entitled "Quaint Nantucket," falls into the error of assuming that the Dutch capture of New York brought the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket under Dutch control and speaks of the inhabitants of Nantucket being put to the test as to their loyalty to the victorious flag in connection with a wreck; and that a jury of six men of Nantucket did not forget "that they had become Dutchmen," and so rendered a verdict "loyal" to the Dutch authorities.

Instead of being loyal subjects of the States of Holland, as Mr. Bliss supposes, the jury of six men of Nantucket acted in a spirit decidedly to the contrary. The owner of the wrecked vessel claimed to be an English denizen of New York, of Dutch blood, and although admittedly on his way to Holland, professed that he had been captured by the Dutch, along with the province, and been compelled under duress to load a cargo consigned to Holland.

Bliss' story is naive, but the men of Nantucket were not nearly so quaint as Mr. Bliss indicates by the title of his book, so they found that the Dutch-blooded master was not "a subject of the King of England" and thereby paved the way for the confiscation of the Dutch vessel as a prize of war. The jury did not find that the master was a Dutch citizen because they considered themselves Dutchmen, but because they were convinced that the defendant was in fact a Hollander notwithstanding his English denizenship. It does not require a great exercise of the imagination to suppose that the inhabitants of the island profited in the master's misfortune by the confiscation of his cargo of merchandise belonging to the subject of an enemy nation at war with their dread sovereign, Charles II, King of England.

The malcontents of neither island considered themselves Dutch subjects. In the very month the chameleon Dutch-English sea captain was tried at Nantucket, the malcontents at Martha's Vineyard were subscribing themselves in a petition to the Governor of Massachusetts as humble and obedient subjects of the King of England.

As the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were not embraced in the new Dutch province, and as the rebels denied the existence of the Duke's government after the fall of New York, a technical state of anarchy developed. In the language of the insurgents "every one Doth that which is right in his own eyes."

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Adds Matthew Mayhew, "about half the People in a Mutinous Manner, arose with many contumelious Words and Threats against the said Govournour daring him in the Prosecution of his Royall Highness his Government."

The rebels ignored the logic that might have led them to consider the Duke's government, by his regularly constituted officers, still existent in those parts of his territories not in possession of the enemy, and that Mayhew's commission to act as governor of the island, originating by authority of the Duke of York, was not necessarily revoked by the occupation of a part of the Duke's holdings by the Dutch, especially as the Duke was much alive in England and had not relinquished his proprietary claims. Title to the island had not passed and never did pass to the Dutch; the island itself was never in the possession, actual or constructive, of the Hollanders, and the Duke's duly constituted officials on the island were at all times present.

The fact that after the surrender of the province by the Dutch to the Duke, the King as a matter of precaution and upon the advice of constitutional lawyers who, after profound research and argumentation, advised that the doctrine of *jus postlimini* was not applicable, made a regrant of the province to the Duke, in no way lessens the sins of the rebels to whom the fine point of law involved was as so much Sanskrit. Apparently the English jurists were unacquainted with the fact that Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket had never been in the possession of the Dutch, or thought the territories too insignificant to warrant a procedure different from that prescribed for the entire province. Be that as it may, the islands were included in the second grant of the province to the Duke.

Meanwhile the rebel party decided it would better serve its ends to declare that no lawful government existed on the island, and then to remedy the situation by establishing an unauthorized government of its own. This conduct was clearly a subterfuge to gain control of island affairs. Like their brethren in Massachusetts, the rebels were not above a bit of chicanery in their struggle for freedom.

Legal disputation appears to have been an attribute natural to the Puritan mind. By it they were able to meet on equal ground and checkmate English authority, royal governors, and Parliament, until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. British officialdom had to admit that in the practical art of politics they were no match for the

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freemen of New England trained in open town meeting and service in all the offices of government from hog reeve to Speaker of the Colonial Assembly.

Recalling days on the Main, the malcontents at Martha's Vineyard met and attempted the formation of a rump government patterned on the Massachusetts plan of electing the chief magistrate annually, as had been the vogue, with limitations, on the island when Mayhew first set up government at Great Harbor under the Earl of Stirling's patent.

As loyal subjects of the crown and as a matter of coöperative good sense in days of peril and war, the conduct of the refractory party cannot be upheld. The incongruity of a part of the inhabitants of the island urging that the only government lawfully initiated over them was now without legal efficacy while attempting to set up a government of their own without a scintilla of legal authority, and representing only "about half of the people" is obvious, but the attitude of the island historian is not equally so, who lauds the conduct of the rebels and depicts them as guardians of liberty and democracy. The good judgment of a party crying that they are in need of protection against foreign foe because of weakness in numbers, at the same time conducting a rebellion among themselves that further weakened their powers of defense, is not open to the adulation of posterity.

Although the rebel party was anxious to depose Thomas Mayhew as life governor of the island, they made a gesture of compromise by addressing him a letter wherein they requested him to lay aside voluntarily his government by commission of the Duke, offering in return to elect him chief magistrate for one year, the choice thereafter to be determined yearly by election.

The reply of Governor Mayhew was "no, he would not, he could not answer it." And, further, he gave them to understand his resolution to hold and defend the island until it should be forcibly taken out of his hands. These words from the lips of the eighty-year-old governor have a virile sound compared with the sanctimonious phrases of the rebels who were continually seeking Divine aid to get them out of their own difficulties.

Thomas Mayhew was not one to treat with rebels in the guise of sturdy yeoman thirsting for freedom, while seeking to do away with established government in time of war, bewailing all the while that

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they were "captured" by the Dutch and without government. The nearest conquering Dutchman was miles away and apparently unconscious of the Vineyard's existence. Perhaps Mayhew felt it was time enough to surrender when one saw the whites of the enemy's eyes, and not sooner. There was little doubt of his resolution to hold his position.

Following the governor's answer, the rebel party went into conference. One problem, at least, was solved. It would be unnecessary for them to further dissipate their energies in any attempt to win over the governor to their persuasion.

The next move of the democrats was the preparation of a petition addressed to the governor and assistants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in which the Massachusetts authorities were beseeched "for the Lords sake" to lend an ear unto "Gods Covenanting people in this wilderness" and to afford them protection from domestic and foreign enemies. It is not certain who constituted the domestic enemies, but the inference is that the petitioners feared the Mayhews as much as the Dutch. At least the Mayhews were at hand and fear of them had virtue in fact for the governor had threatened the insurgents with being made "tratcherous." This was something to fear.

Massachusetts refused to interfere in the plight of the Vineyarders or to be stamped by any flattering reference to her governor and his court as "the most noble in these parts of Amarika."

Answer was returned by the Court of Assistants of that colony advising the rebels to be "best eased" by their quiet yielding unto their former government and their wholesome laws under which they had so long lived.

This was a crushing blow to "God's Covenanting people in the wilderness." But the rebuff could not stop the momentum of the rebellion that had gone so far.

The two factions were openly at war. Warrants posted by the official government were torn down and constables sent to serve the governor's writs abused; the rebels "disdaining so much as any intimation of Right title of interest from his Royall Highness." When the wife of one of the supporters of the rump government was indicted for forcibly taking a warrant out of the marshal's hands, the opposition became so aroused that they threatened the governor, challenged his family, and shook fists at his retainers. They "managed their pos-

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sessions with such a high hand as to live according to their Profession, by the Sword" and it was only by restraint placed upon the official party by the aged governor that they were dissuaded "from using of the Sword in their Defence."

Young Matthew Mayhew, twenty-six, imbued by birth and service under the crown with the spirit of class distinction, found it hard to restrain his temper as he strode the streets of Edgartown and was challenged to sword play as one of the family. But the calm good sense of the governor prevailed and the blood of fratricidal war was not shed.

The rebellion and rump government at Martha's Vineyard were short lived. Differences between the English and the Dutch were adjusted at Westminster early in 1674. By terms of treaty New Amsterdam was again surrendered. On the 31st of October a new governor-general in the person of a dashing officer of dragoons, Major Edmund Andros, Seigneur of Sausmarez and Bailiff of the Island of Guernsey, reassumed authority at New York as lieutenant and governor-general to his royal highness James, Duke of York and Albany.

The rebels at Martha's Vineyard awaited the outcome with ominous forebodings.



CHAPTER XIV

THE NANTUCKET INSURRECTION

At Nantucket a corresponding eruption broke out, known to local historians as the Nantucket Insurrection. The rebellion at this island grew out of causes differing from those at Martha's Vineyard. It was not essentially a dispute between the Mayhew family and the body of freemen. It was primarily a contest between the first purchasers of the island, known as whole-shares men, and subsequent purchasers known as half-shares men.

Before effecting a plantation at Nantucket, the grantees of Thomas Mayhew had each chosen a partner, making twenty proprietors in all, thereafter known as the whole-shares men, from the fact that each owned a whole share in the island proprietary. Being agriculturists, they recognized the necessity of obtaining the services of seamen and tradesmen skilled in the several manual arts. They contracted for the services of additional proprietors to whom were granted limited or half-share rights in the island proprietary. It was not the intent of the original proprietors that the half-shares men should have equal privileges.

The whole-shares men considered themselves the landed gentry of the island, endowed under their purchase rights from Thomas Mayhew, not only with the ownership of the soil, but with the right of government.

The resident leader of this faction was Tristram Coffin, a man of good estate from Devon, England, who had been a judge of small causes at Salisbury in the Massachusetts Colony. Coffin was one of the original planters of the island. The Coffin family, father, five sons, and daughters with their husbands, formed a considerable part of the landed gentry.

The leader of the half-shares men was John Gardner from Salem, invited to the island for the purpose of establishing a cod fishery trade. He was a man endowed with a remarkable faculty for leadership, but was contentious and rebellious, and as is often the case with petty political leaders, a man of no great education, but an extremely good opportunist. His brother Richard, a mariner, was also one of the half-shares men, but unlike his brother, was a man of some education,

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and lacked John's love for disputation. The Gardner brothers had qualities that made them popular, and natural abilities that enabled them to become persons of prominence. Coffin and the Gardners were men of strong personalities, and having interests diametrically opposed were soon locked in a feud that extended over a period of years.

According to Henry Barnard Worth, an early investigator into the history of Nantucket: "Wealth, tone and influence were with the Coffin faction." The others represented the poorer classes composed mostly of mechanics. The land-owning aristocracy was supported by Thomas Mayhew.

In a character of the governor, the same author writes, "Thomas Mayhew lived at Edgartown and was called 'Governor,' for he was appointed to that office for life. It is said that his motive in buying these islands was to Christianize the Indians. But this will hardly explain his actions. The fact probably is that primarily he wanted a place where he could rule and govern and establish a manor. He was a born aristocrat and hated anybody who advocated rule by the people. The only practical aristocracy was that connected with land ownership. Tristram Coffin held exactly the same view."

This delineation of the character of Thomas Mayhew is defective in that there is nothing in his life to warrant the supposition that he "hated" those who advocated rule by the people. Mr. Worth's presentation of the Nantucket Rebellion is imperfect for the reason that he fails to sense the economic problem involved. It was more a politico-economic struggle, arising out of the peculiar land tenure of the proprietary, than a clash of classes.

An attempt has been made to surmount the uprising of the half-shares men with a halo not rightfully theirs. To place their revolt against the authority and rights of the first settlers on the basis of a declaration of independence against wrongs and persecutions is absurd. The half-shares men were neither wronged nor persecuted. They voluntarily assumed obligations knowing the conditions under which they were expected to live. They knew that under the terms of their contracts, and as society was then constituted, they were not to be of equal authority with the First Purchasers in regard to control and ownership of land.

There is no record of any complaint nor, apparently, did the half-shares men question the authority exercised by the whole-shares men

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until they found themselves in a position to control island politics by reason of their numbers and the capture of New York by the Dutch. They then proceeded to overthrow the government, not by and through the source under which that authority was held, but illegally and by means unethical. In this movement John Gardner, the youngest in point of residence, bore the conspicuous part.

When the Gardners obtained control of the local government they went in person to New York to submit to the governor-general for his choice of chief magistrate the names of the candidates nominated by the islanders. The governor commissioned Richard to be chief magistrate and John to be captain of militia.

The Gardners were not satisfied with these favors. They petitioned for rulings and changes in the plan of government that were abusive to the rights of the landowning class who had no representative present to protect its interests. From Lovelace, the Gardners obtained an instruction which purported to interpret the Lovelace charter to the town of Nantucket. This instruction construed all prior deeds to island lands derived from Thomas Mayhew to be of "noe force or Validity," and that the record of everyone's claim of interest on the island should bear date from the granting of the Lovelace patent.

Further, the governor construed the charter to run only in favor of freeholders who lived on the island and improved their property, or such others having "pretences of Interest" who should come and inhabit there. This was a blow aimed at Thomas Mayhew and the several non-resident Coffins and others of the original proprietors who had been instrumental in founding the island settlement and who had invested their money in its lands. The Gardners hoped to eventually confiscate the lands of these proprietors, which would thereupon revert to the undivided and common lands of the proprietary in which the half-shares men had an interest.

John Gardner was also able to induce the governor to confer upon him as captain of militia the power "to appoint such Persons for inferior Officers" as he in his discretion should judge "most fitt and capable." It was decreed he should hold office at the governor's pleasure. In the plan of government promulgated at the first conference the inhabitants had been conferred the power to elect all inferior military officers as should be thought needful.

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This had been the arrangement when the "aristocrats," Mayhew and Coffin, had represented the people of Nantucket, but as soon as the "democratic" Gardners were able to reach the governor's ear, the scheme of things was changed and the power of the people in military affairs reduced.

One salutary ruling Lovelace passed at this session of errors. This was a decree that "in regard of the Distance of the Place and ye uncertainty of Conveyance betwixt" New York and Nantucket, "ye Chiefe Magistrate and all the Civil Officers" should continue in their employment until the return of the governor's choice of a new chief magistrate was received. Irony lies in the fact that when this ruling was put into force by a political opponent, the Gardners immediately repudiated its effect.

The gorge of the Gardners has been pictured as rising each time they thought of Thomas Mayhew and his family endowed with hereditary and other privileges. Yet these men who had not participated in the early struggle of colonization, and who had invested no money in the enterprise, were ready and willing to receive to themselves a surprising number of privileges. They had entrenched themselves in power and had hamstrung the liberties of the original planters and chief owners of the soil of Nantucket.

Upon their return to Nantucket the newly Worshipful Richard Gardner, Esq., and Captain John Gardner deemed it expedient to bring with them a letter from the governor addressed to the inhabitants. In the letter Lovelace extended his thanks to the people of the island for the "Token" of "fifty weight of feathers"; at that time legal tender. The "token," which was paid in advance, appears to have been efficacious in winning the governor's good graces. In flowing words, the genial Lovelace, governor and tavern keeper extraordinary, pays his compliments to the Gardners "who have prudently Managed the Trust Reposed in them," and adds the promise that at any time the inhabitants had other proposals to make for the good of the island, they might rest assured of his honor's ready compliance therein (probably upon payment of another fifty pounds of feathers, although this is not mentioned).

With their return to the island the Gardners brought with them "a Book of Lawes of the Government." This was a copy of the "Dukes Laws." By the language of the code it is evident that its laws were

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not intended to extend to the province as a whole. The territories ruled by the Duke were not uniformly governed. The city of New York had one form of government, the three Ridings another, Pemaquid and Maine were embraced in neither framework of government, while, as we have seen, the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket had a separate form of government with an independent General Court. The Duke's laws are said by modern legal authorities to have applied originally only to the three Ridings. It was not until the administration of Edmund Andros that the Duke authorized the governor to proclaim them over the entire province.

The justices at Nantucket in their local courts were entitled to use the Duke's laws as a guide for internal affairs if they chose, but they went further and endeavored to force the code upon the entire island jurisdiction, in violation of procedure established at the conference of 1671, which had not been repealed. It was this book that disrupted the second session of the General Court referred to in the preceding chapter, and which led to Matthew Mayhew's attempted journey to the capitol. It is not known whether Matthew carried a "token of feathers," but had he done so it would have been useless. The island envoy did not reach New York.

The news brought back by Matthew that New York had been captured by the Dutch was received by the half-shares men with the same joy it had brought the malcontents at Martha's Vineyard. The opportunity was ripe for the half-shares men to throw off their contractual obligations to the first proprietors and to assert equal rights in the lands of the proprietary under the rulings obtained by the Gardners.

It was a law of New York that any grantee of land, not living thereon, failed to perfect his title thereto, and that said land should revert to the proprietary. The purpose of this law was to discourage land speculation by absentee owners. The application of the law to grants of land at Nantucket made by Thomas Mayhew prior to the time that island came within the jurisdiction of New York, was highly immoral. The Gardners, by leading Lovelace to say that the ducal charter to Nantucket had cut off prior rights from Thomas Mayhew and hence that the charter was not one of confirmation, had shrewdly made it possible for them to now go forward in an apparent scheme to dispossess some of the whole-shares men of their rights.

Fate having ordained a paralysis of the parent government, the

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Gardner faction was in a position, as expressed by one of their number to administer affairs on the island so that every card they played was an ace and every ace a trump. They proceeded to establish the hypothesis that the Lovelace charter to the freeholders of Nantucket proportioned to each person their inhabiting a like and equal interest in the lands of the proprietary. In this manner they purported to do away with the original distinction of whole and half-shares.

The crux of the situation lay in the fact that if all landholders were in equal ownership, each half-shares man in future divisions of land would receive a whole share instead of a half share, *i. e.*, twice as much land as had been agreed upon in exchange for his services, and would be entitled to pasture cattle and sheep in equal numbers with the whole-shares men. So far as is known the half-shares men paid nothing for their original rights, nor did they offer to pay for the added interests which they now claimed.

The Gardners stood for the confiscation of property without compensation.

The Lovelace charter had been one of confirmation, purporting to settle upon each man the interest held by him at the time of its execution. It was a confirmation by the Duke of York, as the new Lord Proprietor, of estates acquired upon the island by grants running back through Thomas Mayhew to the Earl of Stirling, whose rights had been purchased by the Duke from the Earl's heir. The charter did not purport to make void earlier deeds, nor did it make the novel attempt to proportion to each person holding a freehold a like and equal interest, each with the other.

In some respects the battle at Nantucket was like that waged in many New England settlements between proprietors of the common lands and the townsmen, but accentuated with the added problem of whole and half shares. Difficulty arose out of the fact that a distinction between proprietary and town as separate legal entities was not clearly perceived.

The proprietors of Nantucket attempted to control their property by permitting non-resident proprietors to vote, and perhaps also by proportionate voting, that is, by allowing each landowner to vote in proportion to the amount of land owned by him. If he owned a half-share he had a half-vote, if he owned a whole share he had a whole vote, and so on.

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These rules were fair and equitable in meetings devoted to proprietary purposes, but they were naturally undemocratic when applied to suffrage.

The early proprietors had regulated and divided lands in town meetings because the town meeting at first had been the meeting of the proprietary attending to business customarily handled in the manor courts of England. But in time came inhabitants who were small landholders. These claimed the right of suffrage, and claiming an equal vote in town affairs with the large landowners, were soon able to control and distribute the lands of the proprietary to suit themselves, in the guise that these things were town matters.

Writers who praise the conduct of the Nantucket insurgents as democrats fail to perceive the distinction between proprietary and town. They see only a struggle for equality in government and overlook the plundering of the proprietary. The struggle was not a struggle for the ballot, but a fight for land. At no time did the Gardnerites think of conferring suffrage on inhabitants of the town who were not landholders. Landless inhabitants had few rights in the seventeenth century, and the ballot was not one of them; this the Gardners in no wise thought undemocratic. Neither party was ahead of its day.

The arrival of Andros at New York acted as a temporary check to the conduct of the half-shares men. In the summer following the resumption of English government in the province, a group of whole-shares men met and appointed Mr. Matthew Mayhew and Mr. Tristram Coffin to go to the capitol to place the island situation before Andros.

With these envoys went Thomas Daggett, of Martha's Vineyard, son-in-law of Governor Mayhew. The emissaries appeared before the governor and council on the 4th of November, 1674. A statement of the late uprising at Martha's Vineyard was presented by Daggett and Mayhew who, in their address, referred to his Majesty's good subjects who had been awaiting the Duke's restoration of authority "as in Time of great Drouth for the latter Rain."

Acting for Nantucket, Mayhew and Coffin presented a letter relative to the land troubles of the island, and also, for the governor's perusal, a complete abstract of land titles at Nantucket, including a record of every sale and purchase made by the proprietors since the grant from Thomas Mayhew. They also informed the governor that

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there appeared several grounds of suspicion of an endeavor by some lately admitted to the island and several that formerly had been admitted to supplant the first proprietors of their rights by defective recordings and uncertain keeping of records, "and also by passing two several sorts of laws, the one against the other, and both overthrowing and taking away the former right" of the first proprietors. The address closed with a request for a ruling as to whether the Lovelace charter had been one of confirmation or whether it cut off the prior rights of the whole-shares men, and likewise whether any person having land on the island might not inhabit it by substitute.

The delegates propounded the question whether under the terms of their patent they had not the power "to Erect a Court or Meeting, as a Mannour Court," that lands granted by them might accordingly be held and enjoyed without interference by the town. They brought out the fact that the Nantucket judges of the Gardner party refused to sit and hence no legal court could be had on the island to adjudge problems. Several times had the judges been appealed to by the whole-shares men "but all in vain."

In soliciting the right to erect a manor court at Nantucket, Mayhew and Coffin were endeavoring to enforce the principle upon which the American proprietary was founded. They saw no reason why the distribution and control of proprietary lands should not be determined by the landowners in proportion to their landed holdings, as stockholders act in the modern corporation.

In the early days the government of the proprietary had in many respects resembled that of the manor. Disputes criminal and civil had been settled by the inhabitants, but mainly the proprietary had concerned itself with the control and distribution of lands, the rights of the inhabitants to firewood, pasturage, and other interests of like nature. Recordations of title and the names of those occupying and owning lands were kept in local records much as they were entered upon manor rolls.

The New England proprietary might broadly have been defined as a transplanted English manor without a lord.

The suggestion of a Manor Court was apparently rejected by Andros, but the governor did not entirely fail to heed the prayers of the island supplicants.

He ordered that the government "and Magistracy of ye Islands

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Martin's Vineyard and Nantucket" should be settled in the same manner and in the same persons as were legally invested therein at the time of the coming of the Dutch, or who had since been legally elected by virtue of his "Royall Highness Authority."

This the governor supplemented with a commission to the judges to call "Offenders to Account in Martin's Vineyard, &c.," for participation in the rebellion against the government in the days of the Dutch occupation of New York.

Pursuant to this power Thomas Mayhew proceeded to quash the rebellion at Martha's Vineyard, although he was able to do nothing at Nantucket for the reason that the Gardners still refused to convene in General Court.

The ringleaders at Martha's Vineyard were Simon Athearn and Thomas Burchard, the latter an ancestor of President Rutherford Burchard Hayes. In the early days of Great Harbor, Burchard had been a man of prominence, holding for a number of years the office of town clerk and the more important office of assistant to Mayhew. Declining for some reason in the favor of the Freemen of the town or the Patentee, he failed to again hold office after his election as assistant in 1656. At the same time he lost social caste in the eyes of the ruling family, as his name appears thereafter in the records without the title "Mr." earlier accorded him.

It is remarkable that Burchard was not prosecuted for his participation in the insurrection; perhaps due to his advanced years.

The first to feel the wrath of Governor Mayhew after the return home of the delegates from New York, armed with authority from Andros to punish transgressors, was Simon Athearn.

The dissatisfaction of Athearn with all things emanating from the Mayhew family was of chronic duration. Rebellious by nature, he led a strenuous and fruitful life among the early settlers of the Vineyard. At the time of his death he was reputed one of the wealthiest men in the community, not of the Mayhew family. A bitter opponent of the Mayhew rule, he was never a potent officeholder, but if there is merit in the belief that politics can be kept pure only by the maintenance of more than one party, he afforded his fellowmen immeasurable service by constantly keeping an opposition party in life.

He began his long career of breaking lances with the governing family by the purchase of land of the Indians without the consent of

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Thomas Mayhew. This brought him also in conflict with his fellow-townsmen and resulted in litigation which seems to have brought him spiritual comfort as well as material profit. Henceforth he was an intractable enemy of both the governor and the governor's grandson, Matthew. His battle cry was "lesser taxes" for the "poore" of Tisbury. As one of the largest landed proprietors of that town the slogan had to him a deep significance.

Summoned before the court of Martha's Vineyard, Athearn was found guilty of "high crime" and was accordingly bound over to the Supreme Court of the province where, upon conviction he might expect punishment extending to "life Limbe or Banishment."

The sentence of the court took the fight out of Athearn, as well it might. He threw himself upon the mercy of the tribunal, and although a young man aged about thirty-one years, swore upon oath that his fellow-citizen, Thomas Burchard, near four score in years, had been the cause which had seduced him to act in opposition to authority. Perhaps he reasoned that Burchard had not long to live and might well accept the punishment.

The court commuted sentence by levying a fine of twenty-five shillings in money and seven pounds in cattle or corn, and revoked its sentence binding Athearn over to the court at New York; but ordered that his "freedom" or right of citizenship be deprived him at its pleasure. For speaking against the sentence of the court in another case, Athearn was fined an additional ten pounds, one-half in money forthwith and the balance in produce.

The punishments were heavy, but the spirit of Athearn was not long downcast, and before the year is out he is found addressing a long letter to Governor Andros concerning the difficulties experienced by subjects at Martha's Vineyard not in the favor of the official circle. This was one of the first of a long series of letters concerning affairs at Martha's Vineyard with which Athearn was to bombard each succeeding governor.

In these letters Athearn recommended candidates for civil, judicial, and military offices, criticized laws, attacked the characters of the officeholders, and in general made himself an unsolicited nuisance. When he died the islanders were uniform in their opinion that a great civic leader had passed away.

When the conduct of the rebels, in defying Mayhew's authority in

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time of war, in boasting "that the longest sword would bear rule," and in challenging "the family of him" to physical combat, is considered, the governor of Martha's Vineyard island is to be commended that he did not originate a greater number of prosecutions after the restoration of peace. Only four cases are definitely known to have been instigated. It is quite possible that the remaining malcontents hastened to make their peace, and were forgiven. The conduct of Mayhew was gentle in comparison with punishments that would in modern days be inflicted for similar offenses.

Yet it is the opinion of the historian of Martha's Vineyard that the rebels "were simply being punished for seeking political freedom, and naturally had the sympathy of those in other colonies where the ballot was the poor man's weapon against oppression and arbitrary rulers." The statement overlooks the fact that the poor man in America did not have the ballot until the days of Andrew Jackson, long after. It further ignores the fact that the freemen of the Vineyard had the ballot in all town matters and for the election of all magistrates and judges, with the exception of the chief magistrate. Five out of six of the judges of the General Court were elected by the people. It is the opinion of many qualified legal authorities that the appointive method in the selection of a judiciary is preferable to the elective system; and that system has always been the vogue in the Federal Government.

The history of colonial America is replete with warfare between governors attempting to exercise prerogatives and freemen striving for a greater degree of recognition. This controversy constitutes the greater part of the political history of many of the American colonies prior to the Revolution. It is not surprising that Thomas Mayhew, whose administration as a proprietor and governor extended over a period of forty-one years, should have been drawn into this maelstrom of political thought and the war between proprietary and town.

Victory at Martha's Vineyard lodged with the governor and for the balance of his life he ruled unruffled over the island which he had colonized with so much genius.

Said he: "I have doune my best in settling these Isles: have passed through many Difficulties and Daungers in it, been at verry much Cost touching English and Indians."

(To be Continued)

The Expansion of Maine—Chronological— Based On Official Records

By JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



MAINE, the northernmost of the United States east of Michigan, extending beyond 47 degrees north latitude, is nearly as large as all the other New England States combined; its total area being 33,040 square miles, of which 29,895 square miles is land, and 3,145 square miles is water; as over 1,000 lakes cover one-tenth of the total area, besides a multitude of bays and inlets. The extreme length of the State is 300 miles; the extreme breadth 210 miles. The total area of the other five New England States is 33,425 square miles: Vermont having 9,565; New Hampshire 9,305; Massachusetts 8,315; Connecticut 4,990, and Rhode Island 1,250 square miles.

Maine has not been identified with the Vinland which, according to the Norse sagas, was discovered in the year 1000 A. D., by Leif, son of Eric, sent out by Olaf, King of Norway. John Cabot, a Genoese living in Bristol, England, being granted by King Henry VII right of possession to lands he should discover, sailed in May, 1497, with a crew of eighteen, mostly of Bristol, and discovered land, probably Cape Breton; and about 1550, Englishmen were fishing in the waters near Newfoundland, discovered in 1498 by Sebastian Cabot; where, however, Breton and Norman fishermen had preceded them about 1504, and Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese. David Ingram, Richard Brown and Richard Twide, of Richard Hawkins' exploration, 1567, are said to be the first whites to visit the interior of Maine. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold, in his ship "Concord," reached the southern coast of Maine, and sailed thence along the New England coast to Martha's Vineyard. In 1603, Capt. Martin Pring touched at Maine. In 1604, Samuel de Champlain sailed up the Penobscot River to the present Bangor, then called Norumbega, to meet the chief of the Abenaki Indians, Algonkin Waban, eastern (or dawn) and auke, land; and some of his Frenchmen tried settlement "on Isle des Monts Deserts" (Mt. Desert Island); soon abandoned. The Council for Plym-

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outh sent the ships "Mary & Jane," Capt. Raleigh Gilbert, and the "Gift of God," under Capt. George Popham, who sailed May 31, 1607, and arrived at the present St. George's Harbor, August 9, 1607; and on August 10 landed at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, now the Kennebec River; where they built a fort and a storehouse; but Chief Justice Sir John Popham, one of the heads of the Plymouth Company, having died, and his brother George dying in Maine not long after, the settlers returned to England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the surviving head of the Plymouth Company, sent Captain Richard Vines, who in September, 1616, built six cabins at Winter Harbor, now Biddeford Pool, and passed there the winter of 1616-17. On August 10, 1622, the Council for Plymouth granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason the territory between the Merrimac River and the Sagadahoc, "which they intend to name the Province of Maine"; and the first permanent settlements in Maine, as well as in New Hampshire, were made under this grant. Gorges' part was called New Somersetshire, 1635-39. I. Kittery settled, in 1623, as the part of Piscataqua (early Pascataquack) east of the Piscataquis River, across it from Portsmouth, New Hampshire; incorporated October 20, 1647, and named from Kettering, Northamptonshire, England, in 1652, under Massachusetts, which on October 14, 1651, offered the people of Piscataqua protection from enemies, and powers equal to the rest of the people within the liberties of Massachusetts, confirming their grants of land and the franchise of Massachusetts Colony, on the sole condition of taking the freeman's oath; the requirement of church membership for the privilege of voting, having been remitted by Massachusetts by the Act of May 26, 1647. (Records, Vol. II, p. 197.) Kittery was also granted two deputies, or representatives, in the General Court of Massachusetts. The Piscataqua tract included also Berwick (South Berwick and Eliot) 1652.

2. York, settled as Agamenticus (Accomenticus) in 1624; made a borough by Gorges, April 10, 1641; given a charter as a "citie," March 1, 1642, the first in the English American colonies, with the name Gorgeana, in honor of Gorges; its area to be a parallelogram, three miles lying on the sea, thence extending along the Organug (later called York) River inland, seven miles, or containing twenty-one square miles, and in 1639, 150 inhabitants; the settlers being from Kent, Sussex, and Somersetshire; the capital of Gorges' grant, called

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from 1635 to his new charter of April 3, 1639, New Somersetshire, but in the new charter, "The Province or Countie of Maine," containing about one-sixth of the present State. Sir Ferdinando Gorges died in England in May, 1647; and Agamenticus accepted the offer of Massachusetts to join her, November 22, 1652, the city charter being revoked; the settlement being incorporated as the town of York, and Gorges' province in 1658 had the authorized name of Yorkshire; and all the rights of the Gorges heirs in Maine, 80 by 120 miles, were assigned, May 6, 1677, by his grandson, to Massachusetts for £1,250 sterling. (Williamson: "History of Maine," Vol. I, p. 451.) Yorkshire was the only county in the province of Maine until 1760; the county court to be held twice a year at York and Kittery, alternately, until 1716, when York became the sole shire town until 1735. By the charter of 1691, Yorkshire covered the present State of Maine.

3. Berwick, settled as Newichawannock in 1627, was destroyed by the Indians in 1689; recommenced in 1703; incorporated ninth town June 9, 1713.

4. Bristol, settled as Pemaquid 1625, by John Brown; in 1629 granted to Aldsworth and Elbridge, of Bristol, England; incorporated June 18, 1765. Brown's deed from Samoset and Unongoit, July 15, 1625, was the first deed of land in the present Maine.

5. Brunswick, settled as Pejepscot in 1628; incorporated 1738; named from the English Royal House of Brunswick.

6. Saco, granted February 12, 1629, to Thomas Lewis and Capt. Richard Bonython by the Plymouth Company, and incorporated as the fourth town November, 1718; incorporated as Pepperellboro, June, 1762; Saco, 1805; a city March 18, 1867.

7. Biddeford, as Saco, south of Saco River, granted to Richard Vines (who passed there the winter of 1616-17) and John Oldham, February 1, 1630; Vines taking legal possession of that tract, four by eight miles, June 25, 1630; incorporated as Saco in 1653; separated from Saco, north of Saco River, in 1718, and named from Biddeford, England; a city in 1855.

8. Kennebunkport, settled as Cape Porpoise 1629, incorporated in 1653; reincorporated as Arundel 1717; named Kennebunkport, February 19, 1821.

9. Scarborough, settled about 1630 as Black Point; incorporated

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sixth town May, 1658, and named from Scarborough, in Yorkshire, England.

10. Boothbay, settled as Cape Newagen, about 1630. Later called Townshend; incorporated as Boothbay, November 3, 1764.

11. Old Orchard in Saco, settled 1631, by Richard Bonython; set off February 20, 1883; named from an orchard planted by Thomas Rogers about 1638.

12. Falmouth, settled 1632; incorporated 1718.

13. Portland, early Machigonne, settled at Cape Elizabeth, 1630, as Casco, which though named Falmouth by Massachusetts, July 13, 1658, persisted as the common name for nearly a century; George Cleaves and Richard Tucker being the first settlers at the present town, 1632. The Falmouth tract, eight miles wide, included the present towns of Cape Elizabeth, Falmouth, Westbrook, and Portland. Falmouth was destroyed by the Indians in 1676; resettled 1680, destroyed by the French and Indians in 1690; settled again 1716, and organized as Falmouth 1719; in 1735 made half shire town with York until 1760, when it became the shire town of the newly formed county of Cumberland. It was incorporated as Portland, July 4, 1786, and was the first seat of the State government organized 1820, and until 1831, when the seat was fixed at Augusta. It adopted a city charter March 26, 1832. It had 2,000 inhabitants in 1786, and 70,810 in 1930—much the largest city in Maine.

14. Wells, settled as Webhannet in 1640, by families from Exeter, New Hampshire; incorporated August 30, 1653, and named from Wells in Somersetshire, England.

15. Damariscotta, settled in Bristol in the Pemaquid patent about 1640; set off July 26, 1847.

16. Kennebunk, settled in Wells about 1650; set off June 24, 1820.

17. Georgetown, settlement begun 1638 at Nequasset; razed by Indians 1676 and 1688; incorporated as Georgetown June 13, 1716. Deeded by Sachem Robinhood to Rev. Robert Gutch, of Salem, Massachusetts, May 29, 1660; Bath from Georgetown, February 17, 1781. Named from Fort St. George.

18. Newcastle, settled as Sheepscot, later Dartmouth; destroyed in the French and Indian Wars before 1714; incorporated June 19, 1753.

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19. Wiscasset, settled 1663; incorporated February 13, 1760, and named Pownalborough from Governor Pownal; named Wiscasset June 10, 1802.

20. North Yarmouth, a grant 1680, five by two and one-half miles, named September 22, 1680. "Proprietary" until January, 1732, when incorporated; King William III, in 1691, confirmed the purchase made in 1677 by Massachusetts, and extended it to include the new province of Sagadahoc by charter, eastward from the Kennebec River; but the settlement of Maine was retarded by the incursions of the Indians, encouraged by the French of Acadie, now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, until the cession of Acadie to Great Britain in 1713. The French claimed the territory westward to the Kennebec River. Razellai, appointed governor of Acadie in 1632, had his seat at La Heve, now Liverpool, in western Nova Scotia; and his lieutenant, D'Aulnay, took Penobscot before Razillai died in 1635. Baron Jean Vincent de St. Castin, in 1667, settled there and married the daughter of the sachem, Madockawando; giving rise to the name of the later town, Castine; but in English records Majorbigwaduce or Bagaduce, Tarratine Indian Matchebiguatus.

21. Phillipsburg, settled 1716 as part of Georgetown; depopulated in Lovell's War; resettled in 1737; incorporated in 1814, and named from Sir William Phipps.

22. Harpswell, settled in 1720 in the Pejepscot purchase of 500,000 acres by Richard Wharton in 1684, as Merry Coneag; incorporated thirteenth town, January 25, 1758.

23. Topsham, settled in the Pejepscot purchase about 1730; incorporated in 1764.

24. Moscow, settled as Bakerstown, 1733; incorporated 211th town, January 20, 1816.

25. Lebanon, settled as Towwoh, 1733; incorporated June 25, 1867.

26. Woolwich Nequasset Plantation, begun in Georgetown 1638, but destroyed; resettled in 1734; set off from Georgetown October 20, 1759.

27. Bremen, settled in Bristol in 1735; set off February 19, 1828.

28. Baldwin, settled as Flintstown Plantation in 1735; incorporated 136th town, June 23, 1802; named from Loammi Baldwin, an early settler in the Plantation.

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29. Warren, settled by Ulster Scots in 1736; incorporated November 7, 1776.

30. Gorham, settled as Narragansett No. 7 in 1736; incorporated in 1764; named from Capt. John Gorham.

31. Windham, settled in 1737 as New Marblehead, by Thomas Chute and William Maybury, from Marblehead, Massachusetts; incorporated as Windham, June 12, 1762.

32. Sanford, bought by Major Phillips from the sagamores Fluelen, Sunday, and Hobinowell, and settled about 1740 as Phillipstown; devised by Mrs. Phillips to Peleg Sanford, September 29, 1696, and named from him when incorporated, February 23, 1768.

33. Friendship, settled as Meduncook or Sandy Harbour, 1743; incorporated February 25, 1807.

34. New Gloucester, settled in 1743; incorporated 1774; granted in 1735 to inhabitants of Gloucester, Massachusetts.

35. Buxton, settled as Narragansett No. 1, about 1748; incorporated seventeenth town, July 14, 1772.

36. Waldoboro', settled 1748 by German immigrants under the auspices of General Samuel Waldo; incorporated thirty-second town, June 29, 1773.

37. Gray, settled as New Boston about 1750, on a grant to Boston, Massachusetts, proprietors; incorporated thirty-ninth town, June 19, 1778; named from Thomas Gray, of Boston, a proprietor.

38. Stockton (Springs), settled in Prospect, about 1750; incorporated Stockton, March 13, 1857; Stockton Springs, February 5, 1889.

39. Standish, settled as Pearsonstown on a grant to Captain Pearson about 1750; incorporated November 30, 1785; named from Captain Miles Standish, Plymouth Pilgrim.

40. Dresden, settled in Old Pownalborough (now Wiscasset), in 1752, by French Protestants; incorporated June 25, 1794.

41. Cornville, first settled in 1749, as Bernardstown; incorporated February 24, 1798.

42. Hallowell, settled about 1754; incorporated April 26, 1771; named from Mr. Hallowell, who promoted the settlement, which included Augusta, Chelsea, and most of Manchester; it adopted a city charter February 17, 1852.

43. Cherryfield, settled about 1757, by Samuel Colson and others; incorporated February 9, 1816.

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44. Pittston, first permanent settlers in 1759; incorporated February 4, 1779; named from Sir William Pitt.

Until 1760, York County was the only county in Maine. Cumberland County was formed from the northern towns of York, March 12, 1760; and Lincoln County from the northeastern towns of York, June 19, 1760; leaving eight incorporated towns in York County; Cumberland County containing seven, and Lincoln five incorporated towns. Only a few outposts lay outside of the Gorges territory; that is, the southwestern corner of the present Maine; most of the settlements being on or near the seacoast.

45. Castine, a trading post of the Pilgrims, 1626, called by them Penobscot, the Indian Pentagoet, taken by the French in 1635; the seat of Baron Jean Vincent de St. Castin in 1667; ceded by the French in 1713, and was permanently settled by English in 1760, and called Majorbagaduce, or Bagaduce. It was in possession of the British, 1779-83, and incorporated February 10, 1796, as Castine, named from Baron de St. Castin.; shiretown, 1796-1838.

46. Readfield, settled in 1760; set off from Winthrop March 11, 1791.

47. Vassalboro, settled about 1760, chiefly by emigrants from Cape Cod; incorporated April 26, 1771.

48. Sidney, settled in 1760; set off from Vassalboro, seventy-sixth town, January 30, 1792; named from Sir Philip Sidney.

49. Gardiner, incorporated from Pittstown, April 26, 1771; named from Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, who in 1754 undertook to settle it.

50. Steuben, settled in 1760; incorporated February 27, 1795; named from Baron Steuben, famous drillmaster of American soldiers in the Revolution.

51. Frankfort, settled about 1760; incorporated seventieth town, June 25, 1789; when it included Prospect, Hampden, and Winterport, and parts of Belfast, Searsport, and Stockton.

52. Bowdoinham, settled near Fort Richmond; named from its owner, William Bowdoin, of Boston, and incorporated September 18, 1762.

53. Sullivan, settled as New Bristol, 1762; incorporated February 15, 1789; named from Sullivan early settler.

54. Fryeburg, settled in 1762, as Pequawket; incorporated January 11, 1777; named from General Joseph Frye, the original grantee.

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55. Sorrento, settled in 1762; incorporated from Sullivan, March 8, 1895.

56. Thomaston, a trading post in 1630; settlement temporary until 1763, by Mason Wheaton, in Waldo patent; incorporated March 20, 1777. Home of General Henry Knox of the Revolution, Secretary of War, 1785-95.

57. Bucksport, settled as Buckstown 1762; incorporated June 25, 1792; named from Colonel Jonathan Buck, early settler; name changed to Bucksport in 1817.

58. Sedgwick, settled as Naskeag in 1763; incorporated fifty-ninth town, January 12, 1789; named from Major Robert Sedgwick.

59. Bluehill, settled in 1762 as Plantation No. 5, later Newport; incorporated sixty-second town, January 30, 1789.

60. Durham, settled 1763 as Royallsborough; incorporated sixty-ninth town, February 17, 1789.

61. Ellsworth, settled in 1763 as New Bowdoin; incorporated February 20, 1840; a city February 6, 1869.

62. Deer Isle, settled in 1762 by William Eaton; incorporated sixty-third town, January 30, 1789.

63. Trenton, after temporary French settlement in the seventeenth century, settled in 1763; incorporated sixty-fifth town, February 16, 1789.

64. Mount Desert, settled but abandoned by French 1613, also about 1667; settled by English 1762; incorporated February 17, 1789.

65. Machias, trading post of Richard Vines, broken up by the French in 1633, who abandoned it in 1644; permanently settled by men from Scarborough and New Hampshire, May, 1763; incorporated forty-second town June 23, 1784; shiretown.

66. Jonesboro, settled as Chandler's River in 1763-64; incorporated March 4, 1809; named from John C. Jones, proprietor.

67. Hancock, settled 1764, parts of Sullivan No. 8 and Trenton; incorporated February 21, 1828.

68. Winslow, settled as Kingsfield, 1764; incorporated April 26, 1771, and named from General John Winslow.

69. Orland, first settled 1764; incorporated February 21, 1800.

70. Alfred, settled as north parish of Sanford in 1764, by Simeon Coffin; incorporated February 4, 1794; named from Alfred the

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Great, King of England; part of the terms of York County Court removed hither from York in 1807; the rest to Alfred in 1832 and continued until 1859; one term held in Saco since.

71. Cape Elizabeth, incorporated from Falmouth, November 1, 1765.

72. Harrington, settled about 1765; incorporated June 17, 1797.

73. Winthrop, settled in 1765 as Pondtown; incorporated April 26, 1771; named from General John Winthrop.

74. Vinalhaven, settled as South Fox Island, 1765; incorporated June 25, 1789; named from John Vinal, of Boston.

75. Hampden, settled in 1767 as Wheelersborough; named from Benjamin Wheeler, from Durham, New Hampshire, first settler; incorporated February 24, 1794; named from John Hampden, patriot.

76. Lyman, settled in 1767; incorporated as Coxhall, April 24, 1780; named from Theodore Lyman, of Boston, February 26, 1803.

77. Bangor, visited by Champlain, as Norumbega, 1604; French fort, 1656; settled as Kenduskeag by English, 1769; named from tune "Bangor"; city February 12, 1834; population 23,749 in 1930.

78. Camden, settled as Megunticook, by James Richards, May 8, 1769; incorporated February 17, 1791; named from Lord Camden.

79. Islesboro, settled as Long Island in 1769; incorporated January 28, 1789.

80. Belfast, settled in 1770 from Londonderry, New Hampshire; incorporated June 22, 1773; named from Belfast, Ireland; in British hands, 1779-84.

81. Stow, settled 1770; incorporated January 23, 1833.

82. Bridgton, settled as Pondicherry, 1770, by Captain Benjamin Kimball; named from Moody Bridges, of Andover, Massachusetts, a large proprietor; incorporated eighty-fifth town, February 7, 1794.

83. Lewiston, settled in 1770 as Lewistown; incorporated ninety-fifth town, February 18, 1795; a city March 15, 1861; organized March 15, 1863.

84. Jefferson, settled as part of Ballstown, 1770; incorporated February 24, 1807.

85. Canaan, settled as Wessarunset, 1770; incorporated fifty-seventh town, June 18, 1788.

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86. Raymond, settled by Joseph Dingley, 1771; incorporated June 21, 1803; named from W. Raymond.
87. Waldoboro; incorporated thirty-second town June 29, 1773.
88. Bowdoin, settled before 1773, as W. Bowdoinham; incorporated March 21, 1788.
89. Whitefield, settled about 1770 as the western part of Balls-town; incorporated June 19, 1809; named from Rev. George Whitefield.
90. Shapleigh, settled 1772 as Hubbardstown; incorporated forty-third town, March 5, 1785; named from Nicholas Shapleigh, of Kittery, who, with Francis Small, bought it from Sachem Sunday.
91. Greene, settled 1773 as part of Lewistown; incorporated fifty-fifth town, June 18, 1788; named from General Nathaniel Greene.
92. Wales, settled 1773; plantation 1803; incorporated February 1, 1816.
93. Norridgewock, settled 1773; incorporated fifty-fourth town, June 18, 1788; named from Norridgewog, Indian sachem.
94. Belgrade, settled 1774 as Washington Plantation; incorporated February 3, 1796.
95. Edgecomb, settled in 1774 as Freetown; incorporated March 5, 1774; named from Sir Richard Edgecomb, friend of America.
96. Fairfield, settled 1774; incorporated fifty-sixth town, June 18, 1788.
97. Orono, settled as Stillwater in 1774; incorporated 162d town, March 12, 1806; named from Orono, chief of the Tarratines.
98. Mount Vernon, settled in 1774 as Washington Plantation; incorporated June 28, 1792; named from President George Washington's estate.
99. Pembroke, settled as Pennamaquon 1774, and part of Denysville, until incorporated February 4, 1832.
100. Stark, settled in 1774; incorporated February 28, 1795; named from General John Stark, of the Revolution.
101. Hiram, settled in 1774; incorporated February 27, 1814; named from Hiram, of Tyre.
102. Webster, settled in 1774; incorporated March 7, 1840.
103. Lisbon, with Webster, from Bowdoin in Sagadahoc County; incorporated as Thompsonborough June 22, 1799; named Lisbon February 20, 1802.

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104. Union, settled July 19, 1774, as Taylor Town; named from Dr. John Taylor, proprietor and settler; organized as Sterlington Plantation May 3, 1786; incorporated as Union October 20, 1786.

105. Bethel, settled in 1774, as Sudbury Canada; incorporated June 10, 1796.

106. Appleton, settled in 1775; incorporated January 28, 1829.

107. Clinton, settled as Hancock Plantation in 1775; incorporated February 28, 1795.

108. Manchester, settled in 1775; incorporated August 12, 1850, as Kennebec, from parts of Augusta, Hallowell, Litchfield, Readfield, and Winthrop; named Manchester April 18, 1854.

109. Monmouth, settled in 1775 as Freetown; later, Bloomingborough and Wales; incorporated January 20, 1792, as Monmouth; named from Monmouth, New Jersey.

110. Waterford, settled in 1775; incorporated March 2, 1797.

111. Cornish, settled in 1776 as Francisborough and Francistown; named from Francis Small, who bought it from Sagamore Sunday; incorporated February 27, 1794.

112. Limerick, settled 1775-76 from Massachusetts and New Hampshire; incorporated March 6, 1787. One of five "Ossipee" towns purchased by Francis Small from Sagamore Sunday on November 28, 1668, with Limington, Cornish, Newfield, and Parsonfield, in York County, near the New Hampshire line.

113. South Thomaston, settled in 1776 as Wessawaskeag; set off from Thomaston July 28, 1848.

114. Litchfield, settled as Smithfield Plantation 1776, by Smith families; incorporated Litchfield February 18, 1795.

115. Farmington, settled about 1776; incorporated February 1, 1794.

116. Buckfield, settled April, 1777, by A. and N. Buck; incorporated March 16, 1793.

117. Otisfield, granted June 14, 1777, to Hon. James Otis and the heirs of Captain John Gorham, for Gorham's services against Canada in 1690; incorporated 115th town, February 19, 1798; named from Harrison Gray Otis, a proprietor.

118. Newfield, settled as Washington Plantation in 1778; incorporated February 26, 1794.

119. Calais, Township No. 5, settled in 1779; incorporated on June 16, 1809; city charter August 24, 1850.

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120. Paris, settled as No. 4, in 1779; incorporated eighty-second town, June 20, 1793; shiretown, 1805.
121. Avon, settled in 1779; incorporated February 22, 1808.
122. Embden, settled in 1779; incorporated June 22, 1804.
123. Leeds, settled as Littleborough, by Colonel Moses Little, in 1779; incorporated as Leeds, 128th town, February 16, 1801.
124. Addison, settled 1779; incorporated February 14, 1797.
125. Lubec, settled in 1780; incorporated from Eastport June 21, 1811; named from Lubec, Germany.
126. Montville, settled as Davistown in 1780; incorporated 163d town, February 18, 1807.
127. Northport, settled in 1780; incorporated February 13, 1796.
128. Eastport, settled in 1780 as Moose Island; incorporated as Eastport February 24, 1798; a city, March 31, 1893.
129. Lovell, settled in 1779; incorporated November 15, 1800.
130. Gilead, settled in 1780 as Peabody's Patent; incorporated June 23, 1804; named from Balm of Gilead trees there.
131. Rumford, settled in 1780 as New Penacook by Concord, New Hampshire, men; named from the Indian name of Concord; incorporated February 21, 1800, and named from Count Rumford (Sir Benjamin Thompson), proprietor.
132. Newry, settled as Sunday River, 1781; next called Bostwick; incorporated June 15, 1805.
133. Rome, settled as West Pond Plantation about 1780; incorporated 150th town, March 7, 1804.
134. Porter, settled as Porterfield about 1781; incorporated February 20, 1807; named from Aaron Porter.
135. Bath, incorporated from Georgetown, February 17, 1781.
136. Athens, settled in 1782; incorporated March 7, 1804.
137. Chesterville, settled 1782 as Chester and Wyman Plantations; incorporated February 20, 1802.
138. Hope, settled 1782 as Barrettstown, named from Charles Barrett, of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, original proprietor; incorporated June 23, 1804.
139. New Sharon, settled in 1782 as Unity by Prince Baker, of Pembroke, Massachusetts; incorporated June 20, 1794.
140. Solon, settled in 1782; southern part called Spauldingtown; incorporated February 23, 1809.

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141. New Portland, settled in 1783 on a grant to sufferers by the bombarding of Falmouth by the British fleet in 1783; incorporated March 9, 1808; named from the Portland part.

142. Concord, settled about 1784 by E. Heald; incorporated January 25, 1821.

143. Bingham, settled 1784; incorporated February 6, 1812; named from William Bingham.

144. Franklin, settled in 1784; incorporated January 24, 1825.

145. Mercer, settled in 1784; incorporated June 22, 1804.

146. Strong, settled in 1784 as Readstown; incorporated January 31, 1801; named from Governor Strong, of Massachusetts.

147. Perry, sold to General Benjamin Lincoln, 1783, as Plantation No. 1; soon settled; incorporated February 12, 1818; named from Commodore Perry.

148. Columbia, settled about 1785; incorporated February 8, 1796.

149. Cutler, settled from Machias, 1785; incorporated January 26, 1826; named from Joseph Cutler, of Newburyport, Massachusetts.

150. Surry, settled in 1785; incorporated January 21, 1803.

151. Eddington, settled in 1786; incorporated February 22, 1811; named from Jonathan Eddy, grantee.

152. Parsonfield, "Ossipee" town; incorporated March 1, 1785; Thomas Parsons, proprietor.

153. Dennyssville, settled 1786 by General Benjamin Lincoln; incorporated February 13, 1818; named from Denny, an Indian.

154. Edmunds, settled 1786; incorporated February 7, 1828; named from Edmund Hobart.

155. Norway, settled 1786 as Rustfield; Captain Rust, proprietor; incorporated 112th town, March 9, 1797.

156. Livermore, settled by 1786 as Port Royal; incorporated ninety-ninth town, February 28, 1795; named from Elijah Livermore.

157. Robbinston, granted to E. H. and N. J. Robbins, October 21, 1786, and soon settled; incorporated February 18, 1811.

158. Turner, settled as "Sylvester Canada," granted to Joseph Sylvester and others for service against Canada in 1690; incorporated forty-seventh town, July 7, 1786; named from Charles Turner, Esq.

159. Penobscot (Pentagoet), including Castine; incorporated February 23, 1787.

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160. Bowdoin; incorporated March 21, 1788.
161. Denmark, settled in 1788; incorporated February 20, 1807.
162. Hartford, settled as East Butterfield, 1788; incorporated June 13, 1798.
163. Sumner, settled in Butterfield 1788; incorporated June 18, 1798; named from Governor Increase Sumner.
164. Orrington, settled from Massachusetts as New Worcester Plantation; incorporated March 21, 1788; named for Orangetown.
165. Nobleborough, settled as Walpole; incorporated November 20, 1788; named from Arthur Noble, owner.
166. Freeport, settled as Harraseket; incorporated sixty-fourth town, from North Yarmouth, February 14, 1789; named from Sir Andrew Freeport.
167. Gouldsboro; incorporated February 16, 1789; named from Robert Gould, owner.
168. Andover, settled 1789; incorporated as East Andover, June 23, 1800.
169. Cushing; incorporated January 28, 1789.
170. Belmont, settled on Waldo Patent 1790; incorporated February 5, 1814.
171. Hermon, settled about 1790; incorporated June 13, 1814.
172. Sebago, settled by Lakin 1790; incorporated from Baldwin, February 10, 1826.
173. Windsor, settled in 1790; incorporated as Malta, March 3, 1809; named Gerry in 1820, Windsor in 1822.
174. New Vineyard, settled from Martha's Vineyard in 1791; incorporated February 22, 1802.
175. Phillips, settled 1791; Curvo, February 15, 1794; incorporated February 25, 1812.
176. China, settled as Jones' Plantation, 1791; incorporated as Harlem; settled by the Clark family, of Nantucket; parts of Harlem, Albion, and Winslow incorporated as China, June 5, 1818.
177. Belgrade, settled as Washington Plantation, 1791 (see No. 94); incorporated 102d town, February 3, 1796.
178. Canton, settled as Phippsburg, Canada, 1792; incorporated February 5, 1821, from Jay.
179. Dixfield, settled in 1795; incorporated June 21, 1803; named from Dr. Elijah Dix, of Boston, original proprietor.

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180. Hebron, settled as Shepardsfield; incorporated seventy-eighth town, March 6, 1792.
181. Limington, "Ossipee" tract; incorporated February 9, 1792.
182. Vienna, settled about 1792 as Goshen; incorporated 132d town, February 20, 1802.
183. Industry, settled about 1793; incorporated June 20, 1803.
184. Peru, settled from Falmouth and Westbrook, Maine, 1793; as Plantation No. 1, composed of Fox's, Lunt's (2), Peck's, and Thompson's grants, 1812; named Peru February 21, 1821.
185. Alna, settled as north precinct of Pownalborough; incorporated as New Milford, June 25, 1794; Alna, 1811.
186. Freedom, settled in 1794 as Smithtown Plantation; later, Bunker Hill; incorporated as Freedom, June 11, 1813.
187. Corinth, granted to John Peck, December 9, 1794; settled soon after as Ohio Plantation; incorporated as Corinth, June 21, 1811.
188. Newburgh, settled about 1794; incorporated March 13, 1819.
189. Pittsfield, settled 1794 as Plymouth Gore; incorporated as Warsaw, February 14, 1824; named from William Pitts, proprietor.
190. Prospect in Frankfort tract, set off February 24, 1794; including Searsport and Stockton; transferred from Hancock County to Waldo County in 1827.
191. Sweden, settled in 1794; incorporated February 26, 1813.
192. Charlestown, settled as New Charlestown in 1795, by Charles Vaughan; incorporated February 16, 1811; named from him.
193. Poland, settled as Bakerstown in 1795; incorporated as Poland February 17, 1795.
194. Jay, incorporated February 26, 1795; named from Hon. John Jay.
195. Fayette, settled as Starling Plantation, 1779; incorporated February 28, 1796.
196. Bar Harbor, as Eden, incorporated from Mt. Desert February 23, 1796; named Bar Harbor March 4, 1918.
197. Harmony, settled as Vaughantown, 1796, by Charles Vaughan, proprietor; incorporated as Harmony, June 15, 1803.
198. Temple, settled 1796, from Temple, New Hampshire; incorporated June 20, 1808.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

199. Augusta, Cushnoc Post 1629, 1703; permanent, 1754-70; incorporated as Harrington, February 20, 1797; shiretown, 1799; Augusta capital of the State of Maine in 1831; made a city in 1849.
200. Freeman, settled in 1797; incorporated March 4, 1808; named from Samuel Freeman, of Portland, a proprietor.
201. Woodstock, settled in 1797 as No. 3; Little's grant; incorporated February 7, 1815.
202. Anson, settled as Township No. 1; incorporated March 1, 1798.
203. Wayne, settled as New Sandwich; incorporated February 12, 1798; named from General Anthony Wayne.
204. Hollis; incorporated as Phillipsburg, February 27, 1798.
205. Jackson, settled about 1798; incorporated June 12, 1818.
206. Brooks, settled 1799 as Washington Plantation; incorporated December 10, 1816.
207. Dixmont, grant to Bowdoin College, settled in 1799; incorporated February 28, 1807; named from Dr. Dix, with Dr. Blair, the purchasers.
208. Levant, settled before 1800 as Kenduskeag Plantation; incorporated June 14, 1813.
209. Hudson, settled about 1800; Jackson Plantation in 1824; incorporated as Kirkland, February 25, 1825; named Hudson, 1854.
210. Stetson, settled about 1800; incorporated January 28, 1831; named from Amasa Stetson, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, proprietor.
211. Albany, settled as Oxford Plantation, 1800; incorporated June 20, 1803.
212. Knox, settled in 1800; incorporated February 12, 1819; named from Governor Henry Knox, of the Revolution.
213. Monroe, settled in 1800; incorporated as Lee Plantation, 1812; named February 12, 1818, from President James Monroe.
214. Hartland, settled about 1800; incorporated February 17, 1820.
215. Palmyra, settled about 1800; incorporated June 20, 1807.
216. St. Albans, settled in 1800; incorporated June 14, 1813.
217. Dexter, settled in 1801; incorporated June 17, 1816; named from Hon. Samuel Dexter.

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218. Morrill, settled 1801; incorporated from Belmont, March 3, 1855; named from Governor Anson P. Morrill.

219. Exeter, settled by Lemuel Tozier, 1801, as Blaisdeltown; named by settlers from Exeter, New Hampshire; incorporated February 16, 1811.

220. Albion, settled as Freetown Plantation in 1802; incorporated as Fairfax, March 9, 1804; later named Lygonia, and on February 25, 1824, Albion.

221. Minot, incorporated from Poland, February 18, 1802; named from Judge George R. Minot, of Massachusetts, who died January 2, 1802.

222. Brownfield; incorporated February 20, 1802; named from Henry Y. Brown, large original proprietor.

223. Garland, settled by Joseph Garland, 1802; incorporated February 16, 1811.

224. Greenwood, settled as Plantation No. 4, in 1802; incorporated February 2, 1816.

225. Lincolnville, incorporated from Ducktrap and Canaan Plantations, June 23, 1802.

226. Waterville; incorporated from Winslow, June 23, 1802; city February 28, 1883.

227. St. George; incorporated from Cushing, February 7, 1803.

228. Bradford, settled in 1803 as Blakesburg; incorporated as Bradford, March 12, 1831.

229. Gardiner; incorporated Pittston, February 17, 1803; city, 1850; name from chief owners.

230. Milo, settled in 1803 by Ben. Sargent and Moses and Stephen Snow; incorporated January 21, 1823.

231. Sangerville, settled as Amestown 1803, by P. Ames; incorporated June 13, 1814; named from Calvin Sanger, proprietor.

232. Sebec, settled in 1803 by Ezekiel Chase; incorporated February 28, 1812; named from Sebeco Lake.

233. Carthage, settled in 1803; incorporated February 20, 1826.

234. Wilton, settled as Tyngtown; incorporated June 22, 1803.

235. Ripley, settled 1804; incorporated December 11, 1816; named from General Eleazer W. Ripley.

236. Madison; incorporated March 7, 1804; named from President Madison.

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237. Searsmont, settled 1804 on Waldo Patent; incorporated February 5, 1814; Sears, Thorndike, and Prescott, proprietors.
238. Palermo, settled as Sheepscoot Great Pond; incorporated June 23, 1804.
239. Unity; incorporated June 22, 1804; Thaddeus Carter first settler.
240. Waltham, settled 1804; incorporated January 29, 1833.
241. Atkinson, settled 1804 by Bylie Lyford; incorporated February 12, 1819; named from Judge Atkinson, of New Hampshire.
242. Harrison; incorporated from Bridgton and Otisfield, March 8, 1805; named from Harrison Gray Otis, of Boston.
243. Kingfield, settled about 1806, as No. 3, R. I.; incorporated as Kingfield, January 24, 1816; named from William King, first Governor of Maine.
244. Guilford, settled 1806 as Lowtown; incorporated February 8, 1816.
245. Dover, settled 1806, one of six townships granted to Bowdoin College, 1794; incorporated February 12, 1812.
246. Foxcroft, settled 1806; incorporated 1812; named from Joseph E. Foxcroft; union with Dover effective by Act of March 1, 1822.
247. Etna, settled May 27, 1807, as Crosbytown, from John Crosby, proprietor, by B. and P. Friend; incorporated February 15, 1820.
248. Abbot, one of the six Bowdoin College towns, settled in 1807; incorporated January 31, 1827.
249. Madrid, settled in 1807-08; incorporated January 29, 1836.
250. Newport, settled in 1808 as East Pond Plantation; incorporated June 14, 1814.
251. Amherst, settled about 1808; set off from Manville, 1822; incorporated February 5, 1831.
252. Pownal, incorporated from Freeport, March 3, 1808.
253. Otis, settled about 1808; incorporated March 19, 1835; named from Joseph Otis, original proprietor.
254. Charlotte, settled as No. 3, in May, 1809; incorporated January 19, 1825.
255. Aurora, settled 1805-10; organized 1822; incorporated February 1, 1831.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

256. Alexander, settled as Plantation No. 16, in 1810; incorporated January 19, 1825.

257. Dedham, settled about 1810, as No. 8; incorporated February 7, 1837.

258. Eliot, upper or north parish of Kittery; incorporated March 1, 1810.

259. Washington; incorporated as Putnam from Union, February 27, 1811; Washington, January 31, 1823.

260. Carmel, settled as Plantation No. 3, Range 2; incorporated as Carmel, June 21, 1811.

261. Brewer, incorporated from Georgetown, February 22, 1812; city, February 28, 1889; named from John Brewer, early settler and first postmaster.

262. Cooper, settled as No. 15, in 1812; incorporated February 6, 1822.

263. Dover-Foxcroft, organized as Plantation No. 3, 1812; incorporated January 19, 1822.

264. Greenfield, settled in 1812; incorporated 1831.

265. Troy, settled as Bridgton Plantation; incorporated February 22, 1812, as Kingville, later called Joy and Montgomery; February 10, 1827, Troy.

266. Monroe, settled as Lee Plantation, 1812.

267. Bloomfield (or Wessarunsett); incorporated from Canaan, February 5, 1814.

268. South Berwick, or Unity Parish; incorporated from Berwick, February 12, 1814.

269. Westbrook; incorporated as Stroudwater, from Falmouth, February 14, 1814; named from Colonel Westbrook, June 9, 1814; city, February 26, 1821.

270. Wellington, settled about 1814 as Bridge's Town; incorporated February 23, 1828.

271. Clifton, settled as Maine about 1815; incorporated Clifton, August 7, 1848.

272. Princeton, settled as Township No. 17, in 1815; incorporated February 3, 1832.

273. Corinna; incorporated December 11, 1816.

274. Fort Fairfield, settled from New Brunswick, 1816; incorporated March 11, 1858; fort name from Governor John Fairfield.

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275. Weld, settled as Webb's Pond; incorporated February 14, 1816, and named from Benjamin Weld, of Boston, proprietor.

276. Brooksville; incorporated from parts of Castine, Penobscot, and Sedgwick, June 13, 1817; named from Governor Brooks, of Massachusetts.

277. Mexico (Holmanstown); incorporated February 13, 1818.

278. Swanville; incorporated February 19, 1818.

279. Monson, settled in 1818; incorporated February 8, 1822.

280. Brownville, organized as plantation, 1819; incorporated February 3, 1824.

281. Lowell, settled in 1819; incorporated February 9, 1837.

282. Thorndike, settled as Lincoln Plantation; incorporated February 15, 1819; named from Israel Thorndike, proprietor.

The expansion of the Province of Maine, otherwise York County, in 1760, indicated the spread of settlements, which the addition of Cumberland and Lincoln counties was designed to furnish with nearer courts and county functions; but from 1760 to March 15, 1820, when Maine ceased to be a district of Massachusetts, and was admitted as a State into the Union, the number of incorporated towns had increased from twenty to two hundred and thirty-six; and yet the northern half of the new State remained a wilderness of woods almost without a settlement; and many of the inland settlements in the southern half were small and isolated, called plantations; having local organization and local officers; but too feeble and too uncertain of permanent existence to be granted corporate powers by Massachusetts until numbers and long tenure of existence had proved their competence for corporation powers and functions; in consideration of their feebleness, Massachusetts required no tax; and often growth was so slow that a generation elapsed between settlement and incorporation; yet with such settlements as survived, the age properly dates from permanent settlement rather than from incorporation; the conditions and their results more resembling those in western Massachusetts and in Vermont, than in eastern Massachusetts, growing from plantations into towns, even to this day.

283. Mariaville, in 1820 organized plantation; incorporated February 29, 1836.

284. Cumberland; incorporated 1821, from North Yarmouth.

285. Williamsburg, Waldo County, incorporated June 21, 1821.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

- 286. Waldo, organized a plantation July 6, 1821; incorporated March 17, 1845.
- 287. Owl's Head; incorporated from South Thomaston, July 9, 1821.
- 287a. Waltham; incorporated from Mariaville, 1822.
- 288. Parkman; incorporated January 29, 1822; named from S. Parkman.
- 289. Salem, incorporated as New Salem, January 10, 1823, from parts of Freeman, Phillips and Bingham's Purchase.
- 290. Skowhegan; incorporated as Milburn, February 5, 1823, from Canaan; Skowhegan, March 25, 1836.
- 291. Richmond at Fort Richmond, built 1719; incorporated February 10, 1823, from Bowdoinham.
- 292. Medford; incorporated as Kilmarnock, January 31, 1824; named Medford, in 1856.
- 293. Burnham, settled as "25 Mile Pond Plantation"; incorporated February 4, 1824.
- 294. Greenville, settled by Nathaniel Haskell, 1824; incorporated February 6, 1836.
- 295. Maxfield, settled on Bridgton Academy grant; incorporated February 6, 1824.
- 296. Lee, settled in 1824; incorporated February 3, 1832; named from James, Nathan, Purchase, and Stephen Lee, settlers, 1832.
- 297. Baring, incorporated January 19, 1825.
- 298. Beals; incorporated from Jonesport, July 11, 1825.
- 299. Lincoln, settled about 1825; incorporated January 30, 1829.
- 300. Shirley, settled as Truettown, 1825; incorporated March 9, 1834.
- 301. Whiting, settled as Orangetown; incorporated February 15, 1825.
- 302. Howland; incorporated February 10, 1826.
- 303. East Machias; incorporated from Machias, January 24, 1826.
- 304. Machiasport; incorporated from Machias, January 24, 1826.
- 305. Mason, settled in 1826; incorporated February 3, 1843.
- 306. Plymouth; incorporated February 21, 1826.
- 307. Liberty; incorporated January 31, 1827.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

- 308. Trescott, settled as No. 9; incorporated February 7, 1827.
- 309. Baileyville; incorporated February 19, 1828.
- 310. Westport, settled as Jeremisquam; incorporated from Edgcomb, February 5, 1828.
- 311. Crawford; incorporated as Adams, February 11, 1828; Crawford, February 23, 1828.
- 312. Detroit; incorporated as Chandlerville, February 19, 1828; Detroit, 1844.
- 313. Orneville, settled as Boyd's Plantation; incorporated as Milton, January 30, 1832; named Almond, 1842; Orneville named from Judge Henry Orne, a proprietor.
- 314. Danforth, settled by Tewksbury, 1829; incorporated March 16, 1860.
- 315. Oxford; incorporated February 27, 1829, from Hebron.
- 316. Washburn, settled 1829; incorporated February 25, 1861; named from Governor Israel Washburn.
- 317. Bancroft, settled 1830 by C. Gellerson; incorporated February 5, 1889; named from George Bancroft, American historian.
- 318. Springfield, settled in 1830; incorporated February 12, 1834.
- 319. Acton; incorporated from Shapleigh, May 16, 1830.
- 320. Cranberry Isles; incorporated March 16, 1830.
- 321. Reed Plantation, settled 1830 as Township No. 1, R. 3, by John Clifford.
- 322. Houlton, settled by Joseph Houlton; incorporated March 8, 1831.
- 323. Blanchard; incorporated March 17, 1831.
- 324. North Berwick; incorporated from Berwick, March 22, 1831.
- 325. Carroll, settled in 1831, as Township No. 6, R. 2; incorporated March 30, 1845.
- 326. Ludlow, organized with New Limerick on Belfast Academy grant, 1831; incorporated March 21, 1864.
- 327. New Limerick, organized on Belfast Academy grant, 1831; incorporated March 18, 1837.
- 328. Glenburn; incorporated January 29, 1832, as Dutton; named Glenburn March 18, 1837.

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329. Hodgdon, from Groton and Westfield, Massachusetts, Academy grants; incorporated February 11, 1832; named from original proprietors.

330. Burlington; incorporated March 8, 1832.

331. Jonesport; incorporated February 3, 1832.

332. Lagrange; incorporated February 11, 1832.

333. Topsfield, first settler Nehemiah Kneeland, of Topsfield, Massachusetts, 1832; incorporated February 24, 1838.

334. Waite, settled as No. 2, R. 2, by J. Dudley and E. Fogg, 1832; incorporated 1876.

335. Beddington; incorporated January 31, 1833.

336. Wesley; incorporated January 24, 1833.

337. Massardis, settled 1833 at No. 10, R. 5; incorporated March 21, 1839.

338. Milford; incorporated February 28, 1833; named from its mills.

339. Henwood Plantation, settled 1833 by Seth Spaulding, of Dover, Maine.

340. Byron (Skillertown); incorporated January 24, 1833.

341. Marion; incorporated January 31, 1834.

342. Stoneham; incorporated January 31, 1834.

343. Barnard; incorporated from Williamsburg, February 8, 1834.

344. Cambridge; incorporated from Ripley, February 8, 1834.

345. Chester; incorporated February 26, 1834.

346. Greenbush; incorporated February 28, 1834.

347. Naples; incorporated from Otisfield, Harrison, Raymond, Bridgton, and Sebago, 1834.

348. Edinburg; incorporated January 31, 1835.

349. Enfield; incorporated January 31, 1835.

350. Bradley; incorporated February 3, 1835.

351. Roxbury, settled as No. 7; incorporated March 17, 1835.

352. Weston; incorporated from Hampden Academy grant, March 17, 1835.

353. Macwahoc, settled 1835, as No. 1, R. 4; organized plantation December 16, 1851.

354. Amity; incorporated March 19, 1836.

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355. Linneus, settled 1828, by Daniel Neal, of New Brunswick; incorporated March 19, 1836.
356. Eastbrook; incorporated February 8, 1837.
357. Moro, settled in 1837; organized as Rockabema, 1850; Moro, 1860.
358. Ashland, settled from Kennebec Valley about 1837; incorporated February 18, 1862; named Dalton, 1869; renamed Ashland in 1876.
359. Northfield, settled as No. 24; incorporated March 21, 1838.
360. Smyrna, settled 1830; incorporated March 7, 1839.
361. Argyle; incorporated March 19, 1839.
362. Smithfield; incorporated from Dearborn, February 29.
363. Old Town; incorporated from Orono, March 16, 1840; city, February 19, 1891.
364. Crystal, organized as No. 4, R. 5, in 1840; incorporated March 21, 1901.
365. Eagle Lake, settled 1840 by Sefroi Nadeau and R. Woods; incorporated in 1911; named from white-headed eagles there.
366. Oxbow Plantation, settled in 1840; organized in 1870.
367. Arrowsic; incorporated from Georgetown, 1841.
368. Fort Kent, built in 1841; village settled as No. 18, R. 6 and 7, by Acadian French; incorporated February 23, 1869; named from Governor Edward Kent, of Maine.
369. Casco; incorporated from Raymond, March, 1841.
370. Meddybemps; incorporated from Baring, Cooper, and Charlotte, February 20, 1841; named from Meddybemps Lake.
371. Patten; incorporated April 16, 1841.
372. Southport, settled as Townsend; incorporated from Boothbay, February 12, 1842; named Southport in 1850.
373. Auburn; incorporated from Minot, February 24, 1842; shire town; city, February 22, 1869.
374. Benton; incorporated as Seabastcook, March 16, 1842; named Benton, 1850.
375. Centerville Plantation, No. 23; incorporated March 16, 1842.
376. Hanover; incorporated from Bethel, February 14, 1843.
377. East Livermore; incorporated from Livermore, March 20, 1843.

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378. Island Falls, settled in 1843 from Farmington; incorporated February, 1872; named from an island in Mattawamkeag River.
379. West Bath; incorporated from Bath, February 14, 1844.
380. Alton; incorporated from Argyle, March 9, 1844.
381. Whitneyville; incorporated from Machias, February 10, 1845.
382. Searsport; incorporated from Prospect, February 13, 1845; named from David Sears, of Boston.
383. Marshfield; incorporated from Machias, June 30, 1846.
384. Monticello, settled as Wellington Township, 1835; incorporated as Monticello, July 29, 1846.
385. West Haven; incorporated Fox Island, from Vinalhaven, June 30, 1846; West Haven, July 13, 1847.
386. Wade, settled as Township No. 3, R. 4, in 1846; organization of, 1859; lost, 1862; reorganized May 2, 1874; incorporated March 14, 1913.
387. Winterville Plantation, settled as No. 15, Range 7, in 1846, by Thomas Goss; organized, 1884; named Hill, March 28, 1903; Winterville, 1907.
388. Rockland; incorporated as East Thomaston, July 28, 1848; named Rockland, 1850, from the limestone there.
389. Wessawaskeag; incorporated from Thomaston, July 28, 1848.
390. Milbridge; incorporated from Harrington, July 14, 1848.
391. Limestone, settled in 1849, by General Mark Trafton; incorporated February 26, 1869; named from the limestone there.
392. Tremont, settled and incorporated from Mt. Desert, as Mansel, June 3, 1848; named Tremont August 8, 1848.
393. Brooklin; incorporated from Sedgwick, as Port Watson, June 9, 1849. Brooklin, July, 1849.
394. Yarmouth; incorporated from North Yarmouth, August 8, 1849.
395. West Gardiner; incorporated from Gardiner, August 8, 1850.
396. Chelsea; incorporated from Hallowell, August 17, 1850.
397. Kenduskeag; incorporated from Levant and Glenburn, February 20, 1852.
398. Farmingdale; incorporated from parts of Hallowell, Gardiner, and West Gardiner, April 3, 1852.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

- 399. Holden; incorporated from Brewer, April 13, 1852.
- 400. Deblois, part of Bingham's "South Million Acre Purchase"; incorporated March 4, 1852; named from T. A. Deblois, president of City Bank, Portland, early owner.
- 401. Medway, plantation, 1852; incorporated February 8, 1875.
- 402. Veazie; incorporated North Bangor, March 26, 1853; named from Sam Veazie.
- 403. Woodville, Indian Township, No. 2, organized 1854; incorporated February 28, 1895.
- 404. Dayton; incorporated from Hollis, April 7, 1854; named from Thomas Day.
- 405. Rangeley; incorporated March 8, 1855; named from James Rangeley, first proprietor.
- 406. Littleton; incorporated March 18, 1856, from Framingham Academy and Williams College, Massachusetts, grants.
- 407. Orient; incorporated April 9, 1856.
- 408. Winn, settled as Five Islands; incorporated as Winn, March 21, 1857.
- 409. Prentiss, settled as Township No. 7, R. 3; incorporated as Prentiss, February 27, 1858.
- 410. Silver Ridge, half of No. 2, R. 5; organized plantation, July 20, 1863.
- 411. Bridgewater; incorporated from Bridgewater and Portland Academy grants, March 2, 1858.
- 412. Somerville; Patricktown Plantation; incorporated as Somerville, March 25, 1858.
- 413. Presque Isle; incorporated April 14, 1859.
- 414. Canton; incorporated April 5, 1859.
- 415. Caribou, settled 1839; incorporated April 5, 1859.
- 416. Kindman, settled as No. 6, R. 4; organized as McCrillis Plantation, July 4, 1859; reorganized as Independence Plantation, March 28, 1866; incorporated February, 1873; named from R. S. Kingman.
- 417. Westfield, from Deerfield and Westfield Academy grants, Massachusetts.
- 418. Upton, settled as Letter B Plantation; incorporated February 9, 1860.
- 419. Winterport; incorporated from Frankfort, March 12, 1860.

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- 420. Mattawamkeag; incorporated February 14, 1860.
- 421. Verona, settled as Wetmore Isle; incorporated February 18, 1861.
- 422. Woodland, settled as Township No. 14, R. 3; organized W. Plantation, 1861; incorporated March 5, 1880.
- 423. Perham, settled 1860; organized plantation, 1867; incorporated March 26, 1897; named from Governor Sidney Perham.
- 424. Sherman, settled as Golden Ridge; incorporated Sherman, January 28, 1862.
- 425. Columbia Falls; incorporated from Columbia, March 25, 1863.
- 426. Easton, settled as Fremont Plantation; incorporated February 24, 1864.
- 427. Mount Chase; incorporated March 21, 1864.
- 428. Frenchville, settled by Father Dionne as Dionne Plantation; incorporated as Dickeyville, February 23, 1869; Frenchville, January 26, 1871.
- 429. Grand Isle, settled by the N. B. French; incorporated March 2, 1869; named from an island in St. John River.
- 430. Madawaska, settled by French from Nova Scotia; incorporated from Township No. 18, R. 4 and 5, March 24, 1869; named from Madawaska River.
- 431. Mars Hill, organized plantation, 1866; incorporated February 21, 1867.
- 432. Oakfield, settled 1831; a plantation April 17, 1866; incorporated February 25, 1897.
- 433. Lamoine, settled first by French, seventeenth century; incorporated from Trenton, February 11, 1870.
- 434. New Sweden, settled by farmers brought from Sweden, July 23, 1870, by William W. Thomas, consul and commissioner to Sweden; incorporated January 29, 1895.
- 435. Eustis; incorporated February 18, 1891.
- 436. Benedicta; incorporated 1872; named from Bishop Benedict Fenwick, of Boston, owner.
- 437. Portage Lake, as Township No. 13, R. 6, organized 1872; incorporated March 24, 1909; named from Portage Lake.
- 438. Oakland, settled as West Waterville; incorporated February 26, 1873; named Oakland March 10, 1883.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

439. Hersey, as No. 5, R. 5; organized as Dayton Plantation; incorporated as Hersey, January 25, 1873.
440. Blaine, as Alva; incorporated February 10, 1874; named from James G. Blaine.
441. Chapman, as Township No. 11, R. 3; organized 1874; incorporated March 11, 1915.
442. Isle au Haut; incorporated from Deer Isle, February 28, 1874; transferred from Hancock County to Knox County, March 12, 1913.
443. Vanceboro; incorporated March 4, 1874; named from William Vance.
444. Talmadge Plantation; incorporated February 8, 1875.
445. Merrill, as Township No. 6, R. 4; organized 1876; incorporated 1911.
446. Haynesville; incorporated in 1876, from Haynesville Plantation, No. 2, R. 2; Leavitt Plantation, No. 3, R. 2, and Greenwood Plantation, western half of No. 9.
447. Leavitt, set off from the above, in 1877.
448. Connor, organized from Letter K, R. 2, in 1877; incorporated March 18, 1913; named from Governor Selden Connor.
449. Caswell, settled as Township F, R. 1; organized as Pleasant Ridge in 1878; reorganized 1879, and named from E. S. Caswell, the first settler.
450. Mapleton, settled 1836; incorporated in March, 1880.
451. Nashville Plantation; organized April 17, 1880.
452. New Canada, as No. 17, R. 6; organized November 9, 1881, as Casco Plantation.
453. Van Buren; incorporated 1881; named from President M. Van Buren.
454. Willimantic; incorporated as Howard, February 22, 1881; Willimantic, February 3, 1883.
455. Brookton; incorporated March 2, 1883.
456. Cary Plantation, organized as No. 11, R. 1, June 30, 1859; reorganized January 27, 1883, and named from Shepard Cary.
457. Passadumkeag; incorporated January 1, 1885.
458. Garfield, settled as No. 11, R. 6; organized April 13, 1885.
459. Hammond Plantation, as Letter B, R. 2; organized as Hammond, February 17, 1886.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

- 460. Randolph; incorporated as West Pittston, March 4, 1887; named Randolph March 17, 1887.
- 461. Bowerbank, organized November 27, 1887; incorporated February 27, 1907.
- 462. Boothbay Harbor; incorporated from Boothbay, February 16, 1889.
- 463. Rockport; incorporated from Camden, February 25, 1891.
- 464. Roque Bluffs, settled as Englishman's River; incorporated from Jonesboro, March 12, 1891.
- 465. Dyer Brook; incorporated March 31, 1891.
- 466. Westmanland, settled as No. 15, R. 4, by Swedes from New Sweden; organized June 1, 1892; named from Westmanland Province, Sweden.
- 467. Mechanics' Falls; incorporated from Minot and Poland, March 22, 1893.
- 468. Stockholm, settled as No. 16, R. 3, by Swedes from New Sweden; organized March 23, 1895; incorporated 1911; named from Stockholm, the capital of Sweden.
- 469. Winter Harbor; incorporated from Gouldsboro, February 21, 1895.
- 470. Allagash, organized as Townships No. 16, R. 10 and 17, R. 11; named from Allagash River, June 24, 1896.
- 471. St. Agatha; incorporated from Frenchville, March 17, 1897.
- 472. Swan's Island; incorporated March 26, 1897.
- 473. Stonington; incorporated from Deer Isle, February 18, 1897.
- 474. Plantation; organized September 26, 1898.
- 475. Millinocket; incorporated from Indian Township, No. 3, March 16, 1901.
- 476. Castle Hill, settled 1843; incorporated February 25, 1903.
- 477. Southwest Harbor; incorporated from Tremont, February, 1905.
- 478. East Millinocket; incorporated from Millinocket, February 21, 1907.
- 479. North Kennebunkport; incorporated from Kennebunkport, April 1, 1915.
- 480. South Bristol; incorporated from Bristol, March 26, 1915.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

481. Drew, settled as No. 7, R. 4, by Thomas Drew, of Bangor; incorporated April 5, 1921.

482. Cyr Plantation, named from the Cyr family, of Madawaska.

483. Hamlin Plantation, named from Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin.

484. St. Francis, settled by French Canadians.

485. St. John Plantation.

486. Wallagrass Plantation, east of Fort Kent, settled by French Canadians.

Maine has gradually expanded from a few small settlements and a single county in the southwest into sixteen counties, here in the order of formation:

1. York County, formed from Sir Ferdinando Gorges' "Province or Countie of Maine," authorized by Massachusetts in 1658 as "Yorkshire"; the county court being held twice a year, alternately, at York and Kittery, until 1716, when York became the sole shire town to 1735.

2. Cumberland County, set off from York County, March 12, 1760.

3. Lincoln County, set off from York County, June 19, 1760.

4. Hancock; incorporated June 25, 1789; named from Governor of Massachusetts.

5. Washington; incorporated June 25, 1789; named from President Washington.

6. Kennebec; incorporated February 20, 1799; named from Kennebec River.

7. Oxford, incorporated March 4, 1805.

8. Somerset, set off from Kennebec County, March 1, 1809.

9. Penobscot, set off from Hancock County, February 15, 1816.

10. Waldo, set off from Hancock County, February 7, 1827; named from General Samuel Waldo.

11. Franklin; incorporated March 20, 1838; named from Benjamin Franklin.

12. Piscataquis, set off from Penobscot and Somerset counties, March 23, 1838.

13. Aroostook, set off from Penobscot and Washington counties, March 16, 1839.

THE EXPANSION OF MAINE

14. Androscoggin, set off from Cumberland, Kennebec, Lincoln, and Oxford counties, March 18, 1854.

15. Sagadahoc, from Lincoln County, set off April 4, 1854.

16. Knox, set off from Lincoln and Waldo counties, 1860.

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(There are only brief or partial histories of the other counties of Maine.) Maine population, 1930, is 797,423.





Brown

Brown and Allied Families

BY E. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



AS the surname Brown scores sixth in the entire list of the names of the United Kingdom, it would be practically impossible to give any definite reasons for the adoption of the name, when surnames first came into usage. The original derivation, no doubt, was from the nickname given a person having a brown or dark complexion or hair of that shade. As that is the simplest way to characterize a person, it is a very simple procedure that this surname soon became popular. There are records of many Browns in the early records of England; in the Domesday Book, in all the counties whenever any record was made. In the county of Worcester, which is said to be the ancestral home of the family under search, there was a Brown family, going back to the fifteenth century, to John Browne, though no line of evidence has been proven connecting it with the American line.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

It has been thought by many authorities that Thomas Brown, the ancestor of our family, was the son of Nicholas Browne, of Lynn, Massachusetts. The will of this Nicholas does not mention a son Thomas, though all his other children are mentioned. Thomas is not mentioned in any probate of Nicholas nor as receiving any note referring to any gift from Nicholas of rights in Lynn. Proof is definitely lacking to establish any link between the two.

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 273. C. H. Brown: "The Brown Genealogy," Vol. II, p. 8.)

(The Brown Line—Line One)

Arms—Or, on a fesse gules three chess rooks of the field, in chief three mallards sable.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Thomas Brown was born about 1628, probably in England, and died in Lynn, Massachusetts, August 28, 1693. Lynn was one of the earliest towns planted in Massachusetts, and when he came there, it was in a very primitive state indeed. The hardships were many, for

BROWN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

not only were they forming an entirely new civilization of their own, but in this process they were never let alone, having a wild people, namely the Indians, to deal with. But this was the lot of the pioneers, and this hard freedom was far better than none at all. In building a new life as they were doing, all æsthetic desires were pushed aside for the time being, and each and all did their share of hard manual labor. Actual necessities of life came first, and thus we see that in the finest of families, all worked at a manual task. Two of Thomas Brown's brothers were in the building trade, one a joiner, the other a carpenter. Four of his children remained in Massachusetts, and three moved to Stonington, Connecticut, before 1688. Eight of his children died young and unmarried.

Thomas Brown married, about 1652-53, Mary Newhall. (Newhall II.) Children: 1. Thomas, Jr., born in Lynn, about January, 1654, died at Stonington, December 27, 1725; married, at Lynn, February 8, 1677, Hannah Collins. 2. Mary, born February 10, 1655, died at Lynn, May 18, 1662. 3. Sarah, born August 20, 1657, died August 1, 1658. 4. Joseph, born in 1658; married, January 22, 1680, Sarah Jones. 5. Sarah, born September 13, 1660, died April 2, 1662. 6. Jonathan, born and died April 12, 1662. 7. John, born in 1664; married, in October, 1692, Elizabeth Miner. 8. Mary, born July 26, 1666, died in Lynn; married, August 24, 1685, Thomas Norwood. 9. Jonathan, born February 11, 1668. 10. Eleazer, of whom further. 11. Ebenezer, born March 16, 1672, died in 1700. 12. Daniel, born April 24, 1673, died young. 13. Ann (twin), born February 4, 1674, died three days later. 14. Grace (twin), born February 4, 1674, died three days later. 15. Daniel, born February 1, 1676, died at Lynn.

(C. H. Brown: "The Brown Genealogy," Vol. I, p. 9; Vol. II, pp. 12, 13, 15. Lewis: "History of Lynn," pp. 69-70.)

II. Eleazer Brown, son of Thomas and Mary (Newhall) Brown, was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, August 4, 1670, and died at Stonington, Connecticut. He lived in Westerly, Rhode Island, and in what is now North Stonington, Connecticut. He was a farmer, chiefly engaged in stock-raising. His will shows that he held a substantial amount of property. His house stood in the eastern part of the lands purchased by the three Brown brothers. His wife received her father's house and

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after her death her children deeded to the Pendletons, of Westerly, for £10, all their rights to Captain James Pendleton's estate.

Eleazer Brown married, October 18, 1693, Ann Pendleton. (Pendleton III.) Children: 1. Jonathan, born July 12, 1694; married Elizabeth Pendleton. 2. James, born June 1, 1696; married Elizabeth Randall. 3. Eleazer, Jr., of whom further. 4. Annah, born February 1, 1700; married Deacon Thomas Main. 5. Ebenezer, born January 28, 1702, died March 4, 1725; married, April 5, 1723, Elizabeth Main, daughter of Jeremiah and Ruth (Brown) Main. 6. Mary, born November 28, 1703; married Elder Wait Palmer, the first pastor of the First Baptist Church, of North Stonington. 7. Hannah, born December 12, 1705, died January 4, 1727; married, March 24, 1725, William Wilcox. 8. Patience, born December 28, 1707; married, December 17, 1735, Clement West. 9. Abigail, born February 3, 1712; married, March 22, 1731, James Pendleton. 10. Ruth, born June 30, 1714; married, in 1733, Benjamin Randall, and they settled at Colchester, Connecticut.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 524; Vol. II, pp. 15-18, 217.)

III. Eleazer Brown, Jr., son of Eleazer and Ann (Pendleton) Brown, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, May 4, 1698, and died there in 1757, will probated December 2, 1757. He received a certain tract of land in Stonington by his father's will "excepting $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land which I reserve for a burial place." The family were strong supporters of the Baptist church and gave land for buildings. Eleazer Brown married (first), in 1723, Temperance (possibly Holmes). He married (second) Mary, who is named in his will. Children, all of first marriage, born in Stonington: 1. Nathan, born July 17, 1724, died April 26, 1726. 2. Mary, born June 26, 1726; married John Butler. 3. Eleazer, 3d, born June 1, 1728, died July 11, 1795. He was the second pastor of the First Baptist Church, of Stonington, and this was his only pastorate, extending for a period of over twenty-seven years. He was esteemed as one of the most eminent preachers of his day. He married, October 16, 1755, Anne Greene. 4. Temperance, born May 15, 1731; married Comfort Brown. 5. Jeremiah, born May 12, 1733. 6. Rebecca, born June 19, 1735. 7. Phebe, born July 4, 1737. 8. Timothy, born June 7, 1739. 9. John, born August 10,

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1741; married, July 2, 1767, Mary (Holmes) Brown. 10. Peleg, of whom further. 11. Ruth, born June 27, 1746.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 19, 545, 551; Vol. II, pp. 20, 266, 267.)

IV. Peleg Brown, son of Eleazer and Temperance Brown, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, September 26, 1744, and died January 26, 1814. He and his wife are buried at West Winfield, Herkimer County, New York. There is a Peleg Brown listed among the Revolutionary soldiers of the 5th Regiment, Connecticut, 1780. In 1775-83 a Peleg Brown commanded thirty-five men, fitted out in Connecticut. It is not absolutely certain that this is the same Peleg Brown as in our line. Peleg Brown married Experience Morgan, daughter of Timothy and Deborah Morgan. She was born at Groton, Connecticut, July 22, 1749, and died at Bridgewater, New York, in 1845. Children: 1. Experience, married Cyrus Greene. 2. Peleg, Jr. 3. John, born at Groton, in 1770, died January 13, 1855; married, in 1801, Sally Beardsley. 4. Timothy, of whom further. 5. Eleazer, born November 17, 1779, at Leyden, Massachusetts; married twice. 6. Deborah. 7. Jesse, born August 19, 1783; married Hannah Colwell. 8. Samuel, settled in Westfield, Chautauqua County, New York, where he died. He also lived in Portland, New York. He married (first) Roseanna. 9. Franklin. 10. Adolphus.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 279, 281. "Record of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution," pp. 203, 605.)

V. Timothy Brown, son of Peleg and Experience (Morgan) Brown, was born February 29, 1776, at Leyden, Massachusetts. About 1800 he moved to Homer, New York, and was one of the pioneers of Cortland County, New York. This unsettled tract abounded in game and wild animals, furnishing ample range for the hunter and Timothy Brown soon showed his skill by killing forty bear. He began in the teaching profession, one of the few pioneer educators of this section. He married (first), November 20, 1804, at Homer, New York, Deborah Morse, born August 15, 1786, and died at Scott, March 25, 1824. He married (second), September 26, 1824, Sally Smith. (Smith IV.) Children of first marriage, born at Scott: 1. Isaac, born July 28, 1807, died in 1888, at Oxford, Michigan; married, February 4, 1831, Artimesia Stiles. 2. Deborah, born December 28, 1808, died July 24, 1874. 3. Miner M., born September 12,



The American Historical Society

Eng. by E. J. Williams, A. S. P. N. Y.

Alex. T. Brown

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1810, died at Otisco, Michigan, October 16, 1887. 4. Nancy A., born February 21, 1813, died at Scott, January 12, 1892; married, at Sempronius, New York, George Colwell. 5. Emiline, born October 11, 1814, died in 1906; married Eri Hardy. 6. John M., born July 11, 1816, died at Otisco, Michigan, January 11, 1894; married, March 5, 1848, Marilda Skidmore. 7. Samuel, born March 11, 1818, died at Hadley, Michigan. 8. Charity, born December 11, 1818, died at Scott, March 8, 1821. 9. Timothy, Jr., born September 1, 1821, died at Wathena, Kansas, August 31, 1866; married, at Truxton, New York, July 11, 1852, Clarissa Severance. 10. Alfred B., born April 23, 1823, died at Corning, New York, December 9, 1857; married, at Catlin, New York, June 1, 1854, Sarah Mosier. Children of second marriage, born at Scott: 11. Asa, born July 4, 1825, died in infancy. 12. Stephen Smith, of whom further. 13. Almira C., born November 14, 1833, died March 31, 1911; married, November 14, 1855, Andrew J. Mowry.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 279, 282, 283, 284-85.)

VI. Stephen Smith Brown, son of Timothy and Sally (Smith) Brown, was born at Scott, New York, March 22, 1827, and died there March 19, 1893. He was a farmer and spent most of his life as an agriculturist. He received both a common and a private school education. Though always interested in politics he was never desirous of holding office. He owned the Timothy Brown homestead at Scott, New York. He married, at Brattleboro, Vermont, January 6, 1853, Nancy M. Alexander. (Alexander IV.) Children, born at Scott, New York: 1. Alexander Timothy, of whom further. 2. William H., born July 15, 1857; married, at Scott, New York, September 4, 1894, Anna Frisbie, born at Scott, New York, November 3, 1871, daughter of Mills G. and Martha (Crandall) Frisbie. They resided at Syracuse, New York. 3. Charles E., born August 16, 1860, and died at Scott, May 12, 1881. He was a court stenographer and a law student of marked ability, his career being cut short by his most untimely death.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 284, 285, 288.)

VII. Alexander Timothy Brown, son of Stephen Smith and Nancy M. (Alexander) Brown, was born at Scott, New York, November 21, 1854, and died at Syracuse, New York, January 31, 1929. He fol-

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lowed the average farmer boy's curriculum of attending the district school at Scott in the winter and helping on his father's farm in summer. In later years he attended academies at Homer and Cortland, New York. He early dreamed of becoming an inventor, and, possessing a mechanical bent of mind, occupied much of his time that otherwise might have passed in idleness, in studying the simple implements with which his father tilled the soil. Near his father's farm there lived James T. Leland, whose work as farmer was supplemented by his avocation, which was machinery; and with Mr. Leland the young Alexander spent much of his spare time, practically commencing, in Mr. Leland's workshop, his career as an inventor. His first inventive efforts he turned toward agricultural machinery, fashioning, after months of labor, a self-binding harvester. The idea was most useful in farming, but when he applied for his patents on the machine, he experienced his first difficulties, of the nature of those that face all inventors: another man already had obtained the right to manufacture this type of implement. After the first heartbreak, however, the boy continued with his efforts, perfecting one after another the machines and tools on his father's farm.

Then, in 1878, he forsook the farm, entering, at the age of twenty-four years, the employ of the Osborne Harvester Company, at Auburn, New York. Here he worked as a salesman, and demonstrated his inherent ability as a business man and an organizer. His wide acquaintance with the world of agriculture was helpful, and his first business venture was successful. At the end of a year, however, he decided to seek broader outlets for his ambitions, and so it was that, in 1879, he came to Syracuse, where he entered the employ of the W. H. Baker Company, of which the L. C. Smith Company was the successor. Not satisfied with entering the business end of the company, but wishing to develop his mechanical ability, he started to work in the machine shop, where he was employed on a lathe. It was while with the Baker Company that he met with his first success as an inventor, with the result that the L. C. Smith shotgun was introduced in the market. From that time up to the present this gun has been one of the most successful types of firearms. Mr. Brown's employers manufactured it for a time, and later sold their interest in it to the Hunter Arms Company, of Fulton, where it is still being made. It was about this same period of his career that Mr. Brown conceived one of his most famous

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contrivances, the Smith Premier typewriter. The Baker shop, which about this time became the L. C. Smith Company, was a veritable paradise for the young inventor, who found here all the facilities for his tasks and worked hard night and day. Theories would come to his mind, and then long and arduous hours of labor in the machine shop would bring them to the state of actualities. His first simple typewriter met with success; and, having been granted a patent, he began the work of putting it on the market. The machine was complicated, however, and the ways of inventing certain of its parts had to be devised, these taking up years of labor. While probably very few inventors of genius encounter the success that their genius deserves, Mr. Brown's business experience and ability placed him in a position to reap some of the rewards of his work. With Mr. Smith, Mr. Brown searched for a convenient manufacturing site, and found one on Gifford Street, where the typewriter plant is still situated. The market for the invention was world-wide from the start, this having been one of his most fruitful inventions, and expansion of the plant was necessitated, until today the factory covers a complete city block, and consists of a seven-story building; while Syracuse, even abroad, is often known as the "typewriter city." The machine came to be known as the Smith Premier, because of the value of this as a trade name and also as a mark of respect to Mr. Smith. Mr. Brown's typewriter, in the years that followed, adopted many improvements, covering seventeen different patents, all invented by Mr. Brown himself, one of them providing visible type; this machine being the first one to use "visible" features. At length, in March, 1915, the Smith Premier Typewriter Company was taken over by the Remington Typewriter Company, and at that time Mr. Brown retired as president of the Smith Premier Company and became a director of the Remington Corporation.

Through the 'eighties, after the invention of the typewriter, Mr. Brown continued to work with it, but also extended his activities into other fields, turning his attention especially to rubber tires, a problem of the bicycle age. Finally, he was rewarded for his efforts by successfully inventing the "clincher" tire, known as the Dunlop tire, which is generally credited with making possible the founding of one of the world's greatest tire companies, the one which still manufactures the Dunlop tires. Then he turned to the telephone, then only a mediocre success. Desiring to eliminate the "Hello, Central" system, he devised

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an automatic switchboard. Laboring for months on this contrivance, he at length perfected it, only to find that no market was yet ready for his product. It was a comparatively small number of years ago that his patent on this invention was sold to the Stromberg-Carlson Company.

Syracuse industrial life is divided into three parts—typewriters, gears, and automobiles. Two of these industries were solely the product of Mr. Brown's genius—the typewriter and the gear. For, when he had completed his telephone invention, he saw a tremendous opportunity in the development of gears, so necessary to the proper functioning of all machinery. His first effort was with the invention of a two-speed gear for bicycles. With Charles E. Lipe as a business partner, he opened a small plant for the production of his newest patent; and, with the bicycle craze at its peak, the new venture was successful from the start. In 1895 the partnership of the Brown-Lipe Gear Company was formed, destined to become one of the city's foremost manufacturing enterprises. Not long afterward Mr. Lipe died, and was succeeded by H. Winfield Chapin. About this time Mr. Brown became interested in the automobile, then in the "horseless carriage" stage, its success depending on the mechanical practicability in the eyes of the public. Purchasing a model, then popular, Mr. Brown at once saw the need for gearing; and in the plant in Marcellus Street, then being utilized for the manufacture of the bicycle gear, he set to work. Nor was it long before he turned out a highly perfected equalizing gear, now known as the differential. His gear was the first to be covered with a housing. About this time John Wilkinson invented and put on the market the first air-cooled motor; and Mr. Brown, with H. H. Franklin, took up this product, with the result that one of the largest automobile manufacturing companies in the world was started. Mr. Brown was president of the Franklin Company soon after its inception, and his foresight in the conduct of its affairs made for its success. So it was that in Syracuse's three chief industries Mr. Brown had a hand, his activities having extended into the automobile field, as well as into the typewriter and gear industries. The first Franklin car was turned out in the foundry room of an old die-casting plant bought by Mr. Brown, and made its appearance in 1902. Along with the development of the Franklin car in Syracuse, local establishments were founded to meet the needs of the growing motor trade, with the result that the city's business life experienced indirect, as well

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as direct, growth because of Mr. Brown's work. Mr. Brown never ceased to be interested in invention, turning his efforts now to motorized farm implements, now to power plows, tractors and reapers; and at the time of his death he had more than three hundred patents granted him on his different devices.

Regardless of the time that he put into his business and inventive activities, he always had energy to devote to the different civic enterprises in which he was interested. For thirty years he was a stockholder in the Syracuse Journal Company, while for some years he was its president, and later was chairman of the board of directors. He was a life member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and a member of the Society of Automotive Engineering. He was a charter member of the National Geographic Society, and one of its most ardent supporters and promoters, while he was also a founder of the Syracuse Automobile Club. For a number of years he was a member of the Grade Crossing Commission, while for some time he was president of that body, but several years before his death resigned because of the state of his health. For several years he was a member of the board of trustees of the New York State College of Forestry, and a trustee of Syracuse University, as well as a member of the Century Club, the Citizens' Club, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Yacht Club, the Adirondack League Club, the American Gear Manufacturers' Association, the American Red Cross, the New England Genealogical Society, the Roosevelt Memorial Association, the Society of Automotive Engineers, the Technology Club, of Syracuse, and the Syracuse Anglers' Association. He held membership in the Free and Accepted Masons, in which order he belonged to the Central City Lodge, No. 305; Central City Council of Princes of Jerusalem, No. 13; Central City Chapter of Rose Croix, No. 20; Central City Consistory, No. 32, of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and the Temple at Utica of the Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; and in the Masonic Order he held the thirty-second degree of Scottish Rite. In his later years he relinquished most of the executive duties that he had hitherto performed in the different corporations with which he was associated, but at the time of his death he was still actively interested in the Brown-Lipe Gear Company, the Globe Forge and Foundries, Inc., the Rollway Bearing Company, and the H. H. Franklin Manufacturing Company. At one time he was a director of

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the Third National Bank, while in later years he served on the board of directors of the First Trust and Deposit Company. He was a trustee for the Hospital of the Good Shepherd, and of Memorial Hospital.

Alexander T. Brown possessed one of the most prolific minds of his period, in all manners and types of inventions. The work was of such a character, however, as to go, in its influence, far beyond the borders of the State and to affect the industrial development of his time. Like many inventors, he encountered difficulties, and the rewards that he received were often by no means commensurate with the labors that he performed or the results that he accomplished; but he was undaunted, and, with his business associates, achieved what success he could attain in marketing his products. He was equipped with the essential patience and diligence of the inventor, an ability to face facts, and he looked forward with hope and vision, probably seeing many times the obstacles that stood in his way long before he came to them and before others less far-sighted would have seen them; while the outgrowths of his labors, visible on all hands in the present age, are a testimonial to one who laid the ground work without thought of building for himself immense fortune or everlasting fame. The death of Alexander Timothy Brown came after several years of failing health. Deep was the sense of sorrow felt by all who knew him in Syracuse, where everyone was aware of the many industrial activities that the city owed to Mr. Brown's genius, and many were the expressions of sympathy and regret made publicly or to the members of his family.

The "Syracuse Journal" said in part:

With all his great business ventures Mr. Brown always found time for civic enterprises when his aid was enlisted and for philanthropic work when he saw occasion to help the needy or to further a worthy cause.

Modest and unassuming, Mr. Brown worked unostentatiously, never seeking the glory that is one of the rewards of the successful genius. Only his closest associates were aware of the great work he was carrying on. Mr. Brown may be ranked as one of the leading figures in American industry.

Leading a quiet life, Mr. Brown's nature was more domestic in its tendencies than most great men. A lover of art, he spent most of his spare time in collecting rare books and paintings. One hobby which he pursued zealously was the collection of rifles. From a boy Mr.



MR. AND MRS. ALEXANDER T. BROWN
SNAPSHOT TAKEN AT THEIR SUMMER HOME AT SCOTT, N. Y.

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We pay tribute today to a Promoter of Industry.

He was more than a genius in invention: to this he added two qualities that saved him from the obscurity and even eclipse of too many inventors. First was his business sagacity and judgment which enabled him to relate his inventions to humanity, *via* industry; second, his ability to effect associations, to choose and relate himself to men with industrial genius, to "team up" with others in effective organization. That which drew him in early days to James T. Leland, later led to his fellowship with the late L. C. Smith with his remarkable talent for industry, and similarly with the late W. C. Lipe: and of those still with us, he found partnership to mutual advantage with Mr. W. Chapin, W. L. and H. W. Smith, and H. H. Franklin; also in various degrees with many fellow directors of the fifteen concerns on whose boards he held an honored and useful place.

As Syracusans, we are prone to forget the range of his service in invention—nation-wide, nay, truly and literally world-wide! We see the peculiar significance of his contribution to capital and to labor, and to the general growth of our and his beloved city. Unquestionably, in the words of an associate,—he was "the greatest single factor in the creation and development of the industrial success of Syracuse."

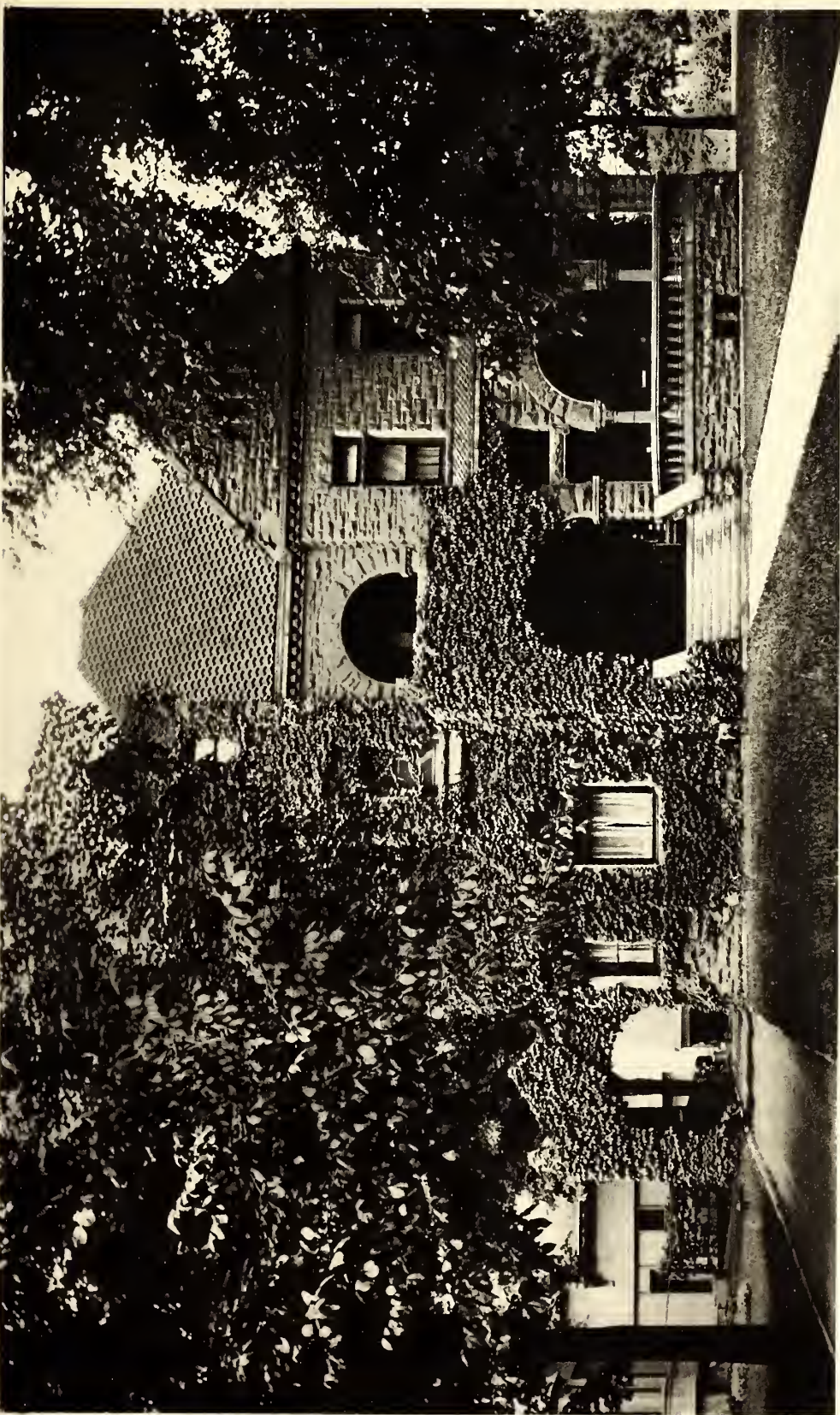
.
We pay tribute today to a fellow-citizen, to a "model citizen," indeed.

The breadth of his interests and activities! In nearly all our leading industries, in technology, engineering, and gear clubs or organizations, in the upbuilding of a newspaper, in the administration of a bank, in the fraternal life of Masonry, on hospital boards, as trustee and member of the executive committee of a university, as a trustee of the State College of Forestry, in long and arduous service on the Grade Crossing Commission,—in all these and elsewhere, never did he seek a place, but for all was he sought! A public-spirited citizen! How many times in board meetings, in committee groups, in campaign planning, was the question mooted, "I wonder how Mr. Brown feels about it." His opinion had weight and worth.

.
In considering these spheres, certain traits common to all emerge as we see his life in perspective. Three loom before me.

Into all spheres, he carried the efficiency of the inventor, the grasp of essentials, to which he held steadily as he threaded through all the intricacies of surrounding details on through the other side, and still on into the vision of what might or should be. This talent, carried over into various situations, made him the wise and valued counsellor.

This discipline of the inventor pervaded all his associations. Calm, dispassionate, scientific, he made his analyses and appraisals, then



RESIDENCE
OF THE LATE
ALEXANDER TIMOTHY BROWN
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

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accepted the situation exactly as it was, with due allowance for it as such, never minimizing difficulties or disappointments, never exaggerating what pleased or suited his purposes. What he found, as he found it, without personal bias, recognized to the full, was made the base on which he began patiently to build.

This he carried over into his relationship with folks. He could appraise and accept them as he found them, without rancor, contentiousness or bitterness, making due allowances, with respect, and even with deference to their opinions and judgments. Out of this grew his courtesy and considerateness.

So, too, in civic affairs, he would accept a situation, with its attendant attitudes, handicaps and criticisms, frankly, sweetly, with due appreciation and due allowances. Too many of us facing the facts, become cynical: he sought to be constructive, accepting that which he found neither complacently nor cynically, but as the base offered him on which to build.

Sensitive to criticism, and naïvely appreciative of appreciation, yet was he ever superior to criticism or appreciation as he quietly and steadily followed out his line of duty.

A third characteristic common to all his relationships was the spirit and activity of his service. Some think the word "service" has been "clubbed" almost to its death. But in the most vital sense, he was a servant of his fellowmen. As inventor and industrial promoter, he sought above all else to be useful, to serve mankind, to do his share in the world's upbuilding. So, too, in his civic activities. Ever unostentatious, he almost sought seclusion; ever generous, he gave of his time and his talent to planning any worthy cause, of his means liberally to the poor and to the worthy; unselfish, never seeking either glory or reward; indeed, asking nothing for himself but the privilege and pleasure of serving.

.
But you are saying to me, "You have not yet attempted to pay tribute to what is most in our minds,—his personality and his character."

Here always is the danger of seeming extravagance. A stranger present may think I am indulging in an old-fashioned non-discriminating eulogy: friends who knew Mr. Brown will sympathize with me only in the difficulty of finding adequate and worthy expression.

He was modest, unassuming and humble, but it was never the shrinking of weakness; it was rather the gentleness of greatness, witnessing in turn to the greatness of gentleness, the grandeur of humility, and the beauty of self-effacement.

He was a man of integrity, "the soul of honor." Not only did he thus inspire absolute confidence, but integrity so radiated from him, so

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surcharged the atmosphere about him, that men with him would not dare suggest the shady, the crooked or the indirect.

Sincere and genuine, without guile! That explains why he was ever most loved, most admired, most respected, by those who knew him best.

Loyalty to duty, courage to do the right as he saw right, unswerving devotion to the task, was his very life. To other than the right, for other than the path of duty, he could not be persuaded, but for the right and for his duty he needed no persuasion.

When we read a while ago from Paul's letter to the Corinthians, the thirteenth chapter, I am sure you recognized his personification of what he called "love," "suffereth long and is kind," "thinketh no evil," "is not easily provoked," "vaunteth not itself," "rejoiceth not in unrighteousness but rejoiceth in the truth." You then recalled the depth and breadth of this man's heart, his rare thoughtfulness for others, the way in which he entered sympathetically into the experience of others, even of the poor until the tears literally filled his eyes and his purse overflowed, how he refused to credit rumor or speak ill, his considerateness, his kindness, his geniality: "'Twas easy to make of him a confidant."

This same quality made him beautifully tender-hearted: children loved him and he loved to listen to them, patiently, understandingly; the squirrels in their little houses about this dwelling are chattering their appreciation of his constant interest in their shelter and food.

He was reserved socially, satisfying his social yearnings not merely with outward relationships with folks, but perhaps more in inner fellowships in the sphere of the soul. He was at home with knowledge, with laws and forces, with beauties and harmonies, a constant student of mathematics, history and literature, a lover of the fine arts and of the treasures in books, as his collections attest.

What delights me most in thinking of him is the marvelous blend of qualities, somewhat unique and striking. Others may have been stronger in one or in another, but he peculiarly united virility with gentleness, strength with sympathy, integrity with charitableness, confidence with modesty, sagacity with humility, mechanical genius with spiritual fineness, and industrial mastery with love of the true, the beautiful and the good.

.
A man's religion is personal and vital: at times we tend to consider first his creed, his form, his professions and follow out into his life. But a man's life, what he is and what he does, should ever be first: we learn what his religion actually is from what it makes him to become and to do. What Mr. Brown was and did is an open book and a precious testimony. Religion may also be tested by the motives it



Charles Seamans Brown



Julian Stephen Brown

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enthrones and the use of talent it inspires. Again what a testimony to the purity and strength of the religion in his soul!

He was what he was and did what he did, not to be religious, probably not thinking of "religion," but just because he was what he was: are we not most religious when least conscious of it?

We recall the surprise with which one at the judgment seat exclaimed: "Lord when saw we Thee—hungry—thirsty—in prison—and ministered unto Thee?"

I could imagine his surprise, even at what I am saying,—especially now as he is hearing the Master's "well done!" The most beautiful and the most effective service is rendered when we are not conscious of serving—just being and living.

Yes, I too speculate often about the Hereafter, about Heaven.

Today Heaven is to me the spiritual place where folks like Alexander Brown are assembled. You and I could look forward with joyful anticipation to spending eternity in company with men like him.

Alexander Timothy Brown married, at Syracuse, New York, April 2, 1883, Mary Lillian Seamans. (Seamans III.) Children: 1. Charles Seamans, born April 20, 1885, graduated Cornell University in 1909. 2. Julian Stephen, born March 20, 1887; married, October 25, 1911, Ethel Listman, born at Syracuse, November 12, 1891, daughter of Charles and Katherine (Warner) Listman, of Syracuse. Both Julian Stephen and Charles Seamans have, in later life, followed their father's footsteps, turning their inborn mechanical ability to the furtherance of his enterprises and using their inventive talents for the creation of new products.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 284, 287, 288. Family data.)

(The Seamans Line)

Sae-mann is the Anglo-Saxon for a sailor. As that was one of the chief livelihoods of the many Britons living near the coast, it is no wonder that the name became a popular English surname. It is found on the Hundred Rolls, and on all other early records. There are many variations, as Seamon, Seamen, Seman, Simmon, Simmons and Seamans.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. Isaac Seamans, whose ancestry is not known, was born not earlier than 1803, as he was a purchaser of land in 1824. He was a resident of the town of Virgil (the land record says "Nigil," an error), when on July 6, 1824, he received from Ebenezer Baldwin of the

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same town, in consideration of \$300.00, a deed to land in the town of Virgil, Cortland County, New York, part of Lot 41, being forty acres, to be taken off the south end of Lot 41 in the north "tire" (tier) of lots in Walter Sabin's survey of the ten townships ceded to this State by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The same forty acres were transferred by Isaac Seamans and wife, Amarilla, of Homer, Cortland County, New York, to Asa Hunt, of Virgil, of \$350, the deed being dated January 26, 1828. Of the three blacksmith shops in the village of Virgil Corners in 1885, one was operated by George Hicks, one by C. H. Seamans, and one by George and J. C. Seamans. Michael Ehle was one of the early blacksmiths in the place, Isaac Seamans was the next, and built the shop which in 1885 was occupied by his son, I. M. Seamans. Before this shop was built Isaac Seamans was located near the Methodist parsonage.

Isaac Seamans married Amarilla, who was living in Victor, New York, in 1828. Children, order not known: 1. Julian C., of whom further. 2. Isaac M., was, in 1869, a blacksmith in Virgil, New York. I. M. Seaman, in 1885, occupied the blacksmith shop in Virgil which had been built by his father, Isaac Seamans. He married Rhoda. 3. Samuel Milton, in December, 1879, was found incompetent of handling his property, a part of which was by a Supreme Court order sold to George H. Ladd, in March, 1882. 4. Amarilla, married (first) a Mr. Sherman; married (second) Samuel Locke.

NOTE—Record is found of Isaac M., as a son of Isaac. The placing of the other three as his children is based on oral information given in 1929 by a former resident of Virgil, New York.

("Cortland County, New York Deeds," Book L, p. 25; Book N, p. 346. A. P. Smith: "History of Cortland County, New York" (1885), p. 341. Hamilton B. Child: "Gazetteer and Business Directory of Cortland County, New York" (1869), p. 191. H. P. Smith: "History of Cortland County, New York" (1885), p. 341. "Cortland County, New York, Supreme Court Register," Vol. I, p. 124. "Cortland County Deeds Book," pp. 69, 281. "Cortland County Letters of Administration," Book D, p. 185 (in back of book).)

II. Julian C. Seamans, probably a son of Isaac and Amarilla Seamans, resided in Virgil and for a time in Homer, Cortland County, New York, where he bought land as early as 1849, and sold land

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(with wife Matilda), 1863 to 1876. Most of these parcels of land were in Lot 24, but he also owned twelve acres in Lot 35, in the town of Virgil, which he sold in 1875. His first purchase, on August 10, 1849, was of twenty-eight and a half rods of land on Washington Street, from Edwin P. Slafter and wife, Miranda, for \$220.00; all parties to the transaction were residents of Virgil.

At the time of his next purchase, January 31, 1855, he was of the town of Homer; the land, however, being a $\frac{1}{2}$ acre tract in Virgil, adjoining Edwin P. Slafter's land; price, \$500.00. On February 28, 1863, Julian C. Seamans and his wife, Matilda, were of the town of Virgil, when they sold the half-acre purchased in 1855. Thereafter Virgil appears to have been their permanent abode. That some of the property, at least, was improved, is shown in a deed of December 2, 1872, by which Julian C. Seamans and wife, Matilda, sold to Polly Ehle, for \$600, in Lot 24, on Washington Street, one acre "where the house and barn stands."

Julian C. Seamans and his wife, Matilda, were evidently near neighbors of her brother, George H. Ladd, as a lot sold by Julian and Matilda, in 1873, bordered the land of G. H. Ladd. It is also evident, from the land records, that the Seamans owned, jointly, a well near their residences; for on February 1, 1875, Julian C. Seamans and wife, Matilda, sold to Lucy Ryan, wife of John Ryan, Jr., for \$600.00, land in Lot 24, the line of which ran "through the center of a well near the house of C. H. Seamans." This lot bordered that sold to Polly Ehle, and two months later, the same grantors sold, to Charles H. Seamans, land in Lot 24, on Washington Street, bordering land of Polly Ehle, the line running through the center of the well.

The twenty-eight and one-half rods purchased in 1849 with the site of Julian C. Seamans' blacksmith shop, and was sold, with the shop, on September 3, 1872, by Julian C. Seamans and wife, Matilda, to Sylvester Crain, for \$335, possession to be given "first day of May next."

In a chronicle of an 1853 "festal gathering" in Virgil (published in 1878) is found this paragraph:

J. C. Seamans has built a residence, essentially new, embracing but a small part of the materials of one previously occupying the ground. It is of noble proportions and, when well painted, will add much to the appearance of that part of the village where it is located.

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In Smith's "History of Cortland County" it is stated that J. C. Seamans sold to Sylvester Crain, in 1860, a wagon-making shop which had been built in 1843 on Cortland Street, in Virgil Corners, by Ebenezer Perkins, who some time later sold to Mr. Seamans. Elsewhere, in the same book, it is said that J. C. Seamans owned, in 1885, a building at Virgil Corners, which was at that time used as a wagon shop, being a convenient building for the purpose. It was erected in 1804 by James Knapp, the large wooden structure being locally known as "Bunker Hill." It served the double purpose, it is said, of creating a good deal of astonishment among the inhabitants on account of its size, and of ruining its builder. A tavern was kept in the building, for a time, before the Civil War.

Julian C. Seamans married Matilda Ladd. (Ladd II.) Children: 1. Josephine Virginia, born at Virgil, New York, June 29, 1848; married, September 3, 1865, Edmund K. Livermore. 2. (Perhaps) Charles H., to whom Julian C. Seamans and wife, Matilda, sold, April 1, 1875, land in Virgil, part of Lot. No. 24, on Washington Street, the boundary running through the center of the well. (This well is mentioned in a deed two months earlier, as being near the house of C. H. Seamans.) 3. Mary Lillian, of whom further.

("Cortland County, New York, Deeds," Book 17, p. 371; Book 24, p. 430; Book 36, p. 412; Book 55, pp. 333, 443; Book 58, pp. 182, 279, 388. "Festal Gathering of the Early Settlers and Present Inhabitants of the Town of Virgil, Cortland County, New York," by Nathan Bouton, 25th of August, 1853 (1878), p. 81. (This book is at the Cortland, New York, Public Library, 1929.) H. P. Smith: "History of Cortland County, New York" (1885), pp. 340, 341. Walter Eliot Thwing: "The Livermore Family in America" (1902), p. 291.)

III. Mary Lillian Seamans, daughter of Julian C. and Matilda (Ladd) Seamans, was born in Virgil, New York, August 3, 1863. She married Alexander Timothy Brown. (Brown—Line One—Generation VII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Ladd Line)

While the surname Ladd has two distinct derivations, it is not known from which one our family's name is taken, nor the country from which they came. Lladd is Welsh, meaning to destroy, and lad



Mary L. (Seamons) Brown

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is English, meaning a page or a messenger. Ladde is found in many old records.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *George B. Ladd*, whose ancestry is untraced, was doubtless born before April, 1807, and died in Virgil, Cortland County, New York, before December 17, 1856. The Cortland County records show no other member of the Ladd family in the town of Virgil or its vicinity prior to 1838, when other members of George B. Ladd's family are recorded. He was in the town of Virgil on April 1, 1828, when he was deeded land there, by John Ellis, and wife Phebe, of the town of Dryden. This land was estimated as sixty square rods, and the consideration was thirty-seven dollars, fifty cents. The lot is briefly described as follows:

Beginning in center of highway at southwest corner of a piece of said lot now in possession of Mrs. Lucinda Lamphear, thence east along south line of said Lamphear lot eight rods and nine links to southeast corner of same, thence south eighteen degrees west six rods and sixteen and one-half links to a stake, thence north eighteen degrees east six rods and sixteen links to place of beginning.

George B. Ladd, of Virgil, purchased another piece of land, by deed dated April 13, 1833, from Alfred Champlin, of "Ithica," Tompkins County, New York, for thirty dollars. This was also in Virgil, and consisted of about one-third of an acre. It was a part of Lot Number 24, and was bounded "south on the line of the lot, westerly on the highway, north on lands of the said George B. Ladd, and east on lands in the possession of Polly Chatterton."

George B. Ladd, with wife, "Nabe Anne," of the town of Virgil, on March 26, 1835, deeded to William Snider, for fifty-two dollars and seventy cents, land in the town of Virgil, part of Lot Number 24, adjoining said Snider and A. Price, twenty-seven rods of land. That George B. Ladd's wife, "Nabe Anne," outlived him by a quarter of a century is evident from these two facts: George B. Ladd was deceased before December 17, 1856, when his daughter Celia had appointed, as her guardian, George H. Ladd. George H. Ladd, of Virgil, was, on January 17, 1882, appointed administrator of the estate of Abigail Ann Ladd, of Virgil, deceased, intestate. Records available seem to indicate that the following were his children. Children, order not

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known: 1. George H., who died January 16, 1889, began work in the shoemaking line at Virgil Corners in 1850, still following it in 1885. In 1882 he was administrator of the estate of his mother. 2. Augustus E., whose will, dated February 13, 1912, proved March 11, 1912, shows that he had a son, William Earl, by his first wife, and that he married (second) Mary E., who died after 1912. 3. Celia, born August 14, 1838, was "entitled to certain personal estate" when, on December 17, 1856, George H. Ladd was appointed her guardian. 4. Matilda, of whom further.

("Cortland County, New York, Deeds," Book U, pp. 270, 271; Book V, p. 413. "Guardians Book II," p. 109. "Cortland County Letters of Administration," Book D, p. 425; Book E, p. 343. "Cortland County Wills," Book III, p. 581. H. P. Smith: "History of Cortland County, New York" (1885), p. 341. Family data.)

II. Matilda Ladd, daughter of George B. and "Nabe Anne" Ladd, married Julian C. Seamans. (Seamans II.)

(Family data.)

(The Alexander Line)

Arms—Per pale argent and sable a chevron, and in base a crescent, all counter-changed. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Defender of man is the translation of the Greek Alexandros or Alexander. Alexander was an old personal name, common to all Europe and an early favorite in England. It has many variations, as Saunders and Sander. It is thought that our ancestor came from Scotland, though little is known of the early line of the family.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. Captain Solomon Alexander, probably descended from John Alexander, of Newton, Massachusetts, who came from Scotland, lived in Newton. Solomon had a son, Solomon, of whom further.

("Vital Records, Newton, Massachusetts," p. 12. C. H. Brown: "Brown Genealogy," p. 452.)

II. Captain Solomon Alexander, Jr., son of Captain Solomon Alexander, was born in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1751. In his will, Elisha Brown, of Leyden, Massachusetts, mentions his daughter Jerusha Alexander and her son Elisha Alexander, and also names the land, six acres with buildings thereon, which he bought of Captain Solomon



Alexander

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Alexander. The notice of probate was to be printed in a Brattleboro paper.

Solomon Alexander married, May 10, 1792, Jerusha Brown. (Brown—Line Two—Generation V.) Children: 1. Elisha, of whom further. 2. Nancy, born April 20, 1794.

(C. H. Brown: "The Brown Genealogy," Vol. I, p. 422; Vol. II, p. 452.)

III. Elisha Alexander, son of Solomon and Jerusha (Brown) Alexander, was born at Leyden, Massachusetts, March 11, 1793, and died there December 23, 1873. He was a farmer and a well-known veterinary, ministering to sick animals in towns widely distant from his home in Leyden, Franklin County. He was captain of the militia in his younger days and was known in later life as "Captain Elisha." His religious affiliations were with the Methodist Church, of which he was a devoted member. He married, June 26, 1814, Mary Brown, born July 6, 1790, died December 20, 1880, daughter of Amos and Esther (Babcock) Brown. Children, born at Leyden, Massachusetts: 1. Mary Almira, born September 12, 1815; married Josiah A. Gates. 2. Elisha Draper, born July 21, 1818; married Maria Stuart. 3. Jerusha, born March 12, 1820, died in February, 1896; married Mr. Gibbs. 4. Esther, born February 1, 1822; married Peter Gates. 5. Electa, born July 7, 1824, died December 31, 1894; married William Babcock. 6. Nancy M., of whom further. 7. Solomon Henry, born January 6, 1829; married Sarah Akley. 8. William B., born August 16, 1832; married Jerusha Marsh.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 452-53.)

IV. Nancy M. Alexander, daughter of Elisha and Mary (Brown) Alexander, was born in Leyden, Massachusetts, August 16, 1826, and died in Syracuse, New York, January 26, 1907. She married Stephen Smith Brown. (Brown—Line One—Generation VI.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 284.)

(The Browne (Brown) Line—Line Two)

Arms—Gules a chevron between three lions' gambes argent on a chief of the last an eagle displayed sable membered or, all within a bordure azure.

Crest—A lion's gamb erased and erect gules holding a ring argent.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Charles Browne, probably born in Suffolk, England, was one of the early settlers of Rowley, Massachusetts. He taught in the Rowley

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school, and also played the drum for the town. He was buried December 16, 1687. He married, August 14, 1647, Mary Acey, daughter of William and Margaret Acey, of Rowley. Children: 1. Beriah, born May 8, 1648; married, January 6, 1673-74, Sarah Harris. 2. Gershom, buried December 5, 1683. 3. William, born December 11, 1651, died in the "Canada voyage." 4. John, born December 5, 1653; married Abigail Browne. 5. Samuel, born May 8, 1655. 6. Ebenezer, born September 14, 1658; married (first), July 29, 1698, Mary Jewett; married (second) Mehitable Hovey, of Ipswich. 7. Nathaniel, of whom further. 8. Mary, buried December 9, 1662. 9. Joseph, born June 29, 1668, died before 1690.

(C. H. Brown: "The Brown Genealogy," Vol. II, p. 405.)

II. Nathaniel Brown, son of Charles and Mary (Acey) Brown, was born at Rowley, Massachusetts, May 20, 1660, and died in May, 1731. His will was probated May 16, 1731, in Groton, Connecticut. On June 29, 1707, he sold his homestead in Rowley to the brother of his wife, Jonathan Wheeler. He is first mentioned in Groton land records in 1709, when he bought "a certain tract of upland and swamp" from Gershom Rice, of Sudbury, Massachusetts. This land was located on the west side of the "Great Brook that runneth into Poquomack Cove," originally part of the two hundred acres of land owned by Daniel Lane, of New London, Connecticut. In his will he bequeathed this homestead to his sons Benjamin, Abner, and William. Nathaniel Brown married, June 4, 1685, Mary Wheeler, daughter of David and Sarah (Wise) Wheeler, of Rowley and Newburyport, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Gershom, born March 20, 1686, died at Groton, in 1737; married, July 8, 1714, Ann (Hubbard) Foote, daughter of Hugh and Jane (Latham) Hubbard, widow of Stallion Foote. 2. Nathaniel, born May 15, 1688, died in 1689. 3. Nathaniel, Jr., of whom further. 4. Mary, baptized October 13, 1692, died young. 5. Mary, born January 19, 1693; married Mr. Hodskin. 6. Martha, born October 12, 1695; married Mr. Hartwell. 7. Benjamin, born November 13, 1698, died in 1782; married (first) Sarah Walworth, daughter of John Walworth; married (second) Abigail. 8. Sarah, baptized September 8, 1700, died in 1731. 9. Mehitable, baptized April 29, 1702; married, at Norwich, Connecticut, December 15, 1720, Daniel Woodworth. 10. Ruth; married, at Groton, February

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19, 1729, Joshua Woodworth. 11. William, baptized October 14, 1705. 12. Abner, born at Groton.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 408-09.)

III. *Nathaniel Brown, Jr.*, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Wheeler) Brown, was baptized at Rowley, Massachusetts, in September, 1690, and died at Groton, Connecticut, in July, 1770. For several years he lived and was a citizen of Norwich, Connecticut, but in 1721 bought land in Groton, and February 21, 1730, and April 2, 1731, his father sold him land on "Fort Hill, Long Hill by the ferry, and by Nawayank," and all the right originally the right of Ephraim and Mary Colver, heirs of Ephraim Colver, deceased. Nathaniel Brown, Jr., married, July 11, 1715, Anna Haynes, born at Preston, Connecticut, September 12, 1697, daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth (Stark-Lambert) Haynes. Children: 1. Nathaniel, 3d, born at Groton, June 6, 1716, died in July, 1807; married (first) Mary Morgan, daughter of William Morgan. She died in October, 1771, aged fifty-three years. He probably married (second) Hannah, who died in August, 1804. 2. Comfort, born at Groton, October 4, 1718; married (first) Margery Morgan; married (second) Temperance Brown, daughter of Eleazer and Temperance Brown. 3. Joseph, born November 16, 1720, died December 20, 1750. 4. Ebenezer; married Ruth Morgan, daughter of Captain John and Sarah (Cobb) Morgan. 5. Elijah, born about 1730, died at North Groton, in December, 1803, aged seventy-three years; married Eunice Morgan, daughter of Captain John and Sarah (Cobb) Morgan. 6. Elisha, of whom further. 7. Anna, died at North Groton, in December, 1797; unmarried. 8. Mary.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 411, 412.)

IV. *Elisha Brown*, son of Nathaniel and Anna (Haynes) Brown, was born about 1731, and died September 28, 1813. The following is the war record of Elisha Brown:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT HARTFORD, July 1, 1902.

ELISHA BROWN

served in the War of the Revolution, and the following is his service according to the records of this office:

On page 50, "Record of Conn. Men in the War of the Revolution," appears the following: "Elisha Brown, private in Captain

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Levi Wells' company, Colonel Joseph Spencer's regiment. Enlisted May 9, 1775; discharged December 17, 1775. Regiment raised on first call for troops by the Legislature, April-May, '75. Marching by companies to the camps around Boston, it took post at Roxbury and served during the siege until expiration of term of service, Dec., '75. Detachments of officers and men engaged at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, and in Arnold's Quebec Expedition, Sept.-Dec., '75. Adopted as Continental."

On page 461 appears the following: "Elisha Brown, private in Captain Jonathan Hale's company, Colonel Erastus Wolcott's regiment, 1776."

On page 461 appears the following: "Elisha Brown, private in Captain Caleb Clark's company, 11th Regiment of Militia at New York in 1776."

In witness whereof we have affixed hereto the seal of this office.
WM. E. F. LANDERS, Asst. Adjt. General.

In his will he left a good deal of land to his daughter, Jerusha, and her son, Elisha Alexander, and this included land he had bought from Captain Solomon Alexander. He married Content Leeds, daughter of Thomas and Content (Williams) Leeds, of New London. Children, born at Groton: 1. Experience, born in 1756; married Nathaniel Hall. 2. Content, born in 1758; married William Champlin. 3. Elizabeth, born in 1760; married Nehemiah Gallup. 4. Hannah, born about 1762; married (first), October 23, 1787, Edwardis Avardis Allen, son of Amos Allen, of Deerfield, Massachusetts; married (second) Mr. Lewis. 5. Jerusha, of whom further. 6. Elisha, born about 1766; married Susannah Mowry. 7. Thomas, born March 7, 1769; married Rachel Franklin. 8. Margery; married Owen Briggs. 9. Elijah, born May 17, 1773; married Rhoda Childs. 10. Polly, born about 1775, died at Leyden, Massachusetts, in 1800; married, in 1798, George Mowry, son of Richard Mowry, of Leyden. 11. Deborah, born in 1777; married Simeon Packer. 12. Elizabeth, died aged eighteen years. 13. Nathaniel, born about 1780; married Anna Johnson.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 419-20, 422.)

V. Jerusha Brown, daughter of Elisha and Content (Leeds) Brown, was born in Groton, May 18, 1764, and died at Leyden, Massachusetts, April 7, 1856. She married Captain Solomon Alexander, Jr. (Alexander II.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 452.)

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(The Smith Line)

Closely connected as this surname is with the personal identity of thousands of English-speaking people, it enjoys the proud preëminence of being the commonest of all English surnames, and has one of the most interesting histories of any surname in the language. The word itself is from the Ango-Saxon *smitan*, to smite, originally any one who strikes or smites with a hammer, an artificer, a carpenter, smith or workman. In the Bible record it was said at one time that there was not a smith in all of Israel, and that fact was felt, as he was an important factor of any community. Smithcraft was highly thought of throughout the Middle Ages; in mythology, wherein Vulcan was worshipped for the God of this trade; and in the classical times of Fabri. The name has never been limited to any one locality.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

John Smith, of County Bristol, left this following deed:

To all People to whom these Presents shall come Greeting, Know ye, that I John Smith, of Taunton, in the County of Bristol in New England, Yeoman

For and in consideration of the Sum of Eight Hundred pounds in Bills of Credit to me in hand before the Ensealing thereof, well and truly paid by my son Stephen Smith of Dighton in said County of Bristol Yeoman the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, and myself therewith fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof do exonerate, acquit and discharge him, said Stephen Smith his Heirs, Executors and Administrators forever by these Presents: HAVE given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, conveyed and confirmed, and by these presents, do freely, fully and absolutely give grant, bargain, sell, aliene, convey and confirm unto him the said Stephen Smith his Heirs and Assigns for ever, One Half of Three Lotts of Land in the South Purchase on upper Dighton, in the Town of Dighton in the County of Bristol aforesaid being the Twenty First, Twenty Second and Twenty Third Lotts in Said Dighton and in the Lower half part of said Lotts in Said . . . from the Highway, Northerly by Land of John Hathaway untill one Mill is extended from said Highway to a stake marked the me to run a line across said three Lotts unto the Lott of Land of said Ebenezer Pitts Deceased now said Smiths then bounded upon said Pitts former Lott being in Number the 24th Lott until it has Extended one Mill and to the Highway aforesaid with all fences, orchards and Buildings thereon standing and growing.

Although there were some thirty John Smiths in the towns of Dighton and Taunton at that time, it is most probable that this John

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Smith was the father of Stephen Smith, first because he gave the land to the only Stephen Smith in the town, and secondly because their ages coincide accurately.

("Bristol County Records," Book 26, p. 443.)

I. Stephen Smith, probably the son of John Smith, of Taunton, lived in Dighton, which was originally included in the town of Taunton, Bristol County, Massachusetts. He was listed in the Land Bank of 1740. He married, March 18, 1732-33, Elizabeth Dean, of Taunton. Children. 1. Elizabeth, born October 27, 1733. 2. Hannah, born July 14, 1735. 3. Sarah, born January 16, 1737. 4. Stephen, of whom further. 5. Anne, born September 8, 1741. 6. Mary, born in October, 1743. 7. Sybil, born December 11, 1745. 8. Anne, born January 3, 1752. 9. Abigail, born February 27, 1754. 10. John, born January 19, 1756.

("Dighton Town Records," p. 87; Vol. I, p. 43. "Taunton Vital Records," Vol. II, p. 142.)

II. Stephen Smith, Jr., son of Stephen and Elizabeth (Dean) Smith, was born at Dighton, Massachusetts, April 17, 1739. At a town meeting May 19, 1776, he was chosen as constable of the south part of the town. He was selectman of the town in 1787 and 1789. At the town meeting held September 2, 1771, it was voted to pay "To Stephen Smith for boarding the school master one week, 6s." He lived in his father's house on the present Smith Street, for there are records dated September 17, 1767, in relation to a road which was to pass by his house:

Bristol ss To Samll Phillips Gent one of u Surveyors of the Highways of ye Town of Dighton for ye year of ye 1767 . . . you are Hearby Required to Mend and keep in good repair the Highways and Bridges within ye Following Bounds, Beginning at Swanzey Line Eand and on ye west By Rehoboth line to Extend so far North untill it Comes lin a Raing with the North Side of the Lotts on which Stephen Smith Junr Dwells including the Highway by sd Smiths House in a Stregth Line to yet first Mentioned line & ye Inhabitants & their teems within sd Bounds are set of to you to mend and keep in Repair ye sd Highway & Bridges.

Given under our hand and seal at Dighton ye 17th Sept. in ye year of his Magesties Regain A. D. 1767.

SILVESTOR RICHMOND } Selectman

JOSEPH ATWOOD } of Dighton.

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Stephen Smith, Jr., married (first), December 12, 1761 (date of intentions, though no marriage date is found), Alirttabt Walker, of Taunton. He married (second), October 29, 1763 (date of intentions, no marriage date found), Anne Briggs. Children: 1. Lurane, born June 27, 1764. 2. Stephen, born March 7, 1766; married, March 25, 1790, Rebecca Simmons. 3. Asa, of whom further. 4. Anna, born May 10, 1771.

("Dighton Town Records," 1767, Vol. I, pp. 28, 43. "Dighton Vital Records," pp. 82, 138, 151.)

III. Asa Smith, son of Stephen, Jr., and Anne (Briggs) Smith, was born in Dighton, Massachusetts, October 2, 1767. The only record of him is the following:

SATURDAY, JULY THE 1ST, 1809.

At a meeting of Labour ye chh met at one o'clock P. M. T's tty B. Asa Smith manifested that he Grieved with Brother Luther for rip'ng and contradicting what Elder Sawyer has sd in his sermon on the Sabbath this took place Immediately after the sermon.

As Br. Smith had taken the 1st and second step with Br. Luther the chh took it into consideration and . . . in his was and which the Chh thought Br. Luther was rong for doing.

2ndly ye Chh Disaprobated the Doctrines that Bro. Luther held up to our view thinking it to be contrary to the Scripture. . . . Since we have been under obligation to admonish one of our members even Br. Luther we acknowledge that it is not for his Principal of Faith that we have Done it But for his Conduct and opposition to the Chh.

(Shortly before this the church had passed an ordinance forbidding its members to "rip and condemn" the minister's sermons after church.)

Asa Smith married, September 4, 1793, Sybil Anthony, of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Sally, of whom further. 2. Asa, born March 5, 1796. 3. John, born June 26, 1798. 4. Polly, born February 10, 1801, died August 22, 1802. 5. Polly, born February 10, 1803. 6. Seth, born February 1, 1805. 7. Patty, born January 10, 1807. 8. Jonathan Anthony, born January 11, 1809. 9. Lorany Ann, born April 10, 1811.

("Dighton Baptist Church Records," Vol. I, p. 34. J. O. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," p. 347. J. Hurd: "History of Bristol County, Massachusetts," pp. 607-09.)

IV. Sally Smith, daughter of Asa and Sybil (Anthony) Smith, was born in Dighton, Massachusetts, March 6, 1794, and died at Scott,

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New York, November 19, 1859. She was connected for many years with the Dighton Baptist Church. She married Timothy Brown. (Brown—Line One—Generation V.)

(C. H. Brown: "Brown Genealogy," Vol. II, p. 282.)

(The Pendleton Line)

Arms—Azure on a fesse gules three garbs or, a chief argent.

Crest—A lion's paw sable holding a battle axe or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Pendleton originated to designate a resident of Pendleton chapelry in Eccles Parish, near Manchester, Lancashire, Siward de Penilton is mentioned in an agreement on October 20, 1246, as to the share of his children Cecily, Hawise, and Isold in lands in Penelton. In the records of Perquisites of Salford, adjoining Manchester, Roger de Penilton is mentioned May 9, 1325, and for September 16, 1325, Thomas, son of Agnes and Adam de Pennulton. The family spread into Yorkshire, where the Poll Tax, 1379, mentions Thomas de Pendleton.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Brian Pendleton, born in England about 1599, according to his deposition of July 2, 1669, first appears in the records of Watertown, Massachusetts, August 23, 1634, when he was one of three chosen to order the civil affairs of the town. On September 3, 1634, the General Court made him freeman. He was reëlected August 30, 1635, and August 10, 1636, to order town affairs, the name "selectman" being used after 1647 to designate that office.

With other citizens of Watertown, in 1638, he petitioned the General Court for liberty to form a new plantation to the westward, and the court on September 6 granted the petition, naming the town Sudbury. In 1646 Pendleton returned to Watertown and purchased, on September 30, the lands of Robert Lockwood, and became a member of the Artillery Company of Massachusetts, now known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He was elected a deputy to the General Court May 26, 1647, and reëlected May 10, 1648. He was styled "Lieutenant" in March, 1647-48. On March 26, 1648-49, he sold to Robert Daniel much of his Watertown property, and on November 9, 1648, bought from John Whittingham a six hundred-acre farm in Ipswich, Massachusetts. Next he removed to Strawberry Bank (now Portsmouth), New Hampshire, in 1651, the selectmen there

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granting him, on August 11, 1651, a parcel of land for a house and garden. He presented a petition dated October 20, 1651, from the inhabitants of Strawberry Bank for laying out the town, and for two courts every year there and at Dover. The court granted the petition, and made Mr. Pendleton an Associate Justice for one year, reappointing him in 1652. He was chosen one of five selectmen, January 13, 1652-53. In October, 1652, he was appointed one of four commissioners to treat with the province of Maine as to coming under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, the inhabitants of Kittery consenting November 16, and those of York November 22, 1652. Saco and Cape Porpoise, on July 4 and 5, 1653, yielded allegiance to Massachusetts. Pendleton was reelected selectman of Portsmouth in 1653 and 1654, also for each year from 1657 to 1662. He was town treasurer 1654-63, grand jurymen for one year from July 4, 1659, and deputy to the General Court 1653, 1654, 1658, 1660, 1661, and 1663. He was chosen commander of the train band at Portsmouth May 17, 1652, and styled "captain" from 1654 on, and received a regular commission, as appears on the record of October 19, 1664. He was a merchant and had interests in fisheries at the Isles of Shoals and along the Maine coast. He acquired also considerable property at Portsmouth and in Maine; Long Island at Cape Porpoise and one hundred acres on the mainland; and a house and one hundred acres at Winter Harbor (now Saco), where he settled in 1665; and was appointed, in October, 1668, special magistrate and major of the York County Regiment. On October 23, 1672, he was relieved, at his own request, of military duties. He was an Associate Justice at Saco 1672, 1675, and 1676 for York County, Maine. After holding out for a time in King Philip's War, 1676, he retired for a year and a half to Portsmouth. In 1680, he was one of the resident justices at York, and on March 17, 1680, was made deputy president. He was one of the leaders of the Puritan party in New Hampshire, and the chief leader in Maine, and he remained in harness until the last, summoning a court October 19, 1680. He died the following year in April, his will being probated at York County, April 23, 1681.

Brian Pendleton married Eleanor before coming to New England. She was living July 28, 1688. Children, born in England: 1. Mary; married Reverend Seth Fletcher. 2. James, of whom further. 3. Caleb; married Judith.

(E. H. Pendleton: "Brian Pendleton and His Descendants," pp. 1-9, 13, 16, 20, 27, 28.)

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II. James Pendleton, son of Brian and Eleanor Pendleton, was born in England, about 1628, and died in Westerly, Rhode Island, November 29, 1709. He was admitted freeman at Watertown, Massachusetts, May 10, 1648. October 21, 1650, he sold his land in Watertown and removed to Sudbury, where he served on a coroner's jury in May, 1654. On March 22, 1656, he received from his father, Brian Pendleton, a deed of gift of his homestead and other property in Sudbury, which James retained for thirty-five years, though he appears on Portsmouth, New Hampshire, records among the landholders there in 1657, having thirty-one acres. He was chosen a grand jurymen of Portsmouth for the year following July 4, 1659, though his family remained at Sudbury until 1661. On June 10, 1661, he was chosen constable at Portsmouth; March 2, 1662-63, he was chosen a selectman, and to keep the town book as town clerk, an office which he held until March 6, 1664-65. He was reëlected selectman March 1, 1663-64; March 8, 1666-67, and March 9, 1667-68. On October 2, 1666, he was chosen captain of the Portsmouth military company. In January, 1667, sixty-nine acres of land were laid out to him. In 1671, he was one of the ten men who formed the First Church of Portsmouth, but in the same year began to dispose of his lands and continued to do so in 1672. Some time in 1673 or 1674, he went to look over a seven hundred-acre tract his father had purchased for him on the east side of the lower Pawcatuck River, then considered a part of Stonington, Connecticut, and on April 28, 1675, the one thousand acres formerly laid out to John Payne, of Boston, was transferred to him, with thirty acres of meadow. December 27, 1675, he was one of the listers and raters of Stonington, now called assessors. In 1676, he served in King Philip's War, and on December 27, 1677, he was chosen one of the selectmen of Stonington, and reëlected December 25, 1678. He appears in 1679 as an inhabitant of Westerly, Rhode Island, and on January 25, 1688, he bought one thousand acres on the seacoast at Westerly, including Watch Hill; and in 1699 he was chosen a town councillor of Westerly, and was reëlected in 1709, the year of his death.

James Pendleton married (first), at Sudbury, Massachusetts, October 22, 1647, Mary Palmer, who died at Sudbury, November 7, 1655. He married (second), April 29, 1656, Hannah Goodenow. (Goode-now II.) Children of first marriage: 1. James, Jr., born in Watertown,

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Massachusetts, November 5, 1650, mentioned as dead in 1698; probably unmarried. 2. Mary, born about 1653, died in 1732; married three times. 3. Hannah, born about 1655; married, January 13, 1679, John Bush. Children of second marriage: 4. Brian, born in Sudbury, July 23, 1659, died without issue. 5. Joseph, born in Sudbury, December 29, 1661, and died at Westerly, February 18, 1706; married (first), July 8, 1696, Deborah Miner, daughter of Ephraim Miner, of Stonington, Connecticut; married (second), December 11, 1700, Patience Potts, daughter of William Potts, of New London, Connecticut. 6. Edmund, born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June 24, 1665; married Mary. 7. Ann, of whom further. 8. Caleb, born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 8, 1669; married Elizabeth. 9. Sarah, baptized in Stonington, Connecticut, April 18, 1675, died young. 10. Eleanor, baptized at Stonington, July 20, 1679; married William Walker. 11. Dorothy, baptized at Stonington, October 3, 1686; married Nicholas Cottrell, 3d.

(E. H. Pendleton: "Brian Pendleton and His Descendants," pp. 30-34, 37. "Sudbury, Massachusetts, Vital Records," p. 110. "Dover, New Hampshire, Historical Society Collections," Vol. I, p. 120.)

III. Ann Pendleton, daughter of Captain James and Hannah (Goodenow) Pendleton, was born at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and died in Stonington, Connecticut. She married Eleazer Brown. (Brown—Line One—Generation II.)

("Stonington, Connecticut, First Church Records." R. A. Wheeler: "History of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 531.)

(The Goodenough (Goodenow) Line)

Arms—Argent a chevron sable between three pellets.

Crest—A tower sable inflamed at the top proper.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Some authorities believe that the origin of this name was in the moral qualities of the man. It is more logical that the name is derived from the locality where the family first dwelt. Knowe is a Scotticism, equivalent to the southern knoll, a little round hill, while good indicated the nature of the soil near or upon which they resided. Geoffery Godenogh is in the Hundred Rolls of County Kent, in 1273, and in the early records are other variations of the name, as Goodenough, Godynogh.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

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I. Edmund Goodenow and his brothers, John and Thomas, were among the first grantees of Sudbury, Massachusetts, in 1638. They came to New England in the ship "Confidence," sailing from the port of Southampton, England. At that date Edmund was aged twenty-seven, John forty-two, and Thomas was thirty. Edmund came from Dunhead in Wiltshire, and was a representative from Sudbury in 1645 and 1650. He died April 5, 1688. He married (first) Ann, who died March 9, 1675; married (second) Sarah, who died November 6, 1691. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born in England, died August 6, 1721; married Hannah, who died in 1704. 2. Thomas, probably died young. 3. Hannah, of whom further. 4. Sarah, born March 17, 1642-43; married John Kettle. 5. Joseph, born July 19, 1645. 6. Edmund, Jr., died about 1727; married, June 6, 1686, Dorothy Mann, who died April 2, 1689; married (second), Rebekah, who died February 16, 1719-20.

(J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, pp. 271-72.)

II. Hannah Goodenow, daughter of Edmund and Ann Goodenow, was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts, November 28, 1639. She died at Westerly, Rhode Island, about 1737. She married James Pendleton. (Pendleton II.)

(*Ibid.*, "Sudbury, Massachusetts, Vital Records," p. 249.)

(The Newhall Arms)

Arms—Azure, three plates or, on each an ermine spot sable.

Crest—A cross-crosslet fitchée azure.

Motto—*Diligentia ditat.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

A resident of a new hall frequently received the surname Newhall, or Newall, distinguishing him, of course, from a resident of an old place. The name is in all the early records. Thomas atte Nywehalle is in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, 1327; John de Newhalle in the list of County Cambridge, and Hugo de Newhalle is in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire of 1379. There is a township in Cheshire, which is named Newhall, and it is also from this place that the name became a popular surname.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. Thomas Newhall came to New England with his brother Anthony, landing at Salem, Massachusetts. They settled at Lynn as

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early as 1630, where Thomas became a farmer, owning thirty-seven acres of land east of the present Federal Street in that town, and twelve acres at what is now Chelsea. He married Mary, who had come from England with him. She died September 25, 1665. Children: 1. Susanna, born in England about 1624; married Richard Haven. 2. John, born in England, and married (first) Elizabeth Laighton; (second) Sarah Flanders. 3. Thomas, born in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1630, died in 1687; married, December 29, 1652, Elizabeth Potter, daughter of Robert or Nicholas Potter. She died February 20, 1686-87. 4. Mary, of whom further.

(H. F. Waters: "Newhall Family, of Lynn, Massachusetts," pp. 2-4.)

II. *Mary Newhall*, daughter of Thomas and Mary Newhall, was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, about 1637. The last mention of her on record was on April 21, 1701. She married Thomas Brown. (Brown—Line One—Generation I.)

(*Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.)



Colonel Edward Lee Baxter Davidson

Capitalist, Philanthropist

BY STANLEY G. SCOVILLE, NEW YORK CITY



DESCENDANT of noteworthy Southern ancestry, traced herein, whose brilliancy of achievement, loyalty to duty, and unselfish courage have been a challenge and an inspiration, Colonel Edward Lee Baxter Davidson is representative today of those qualities of patriotism, strength of character, and keen intelligence, which have always distinguished the Davidson family. His career has been outstanding, and filled with success, interest, and service to those around him. Charlotte, North Carolina, is justly proud of his citizenship, and the community looks up to Colonel Davidson with a respect and affection that time can never dim.

Davidson Arms—Azure, on a fesse between three pheons argent a stag couchant gules attired with ten tynes or.

Crest—A falcon's head couped proper.

Motto—*Viget in cinere virtus.*

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

I. *Robert Davidson* was born in Dundee, Scotland, and died at the age of twenty-seven. According to tradition, he emigrated first to the North of Ireland, but the oppositions and persecutions, however, to which he was there subjected, made him decide to seek freedom in America. He was an early settler in "Chestnut Level," Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and a wealthy one, and he performed many civil and military services to secure the independence of his county. Robert Davidson married Isabella Ramsey, of Dundee, Scotland, who, after his death, removed south with her two children, and located on the east side of Yadkin River, beyond Salisbury, North Carolina, where she married a second time, Henry Henry, a Princeton graduate and a noted educator, and a number of children were born. Children of the first marriage were: 1. Major John, of whom further. 2. Mary, married James Price.

(Family records.)

II. *Major John Davidson*, son of Robert and Isabella (Ramsey) Davidson, born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, December 15,



Davidson

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1735, died January 10, 1832, at "Rural Hill," Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, and is buried in the family burying grounds near Tool's Ford, on the Catawba River, North Carolina. According to tradition, Major John Davidson went to North Carolina, settling about fourteen miles northwest of Charlotte, on a plantation on the Catawba River, then called Beaver Dam. There he erected a handsome brick mansion of Colonial style, for which he manufactured his own brick. This was later known as "Rural Hill." He was a planter, a man of wealth and prominence, and owned over twenty thousand acres of land. Major Davidson established the first iron works in the State, in Lincoln County, which were known far and wide, and furnished the government the cannon balls during the War of 1812. One of the most outstanding men in the community, he was called upon to hold many public offices. He was a member of the Committee of Safety for Mecklenburg, and served as magistrate. In 1773, Major John Davidson was chosen, in conjunction with Captain Thomas Polk, to represent Mecklenburg County in the Colonial Legislature. Through his active interest, many measures for the public welfare were passed. One in which he was particularly interested, and which he introduced, was for the establishment of a courthouse in the town of Charlotte; another was the establishing of a public road to the coast to give connection with the Atlantic. According to his own statement, Major John Davidson was one of the members of the famous Mecklenburg Convention, of May 20, 1775, chosen in his captain's company, with John McKnitt Alexander as his co-adjutor, and was a signer of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20. To quote from family records, a pamphlet, "Prologue: Events Forming Background of Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775," by Dr. Alexander Graham, Charlotte, North Carolina, 1929: "While not in the foreground, and little understood by the majority in the United States, there is adequate proof that Mecklenburg was the first to declare its independence from England." Muzzy's "History," 1922, as quoted in this same pamphlet, makes the following statement: "North Carolina led all the colonies in the matter of independence, and Massachusetts and Virginia and all the other colonies fell in behind and followed her example."

The leadership of Major John Davidson and his utter devotion to his country was recognized in 1775 when he was appointed major of

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Colonel Thomas Polk's regiment and participated in the Snow campaign of that year against the Tories in South Carolina. Throughout all his military engagements his staunch patriotism and disregard of self in serving his country were manifested. In April, 1776, he was made major of Mecklenburg militia, under Colonel Adam Alexander, and took part under Rutherford, in 1776, in a campaign against the Cherokees, and in 1780, he was with Sumter at Hanging Rock. After the revolution, Major Davidson was made brigadier-general of the State Militia. He is believed to be first cousin to General William Lee Davidson, 1746-81, who likewise distinguished himself by his heroism and service, and who fell in action in the battle of his country, on the banks of Catawba, Cowan's Ford, February 1, 1781, after the battle in which General William L. Davidson was killed in action, his horse returning to the mansion of Major John Davidson, riderless and with reins over head. The house of Major John Davidson was not far from the scene, and the body was prepared for burial at the home of Samuel Wilson and David Barry, neighbors. The interment was at night, at Hopewell Church, by torchlight. The burial was prepared by Richard Barry and David Wilson. Davidson College, in honor of General William Lee Davidson, was opened in March, 1837 (see Davidson College book), as a Manual Labor Institution, and in 1838, was chartered by the Legislature. Davidson County, Tennessee, was named in General Davidson's honor, and later Davidson County, North Carolina, was so named.

In the words of Judge James W. Osborne, "Major John Davidson was a remarkable man, strong in conviction and loyal in principle. His mental tendency was both practical and literary, with a penetrating clear sightedness . . . he retained his mental faculties to the end of his life. At ninety-five years of age, he could ride twenty miles on horseback without inconvenience. His dignified, commanding figure, expressive dark eyes, and pleasing address won for him the respect and admiration of all."

Major John Davidson married Violet Wilson, born August 13, 1742, the daughter of Samuel Wilson, said to be of Royal ancestry of English descent. Their children were: 1. Rebecca, born March 20, 1762, died in 1824; married Captain Alexander Brevard. 2. Isabella, born September 21, 1764, died in 1808; married General Joseph Graham. 3. Mary Polly, born December 13, 1766, died in 1863; married

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Dr. William McLain, or McLean. 4. Robert, or Robin, born April 7, 1769, died in 1853, buried at Rural Hill Burying Grounds; married Margaret Osborne. 5. Violet, born August 27, 1771, died in 1821; married William Bane Alexander. 6. Sarah (Sallie), born June 13, 1774, died in 1842; married Rev. Alexander Caldwell. 7. Margaret, born February 8, 1776, died in 1830; married Major James Harris. 8. John, Jr., of whom further. 9. Elizabeth (Betsy), born September 15, 1782, died in 1845; married General William Lee Davidson. 10. Benjamin Wilson, "Independence Ben" (so called because he was born on the birth date of the Mecklenburg Independence, May 20), born May 20, 1787, died in 1829; married Elizabeth Latta.

(Family records.)

III. John Davidson, Jr., son of Major John and Violet (Wilson) Davidson, was born at "Rural Hill," Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 12, 1779, and is buried at the Rural Hill Burying Grounds; died April 26, 1870. He was known as "Silver-Headed Jacky," because of a surgical operation of trephining performed, in 1800, by his brother-in-law, Dr. William McLain, a sergeant in the Revolutionary War. He was possessed of a stentorian voice, and was known throughout North Carolina as "The telephone of North Carolina." He was an extensive land owner, and slave owner, and lived a long and useful life. John Davidson, Jr., married Sally Harper Brevard, died January 18, 1864, daughter of Adam Brevard, who was a brother of Dr. Ephraim Brevard, draftsman of the Declaration of the Mecklenburg Independence, and descendant of John Brevard, who, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from France, his native land, to the northern part of Ireland. His son, John, emigrated to North Carolina between 1740-50, and was the father of Adam Brevard. The children of John, Jr., and Sally Harper (Brevard) Davidson, were: 1. John Mathew Winslow, M. D., born at "Rural Hill," November 9, 1801, died in 1879; married Mary Jerusha Sylvester, daughter of Joseph and Martha (Hampton) Sylvester. 2. Mary W., born in 1803; married Joseph Doby. 3. Violet, born in 1805; married Joseph Sylvester. 4. Adam Brevard, of whom further. 5. Robert H. M., born in 1810-11. 6. Isabella S., born in 1813; married J. Warren Moore. 7. Augustus W., born in 1815, died in 1837, at West Point (New York) United States Military Academy, where there is erected a monument in his honor. 8. William S. McLain,

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M. D., born in 1818, died in 1873; married (first) Janes Torrence; (second) Rebecca Reid; (third) Mary Johnston. 9. Edward Constantine, A. B., Davidson College, 1840; LL. B., 1842, and LL. D., 1847, Harvard; a prominent attorney; major in Mexican War. He married Jane Henderson.

(Family records.)

IV. Adam Brevard Davidson, son of John, Jr., and Sally Harper (Brevard) Davidson, was born at "Rural Hill," Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, March 13, 1808, and died July 4, 1896. While not having the educational advantages of his brothers, he developed a maturity of judgment and opinion, and was rarely wrong in his convictions. Until the outbreak of the War Between the States, Mr. Davidson was probably the most wealthy man in the Carolinas and Georgia, and he became the foremost planter throughout Mecklenburg County, and western North Carolina, owning some thirty thousand acres of land, and many slaves, and being particularly efficient in the raising of cattle, Devonshires, Ayrshires and Durhams. He was president of the Mecklenburg Agricultural Society for many years. In 1849, his father gave him the fine brick mansion, "Rural Hill," which was destroyed by fire in November, 1886. Mr. Davidson was bitterly opposed to the secession of the states; North Carolina, it will be remembered, was the last State to secede. Adam Brevard Davidson was very liberal in his views, and a staunch supporter of any movement for the benefit of his country and community. An ardent "Whig," he was a firm believer in the doctrine of internal improvements, and his generous contributions and personal interest made possible the development of many enterprises for the public welfare and progress. He subscribed large amounts to the building of railroads, and owned many interests in the cotton mills of Augusta, Georgia, and was influential in persuading the county to vote three hundred thousand dollars to build the Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio Railroad, now a part of the Southern System. In 1835, he contracted for and supplied the lumber which built Davidson College, all of which he sawed at his own mills. Mr. Davidson was the founder of manufacturing industries which were to play such a prominent part in the future destiny of the South, and his benefactions and practical busy life were eloquent of the simplicity and piety of his character. At Springs Corner, now the northeast corner of Tujon and Trade streets, Charlotte, North Carolina, stands a



J. B. Davidson,



Mary L. (Springs) Davidson

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building which was erected in 1830 by Adam Brevard Davidson, by timber and lumber cut in "Rural Hill" and drawn by oxen to Springs Corner. This building, now one hundred years old, is now occupied by Liggett's drug store, and is within twenty feet of the spot where the Mecklenburg Courthouse stood, in which the Mecklenburg Declaration was signed. In September, 1847, Adam Brevard Davidson was elected one of the twelve of the first board of directors of the Charlotte and Augusta Railroad, and continued in that office until his death, performing his duties with characteristic success and keen interest. He was trustee of Davidson College for twenty-five years, and a trustee of the Theological Seminary of Columbia, South Carolina, for over fifteen years, to which he made many financial contributions. Mr. Davidson lost heavily by war, and by going security for his friends. Twenty-five years, in 1871, before his death, he discontinued planting and moved to Charlotte. Owning much city property, he occupied himself with improving his holdings, renting those farms not given to his children. "His death was the passing of one of the last links which connected the present generation with the Revolutionary fathers."

Adam Brevard Davidson married (first), in Springfield Plantation, York District, South Carolina, April 20, 1836, Mary Laura Springs, daughter of John and Mary Springs, and granddaughter of Richard and Jean (Baxter) Springs. Jean Baxter was the granddaughter of Andrew Baxter, Sr., who took an active part in the measures of resistance to the encroachments of Great Britain, and was murdered by the Tories, September 4, 1781. In regard to the Springs family, according to a volume in possession of the family, "Lineage and Tradition of the Family of John Springs III," edited by Maud Craig Matthews, 1921, "Springs was originally Springsteen. In 1620, when the 'Mayflower' landed, one-third of those she carried were boys and girls who had been born in Holland. In New York many Hollanders bought land, in small tracts at first, from the Indians rather than be subjects of the rich 'patroons.' Among these were the Springsteens, who settled first on Long Island, in 1652, among whose records we find deeds and titles to lands bought of the Indians." Mary Laura (Spring) Davidson was educated at Salem Academy, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and later entered a finishing school at Philadelphia, conducted by Madame Sazarin. She was for many years a member of Hopewell Presbyterian Church, and died in the year 1872.

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Adam Brevard Davidson married (second), in 1876, Cornelia C. Elmore, daughter of Senator Franklin H. Elmore, of South Carolina, who succeeded John C. Calhoun in the United States Senate. Children of the first marriage: i. Mary Laura, born February 3, 1837, died May 8, 1902; married, August 10, 1859, Alexander Sinclair, D. D.; they had children: i. Brevard Davidson, who married Talulah K. Bair, they the parents of five children. ii. Mary Stuart, who died December 31, 1929; married Samuel D. Pelham, and had children: (a) Charles Pierce, born October 7, 1894; (b) Mary Virginia, born October 10, 1900, died young. iii. Laura Virginia, born August 20, 1870; married, April 19, 1899, David M. Skilling, D. D., of Lonaconing, Maryland, now stationed at Webster Grove, Missouri; their children are: (a) David Miller, Jr., born February 2, 1900. (b) Mary Virginia, born July 18, 1907. iv. Alexander McLean, who married Caroline Stiles Grant; their children are: (a) Alexander McLean. (b) Hugh. v. Annie Harley, born February 3, 1875, died July 9, 1892. 2. John Springs, "father of the good roads" in North Carolina; veteran of the Civil War; born August 6, 1838, died at "Rural Hill," August 7, 1899, and is buried in the Rural Hill Burying Grounds; he married, May 31, 1864, Minnie Caldwell, who died June 30, 1898, the daughter of Dr. Thomas Caldwell, prominent physician and planter of Mecklenburg County. John Springs Davidson inherited the old Davidson homestead and plantation, "Rural Hill," where, with his family, he lived and died. Prominent as a planter, he was one of Mecklenburg's best known citizens, and was admired and respected for his genial personality and active interest in community enterprises. He and Captain S. B. Alexander were the founders of Mecklenburg's Road Law, and Mr. Davidson was one of three commissioners appointed by the Populist Legislature. Proud of his distinctive ancestry, he never failed to prove himself a worthy descendant. In 1862, he entered the Confederate Army, Company C, Brem's Battery, 10th Regiment, 1st Artillery, and served with distinction and valor. The children of John Springs and Minnie (Caldwell) Davidson were: i. Thomas Brevard, born January 6, 1866; married, December 18, 1906, Louisa Waddell, of Virginia, who died in 1907. ii. Joseph Graham, born April 17, 1868; married, November 23, 1904, Annie May Alexander; had children: (a) John Springs. (b) Elizabeth. (c) Joseph Graham, Jr. (d) Mae. iii. Harriet Baxter, born September 27,

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1871; married, January 22, 1904, Dr. J. S. Abernathy; had child: (a) Sarah Harper. iv. John Springs, Jr., born January 26, 1874, died June 10, 1878. v. Baxter Craighead, born September 28, 1876; married Louise Hege, of Jacksonville, Florida; had children: (a) Mary Louise. (b) Alice Caldwell. vi. Mary Springs, born July 14, 1879. 3. William, born in 1840, died at Concord, North Carolina. 4. Robert Augustus, born in 1842, senior student at Davidson College in 1861, died in 1865; enlisted in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, a sergeant of Company F, 63d Regiment, 5th North Carolina Cavalry; taken prisoner September 23, 1863, at Jack Shops, Virginia, and sent to Point Lookout, Maryland, and later to Elmira, New York, where he was released, and died at Rural Hill after spending sixteen months in the Northern prison. 5. Richard Austin, born in 1843, died April 1, 1892; a Civil War veteran of the same regiment and company as his brother, Robert Augustus. 6. Sarah (Sally) Harper, born in 1845; unmarried; residing in Charlotte, where she leads an active and interested life. 7. Jane (Jennie) Baxter, born November 17, 1847, died December 28, 1879; married, October 22, 1873, James Meek Miller, M. D., who died September 22, 1893, and served as a captain of artillery in the Civil War; their children: i. Brevard Davidson, born July 27, 1874; married, November 14, 1900, Mildred Kyle, one of twin daughters of J. R. S. Reid, of Norfolk, Virginia; graduate of Virginia Polytechnic Institute in 1896; successfully engaged in the cotton mill business; their children: (a) Brevard Davidson, Jr., born at Birmingham, Alabama, April 24, 1904. (b) Margaret Reid, born May 24, 1905. ii. Alvenia Barnette, A. B., M. A., Ph. D., born December 1, 1875; during World War entrusted with several missions of diplomatic nature by the United States Government; author of "Keats' Relation with Byron and Shelley"; Professor of English and Letters at the American College for Women, Constantinople, Turkey. 8. Amanda Margaret, twin, born June 17, 1849; married Andrew Jackson Beall, of Atlanta, Georgia, son of John and Caroline (McGehee) Beall, of Tennessee, and captain in the Confederate service, in the War Between the States; their children: i. John Brevard, born September 8, 1876; married, June 5, 1915, Helen Wilder, and had John Brevard, Jr., born June 10, 1916. ii. Mary Maud, born September 22, 1878, died in 1930; married, June 24, 1901, Hope Caldwell Neely, and had: (a) Hope Caldwell, Jr., born October 8, 1903. iii. Carrie Pullum,

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born October 3, 1880, died February 28, 1912; married, November 17, 1903, Henry Holland Springs; they had: (a) Adam Alexander, born September 4, 1904. (b) Jackson Beall, born February 2, 1907. (c) Amanda Davidson, born April 27, 1908. (d) Sarah Holland, born October 4, 1909. iv. Isabel Montgomery, born January 1, 1883; unmarried, of Atlanta, Georgia. v. Andrew Jackson, Jr., born March 12, 1887; married Sarah Oliver, of Anderson, South Carolina; their children are: (a) Sarah. (b) Andrew Jackson. (c) Elizabeth. 9. Isabella, twin, born at "Rural Hill," June 17, 1849; married at "Rural Hill," September 6, 1871, Charles Gaines Montgomery, born April 26, 1843, of Concord, North Carolina, son of Dr. J. H. Montgomery; Charles Gaines Montgomery is prominent in social and civic life, having been mayor of Concord in 1876, and a pioneer advocate in the Prohibition movement; their children, nine of whom are living, are: i. Mary Davidson, born June 21, 1872, died August 9, 1873. ii. Isabel Davidson, born November 17, 1873, died January 30, 1905; married, at Concord, North Carolina, May 16, 1895, Beverly Snyder Jerman, of Raleigh, North Carolina, and had: (a) Charles Montgomery, born February 27, 1896, died July 16, 1896. (b) Beverly Snyder, Jr., born May 22, 1897, died April 24, 1898. (c) Julia Borden, born September 9, 1898. (d) Montgomery, born June 18, 1900. (e) Snyder, born October 3, 1902, died in May, 1903. iii. John Brevard, born at Concord, January 10, 1876; married, at Gadsden, Alabama, April 26, 1899, Ada Lucitte Pope. iv. Amanda May, born at Concord, October 10, 1877, died at Concord, February 17, 1894. v. Charles Gaines, Jr., born at Concord, April 21, 1879; married, at Shreveport, Louisiana, January 8, 1914, Lucie Annette Harris, of Carrollton, Georgia; during the World War was stationed at Bordeaux, France, and was with the American Expeditionary Forces eighteen months, and a captain. vi. William Henry (Harry), born at Concord, November 3, 1880. vii. Francis Schroeder, born at Concord, March 13, 1882; married, at Kittanning, Pennsylvania, April 26, 1916, Kathryn Wick. viii. Julia Baxter, born at Concord, February 6, 1884, died at Concord, August 20, 1884. ix. Lucy Creasy, born at Concord, June 4, 1885, died at Concord, December 8, 1887. x. LeRoy Springs, born at Concord, February 26, 1887; married, at New York City, December 10, 1903, Beatrice Milner. xi. Annie Laurie, born at Concord, February 3, 1889, died at Concord, January 7, 1890. xii. Jenny



E. L. Baxter Davidson

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Augusta, born at Concord, September 25, 1890; married, at Bessemer, Alabama, July 17, 1923, John W. Donaldson. xiii. Betty Lilly, born at Concord, January 14, 1893. 10. Adam Brevard, Jr., born in 1852, died in 1868-69. 11. Blandie R., born in 1853. 12. LeRoy Springs, born in 1855, died in 1915. 13. Julia Stockton, born May 6, 1857, died in January, 1930; married, April 17, 1883, Rev. Thomas Hamlin Strohecker, a minister of Charleston, South Carolina; their children were: i. Sallie Harper, born at Gold Hill, North Carolina, March 6, 1885. ii. Thomas Hamlin, born at Gold Hill, November 28, 1886. iii. Brevard Davidson, born at Lancaster, Illinois, December 4, 1888. iv. Baxter Springs, born at Troutman, North Carolina, February 7, 1891. v. Charles Duls, born at Barium Springs, North Carolina. vi. Bessie Louise, born at Barium Springs, April 26, 1896, died September 1, 1896. vii. Edward Louis, born at Barium Springs, November 2, 1898. 14. Colonel Edward Lee Baxter, of whom further. 15. Fannie Baxter, died in infancy.

(Family records.)

V. Colonel Edward Lee Baxter Davidson, son of Adam Brevard and Mary Laura (Springs) Davidson, was born at "Rural Hill," Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 27, 1858. To the teachers of his young boyhood days he acknowledges a debt of gratitude which the years have not dimmed. His memories of those who as early as 1868 guided his instruction are as clear to him as if these early friends still lived. In that year his teachers were Mrs. Harriett (Osborne) Moore, and Miss Margaret Osborne, sisters of Judge James Walker Osborne, a gifted, conscientious, and devout Christian teacher, and P. P. Maxwell. Under this tutelage, and later under that of his sister, Mrs. Isabella (Davidson) Montgomery, and equipped with a noble inheritance of high examples of service, the boy grew in the development of those qualities of manhood which were his natural birthright. His education was continued when his father took him, in company with his older brother, Leroy S., and Brevard Sinclair, his nephew, to "Alexandriana Postoffice," Statesville Road, eight miles from Davidson College, where they boarded and studied under Captain J. H. McClintock, a graduate of Davidson. He also studied in Charlotte with Professor Fetter. In 1872 Colonel Davidson began his preparation for college at Finley High School, Lenoir, North Caro-

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lina, and then matriculated at Davidson, receiving the finest type of instruction under capable teachers who did their utmost in educating this boy, so that in learning, as in character, he might be adequately fitted to carry on the traditions of a family outstanding in its citizenship. During his school days, which the colonel recalls as having been the happiest of his life, he enjoyed to the full the companionship of his classmates, of them being the late James W. Osborne, noted attorney of New York; Henry Louis Smith, who became an outstanding educator, and Davidson's president, and later president of Washington and Lee University. The college has always occupied a tender place in the heart of Colonel Davidson, and "it can truly be said that financial support which came to Davidson College from the Davidson family became a tradition." Colonel Davidson, himself inspired by his interest in this scene of so many pleasant memories, has donated the sum of \$22,500 to the college from time to time, as a memorial to his father and mother. One paragraph of the donor's letter of May 29, 1928, reads as follows: "My mother was educated at Salem Academy in 1828-29, and 1830, and finished in Philadelphia, at Bethel Academy in 1831. She once said that it was far better to have education than money. I am giving this contribution to Davidson because I believe in religion and education."

Becoming proficient in his studies, he commenced his responsibilities as executor of his father's estate, and trustee of the estate of his brother, Leroy Springs Davidson, as well as that of his stepmother, Cornelia C. (Elmore) Davidson. As a business man, Colonel Davidson has been remarkably successful. His intelligence and far-sightedness, as well as his energy and determination in overcoming obstacles, have had their results in achieving what might have been too hard a task for a more easily daunted man. He began as a clerk in his brother's store, and upon the advice of the latter, invested in real estate, selecting land in the center of the little village of Charlotte. Colonel Davidson saw the monetary possibilities that the development of the extensive Davidson family real estate held out. Their growth could not be then, nor now, separated from the growth of Charlotte itself, and visions of a great industrial and commercial center, it would seem, must have spurred the young man to wider endeavors. Property had suffered through the depression of the aftermath of Civil War days. With hard work and self-denial, and with that pride in winning

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through to his goal regardless of the strenuous years it entailed, Colonel Davidson was able to pronounce the rehabilitation of the properties an accomplished fact in 1913. Colonel Davidson is a member of the North Carolina Historical Society, charter member of the Mecklenburg Monument Association, and a member of the Sons of the American Revolution. He also is a member of the Geographical Society of Washington, District of Columbia.

The patriotism of the old Southern families is a tradition and an inspiration. In the preservation of their ideals and devotion to their country, they have disregarded the cost to self, and have taken a sincere pride in holding high, from generation to generation, these same ideals of service. The Davidson family well illustrates this, and Colonel Davidson has carried on the spirit of his predecessors. "Ever mindful of posterity's appreciation for the preservation of historical data, he has renovated the famous old church of Hopewell, repainted the roof and parsonage, and constructed walls, and intends to have bronze tablets with the names of his family members, and other renowned older members on them." The ornamental wall around Rural Hill Burial Grounds, the private resting place of the Davidson family, was built by Colonel Davidson, and was finished in 1923. The wall, about four feet in height, is in layers, the top and bottom of well matched nigger head rock, the middle layer of white flint rock. The colonel has donated a number of bronze tablets and markers for North Carolinian heroes, and he has erected mileposts with hornet's nests upon them, symbolical of the battle of Cowan's Ford, where about fifteen patriots worsted Cornwallis' forage expedition of four hundred men. Cornwallis said, "he got into a hornet's nest." Mileposts, the expense of which was borne by Colonel Davidson, have been placed from Independence Square, Charlotte, along Bearly Ford Road for twenty-three miles. In 1929, when the Sons of the American Revolution convened in Springfield, Illinois, Colonel Davidson attended and caused markers for Major John Davidson, General William Lee Davidson, "Silver Headed Jack" Davidson, Adam Brevard, and himself, to be inscribed on the tablet to be placed in Washington, District of Columbia. He modestly consented to the inscription of his own name as a worthy representative of the distinguished Mecklenburg, North Carolina, Davidson family, famed for its participation in Revolutionary and civic endeavors.

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The unselfish interest of Colonel Davidson, and his intelligent understanding of what is necessary for the progressive welfare of the country, is manifested in his many charities, his firm belief in churches, schools, and hospitals, and his faith and optimism in the prosperity of Charlotte. As he has continuously exerted his efforts in raising some monument as a tribute to the memory of his illustrious countrymen, so will the memory of his generosity and far-reaching deeds, inspired by kindly good-will, ever be a monument to him. His residence, situated where were the headquarters of Lord Cornwallis in 1780, contains a beautiful collection which is almost unsurpassed in its historical value. To quote from a recent description of his home: "Walls covered with pictures of the Revolutionary and Civil wars; chairs such as we would expect to find in the home of Jefferson Davis or Andrew Jackson; a marvelous mahogany secretary, which would be too tall to fit in some modern homes; with secret drawers, revealed by touching a hidden spring. In this are found letters written before envelopes were devised, or stamps heard of. Another drawer contains pictures taken when photography was in its infancy. The last one is filled with innumerable Confederate bank notes. On the desk lies a wooden pipe, carved by his brother, Robert, while prisoned during the Civil War. Quaint and beautiful tapestries command one's attention at once upon entering. The entire atmosphere is that of a century ago, when one sought the beautiful in art, not the realistic as is the present mode."

The memory of the days the colonel spent at "Rural Hill" has nurtured a strong sentiment in him, that one can little wonder at when one views the ruins and relics still visible of the nineteen hundred-acre homestead. One can firmly believe that the beautiful mansion built of brown and blue glazed brick, with its service buildings and slaves' quarters, and set amidst flora and fauna, laid a justifiable claim to being one of Mecklenburg County's most elegant properties. Today its picturesque beauty is undiminished. There are cedar trees, a large Lebanon cedar, English yew trees, forty-five feet high, mock orange trees, white oaks, and myrtles. In the topmost branches of the mock orange tree, the mocking bird is singing as, when Colonel Davidson was a boy living at "Rural Hill,"

Superb and sole upon a plumed spray,
That o'er the general leafage boldly grew,
He summ'd the woods in song. . . .
SIDNEY LANIER—"The Mocking Bird."

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Since Colonel Davidson has never married, it is the children of others of his line who will carry on the traditions he has so carefully upheld. Some day he hopes to find rest at his birthplace, "amid his departed glorious ancestors and immediate family members." Now, at the age of seventy-one, his good health, keen interest, and energy, as well as his fine intellect, humor, geniality and courtly manner, hold out to him the promise of deserved longevity.

(Family records.)



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1, 1931.

State of New York, } ss.
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publishers of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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M. L. LEWIS, President.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of April, 1931.

(Seal.)

FREDA M. KELLER,

Notary Public Bronx County, No. 38,

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 354.

(Commission Expires March 30, 1932.)

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NO. 4

Americana

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Here a group of head hunters are superimposed over a Pueblo drawing. Notice that the Pueblo women with the cord skirts have drawings of the square-shouldered, head hunting type drawn slantingly over them. The right woman, however, still has her head showing above the head hunter figure which plainly shows her whorled hair.

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A BEAR DANCE SCENE

This bear dance scene is superimposed over an older drawing of which only the teeth-necklace now remains.

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Some of the Oldest Historic Written Records North of Mexico

BY ALBERT B. REAGAN, PH. D., U. S. INDIAN FIELD SERVICE,
OURAY, UTAH



IT falls upon northeastern Utah to give us a "readable" historic record that probably reaches farther back in the yesterdays of time than any other record yet found, or at least deciphered, north of Mexico, astounding as such a statement may seem.

In the very dawning period of Pueblo culture in the West-Southwest a division of that stock of Indians lived in Ashley and Dry Fork canyons, a few miles north of Vernal, Utah. They built circular, truncated earth-lodges, of the Willard (Utah) type, or lived in the various caves thereabout, as their fancy dictated. They had extensive irrigating ditches and were raisers of corn and pumpkins. They used blankets and shrouds that were made of woven cedar bark; while their women wore string skirts that were made of shredded bark of the same forest tree. Their moccasins were made of skins as were the men's clothing.

This people lived there for a very long period of time; in fact, until their simple earth-lodges evolved into solid walled houses that were either built of earth or of undressed river cobbles, later building pueblos, towers, and formidable forts on the environs of these valleys. However, throughout all this period their implements and pottery remained in the crude state, the latter being a plain, gray ware which was smoothed but undecorated. From this and other data archeologists have placed the beginning of the Willard stage of earth-lodges as

HISTORIC WRITTEN RECORDS NORTH OF MEXICO

of about the beginning of No. I horizon of Pueblo culture and the villages, forts and towers as having been constructed in the first part of No. II horizon.* And, again, in reducing these to a time schedule, they estimate that Pueblo I horizon was in its heyday about the time that Cæsar crossed the Rubicon; and Pueblo II, at about the time that the barbarians were strangling the Roman Empire.† But the records!

Not only did these Puebloan peoples have the key to the time scale in their pottery and house remains, but they left determinable petroglyphs, as well, as did the people of the other cultures that occupied the area in the going and coming years. They pictured themselves on the rock walls of the canyons in hunting and kachina scenes, as having growing corn in their possession, in parades in which they carried great and high, much beflagged banners, and effigies of the horned or plumed rain snake, and depicted their women with whorled hair of the identical style Hopi virgins wear to this day and as women are often pictured on the rocks in the Southwest as wearing it.

And again their petroglyphs hold the determining position in the time scale, for in places they are superimposed over Basket Maker drawings; and they, in turn, have the rock writings of two cultures of people unquestionably placed over them in many places. Furthermore, the pictures of one of these later cultures are often placed over those of the other, clearly showing the succession.

The Basket Makers pictured themselves in square-shouldered drawings and as wearing their hair in side-bobs, or as cut a little below the ears and occasionally held in place by hair bands, often picturing themselves in hunting scenes. Some of their other drawings are of snakes, probably fish traps, various animals and trees, triangles, zig-zags, "spoked-wheels," circles, concentric circles, spirals, moons, and suns. Moreover, according to the time estimate as to when the Basket Makers lived in the region in the first stages of their culture as here represented, as given by our leading archeologists (see footnote † above), these pictures were chiseled before Ur of the Chaldees had reached the apex of her power.

While the Puebloan people were apparently on the decline a people occupied at least a part of the region who made round-bodied drawings of human beings, apparently patterning them after the shape

*Roberts, Frank H. H., Jr., "Early Pueblo Ruins in the Piedra District, Southwestern Colorado," Bull. 96, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 71.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.



A head hunting party returning with captured heads and the headless body of apparently a Pueblo woman, as she is wearing the regulation cord skirt that was worn by Pueblo women in that day and time, as is shown in numerous pictographs and as found by us in the cave remains.

(Photo by Leo C. Thorne. Used by permission of the Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fé, New Mexico. All rights reserved.)



Here a square-shouldered drawing of a large man is superimposed over a circular-bodied figure of a man. The large figure is rubbed in, the circular bodied one, pecked in in broad lines. A coyote, another square-shouldered man, and several other round-bodied human figures are also shown, one of the latter being that of a woman whose breasts are represented by small circles. And these round-bodied drawings are superimposed over still older drawings.

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HISTORIC WRITTEN RECORDS NORTH OF MEXICO

of their water jars and the round faces of the moon and sun. They are also conspicuous for their drawing their heads after a squarish pattern and for their usually showing a lack of elaborate head ornament, though a few cases show that they were gaudily dressed on special occasions and that a few of their leading men did most always so attire themselves.

A head hunting people next came to the two valleys. While the scenes pictured by the previous cultures are mostly of peace, these people pictured themselves as warriors who often are shown as wearing striking necklaces and gorgets and gorgeous headgear. Time upon time they depict themselves as returning from battle with captive women and children and the heads of the vanquished braves, the heads probably being only trophies of war as were scalps among some of the other Indian tribes. And among these captives are Puebloan virgins with their whorled hair. Furthermore, as they drove the Puebloan peoples out of this region when they were still in No. I horizon of Pueblo culture and only on the threshold of No. II culture in its environs, these pictures are probably recording events that occurred before the beginning of our era.

In summary as shown by the Petroglyphs, something like 3,500 years ago a Basket Maker people inhabited this region and probably lived here for hundreds of years. These were followed by a division of the Puebloan family of the dawning period of its culture era in the Southwest. The people of this division remained in the region till they passed through the earth-lodge stage into the beginning of the house period of No. II horizon of Pueblo culture, in which time they had learned to make a crude, gray pottery which they smoothed but did not decorate. Then there came a decline during which a people who made round-bodied drawings to represent human beings entered the stage of action. The pictures, however, do not depict any strife between the two peoples. A little later in time a head hunting people flung themselves into the arena, as it were, and their pictures are of war, war, war! And by them the Pueblos were finally expelled from the region or exterminated in it. It might be added that the pictures of the last two cultures also depict bear dance scenes, very similar to those now enacted by the present Utes, which would seem to indicate that their makers were a part of what is now known as the Ute-Chemehuevi division of the Shoshonean family of Indians.

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These rock pictures are near Vernal, Utah, on the U-40 Highway, on the route from Denver, *via* Craig, to Salt Lake City, Utah. Any information concerning them can be given locally by Leo C. Thorne, the photographer at Vernal; and the Commercial Hotel of that place will furnish reasonable rooms while one is vacationing in this beautiful region, with its hundreds of groups of ancient writings.

It might be added that both the Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fé and the Peabody Museum will have parties in the field this year to make copies of these most valuable writings.





BASKET MAKER DRAWINGS

(Photo by Leo C. Thorne. Used by permission of the
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Mason Locke Weems

A Great American Author and Distributor of Books

BY CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, M. D., CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK



TO appreciate the career of Mason Locke Weems it is necessary to consider that his youth was spent in the exciting turmoil of the Revolution and that his mature years were passed in the unsettled and rude conditions which supervened upon the close of that struggle. To those who affect to lightly esteem this notable man as lacking in the essentials of a gentleman and of a commanding author, it should be said that in his day and midst his surroundings it would have been impossible for a man to have gained his wide and high sphere of influence and fame by a strict conformity to the requirements of a formal and conventional code of behavior and composition. Education in his generation was generally neglected, schools were few and primitive; Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, Columbia and Princeton colleges were in existence, but few were able to make the necessary preparation or afford the expense of attendance, while the requirements for graduation were not much higher than those of present-day high schools. To use his own words, Weems' mission to the world was "to enlighten, to dulcify & Exalt Human Nature by good books." For a period of thirty-six years he was true to his resolve, traveling the country back and forth between Philadelphia and Savannah, selling books of his own and others' authorship, preaching when occasion offered, for he was an ordained Episcopal rector, and solacing himself with his violin, which he carried with him.

Harrold Kellock in his book, "Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree," thus describes him: "An elderly gentleman in black, clerical garb, with a ruddy, merry face and benevolent white locks flowing from under his hat, was a familiar figure through the states south of Pennsylvania. A little horn of ink would be tied to the lapel of his coat and a quill pen stuck in his hat. The 'Jersey waggon' in which he drove contained a roomy portable book-case stuffed with books, a violin and generally numerous manuscripts in course of composition. The

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vehicle was without springs, but the seat was swung on leather straps." He was entertained at night at hotels, farm houses, anywhere he happened to find himself, and being an eminently sociable, friendly and interesting man, he found no difficulty on this score. The people generally lived in isolated homes and were glad to have the society for even a brief space of an intelligent and communicative visitor; so much was this in demand that neighbors would visit the hotels and entice away travelers that they might enjoy their society. A large part of Weems' literary work was done under these disquieting circumstances, in the snatches of time which he could spare for composition, and there was no opportunity for carefully reviewing his work, even if he wished to do so, which evidently he did not. For he was all his life adapting himself in word and deportment to the people, and it is to these consequent limitations that the charm of his writings is due. His pamphlets and books all partake of the colloquial style and have a spontaneous spirit suited to the people among whom he labored, and which largely accounted for the great sales which they enjoyed and the many editions of some of them which were published.

The life of Weems having been in almost total eclipse for a century has been revived in recent years, three authors having with their books brought him into the prominence which he deserves. In 1911 was published "Parson Weems," by Lawrence C. Wroth, and in 1928 appeared the volume, "Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree," by Harold Kellock, which works though not exhaustive in their treatment, yet throw appreciative lights upon their subject. It remained, however, for the great three-volume publication, "Mason Locke Weems, His Work and Ways," edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel for her deceased brother, Paul Leicester Ford (published 1929), to give the world a complete and thorough account of the life and literary works of this prominent early American scholar and author. While this magnificent set is not a categorical biography, it contains in its various subdivisions: introduction, bibliography, chronology, letters (two volumes) with a multitude of notes and illustrations, abundant materials for an elaborate and critical review of his life. Few in any land have profited by so careful and sustained a study as has this amiable old book agent of the South by the brother and sister who have so conscientiously erected for him an enduring monument. The letters particularly are a credit to their author, for unlike such epistles generally which are so

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apt to be as musty of thought as of age, these missives after more than a hundred years breathe a spirit at once living and entertaining.

Mason Locke Weems was born October 1, 1759, at the Manor of Marshes Seat, Herring Bay, Anne Arundel County, Maryland. The place was located on the west shore of Chesapeake Bay at the southern extremity of the county. His father, David Weems (or Wemyss), was born in Scotland and was brought to this country when a child about 1715 by his maternal uncle, Dr. William Locke, and with his brother James and sister Williamina was brought up in his family. Dr. Locke was a man of wealth and intelligence and bequeathed David a farm, which he disposed of and purchased the estate at Herring Bay. Mason Locke Weems was given his middle name in honor of his father's uncle, who so much befriended his sire. David's sister, Williamina, married William Moore, of Moore Hall, Pennsylvania, a prominent citizen of that State, and their daughter was married to Rev. Dr. William Smith, the founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country. David Weems is said to have been a nephew of the third Earl of Wemyss, and he seems to have exemplified in his career the traditions of the nobility. His home was in St. James Parish at Herring Bay, and in its church he had a pew where young Mason acquired the religious sentiments which indelibly colored his future career. He was the youngest of a family of nineteen children, who were afforded by their father excellent educational advantages for the times, Mason having graduated at Kent Free School, Chestertown, Maryland, now Washington College. Practically nothing is known of his childhood except a single item to the effect that having been missed during evenings he was searched out and found instructing in a hut in the woods the poor and ignorant children of the community, which was prophetic of his life of ministry to the illiterate and indigent.

At the Kent Free School young Weems acquired a knowledge of English literature, Greek, Latin and mathematics, and soon after, having decided to enter the profession of medicine, at the age of fourteen he went to England for his preparation and later to Edinburgh, from the University of which, having been three years engaged in his studies, he obtained his medical degree, where his great-uncle, Dr. William Locke, had received his. In 1776, he returned to his home in a vessel commanded by one of his brothers, two of whom were ship owners and one of whom commanded privateers in the Revolution. He accom-

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panied his brothers in some of their voyages and tells of his experience in the Mediterranean, riding the sea on the shell of a huge turtle. He seems to have made no use of his medical education so far as known, though it has been asserted that he served for a time as a surgeon on a British man-of-war and that he practiced a while after returning to this country, but these statements lack verification. In 1779, when he was of the age of twenty, his father died and he was left an orphan with an inheritance from him of a Negro boy and a share of his properties; the slave boy he immediately set at liberty. He had now become convinced that the life of a physician, with its exacting duties and corroding anxieties, was not for him, and resolved to make another venture, this time deciding upon the ministry for his future field of service.

In 1782, Weems having been encouraged, it is believed, to take the step by Rev. William Smith, D. D., who has been referred to as a relative by marriage of the Weems, he sailed for London to begin his preparation for the Episcopal ministry. But he found that his ordination to Holy Orders was hedged about with obstacles; the American branch of the Anglican Church had no bishops, by whom only ordination might be bestowed, and it was required that candidates must take an oath of allegiance to the British government. The successful issue of the Revolution having been obtained for America, the oath was out of order, but the ecclesiastical powers of England still refused the desire of Weems and he wrote to Benjamin Franklin, then at the Court of France, and received, in part, the following characteristic reply: "If the British Isles were sunk in the sea (and the surface of this Globe has suffered greater changes), you would probably take some such method as this; and if they persist in denying your ordination, 'tis the same thing. An hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at, that Men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbors, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home to ask leave of a cross old Gentleman at Canterbury; who seems by your account to have little Regard for the Souls of the People of Maryland."

But in 1784 a way out of Weems' difficulty was provided by Parliament passing an enabling act by which he was ordained on September 12 of that year, and returned to Maryland. For a period of eight years after his ordination he was engaged with commendable zeal in

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the ministry, first from 1784 to 1789 as rector of All Hallows in his home county of Anne Arundel, and of St. Margaret's, Westminster Parish in the same county, 1791 to 1792. The Episcopal Church in this country during and after the Revolution was a very obnoxious institution, in common with everything else of a British character or derivation. Many of the rectors at the beginning of hostilities retired to England, with the effect that altogether a large number of parishes lacked clergymen and many churches were closed, or had only occasional services. The opposition also depleted the emoluments of those rectors who maintained their ministries, so that a livable income was not forthcoming from their parishes. It was this condition which led Weems to attempt to add to his yearly stipend while rector of All Hallows, by teaching a school for girls. However, in the light of his subsequent career, it can be easily seen that the life of a clergyman was a too circumscribed and uneventful an employment for one of his mercurial and enterprising character. He was a man with an inherent wanderlust, a desire for travel and adventure, with no ecclesiastical strings tied to him, a free lance to serve God by his own methods. During his ministry in the two parishes alluded to, he had as a friend Rev. William Duke, whose parish in the adjoining county of Prince George, was not far away, and in the diary kept by him are sixty-five allusions to Weems, the first of which is dated January 5, 1787, and reads: "Crossed South River with difficulty, the wind blowing very hard and as I passed Mr. Weems' church met him coming out. It seems he preaches every other Friday night for the benefit of the Negroes, a charitable attempt. I hope it will be successful. At his request I promised to preach for him on the Sunday following." This activity on the part of Weems was an innovation in a day when the slaves were not considered worthy of religious instruction. His attitude towards the blacks is expressed in "Travels in America," by John Davis, who in an interview with Weems quotes him as saying in reference to his labors among them, "Oh, it is sweet preaching, when people are desirous of hearing. Sweet feeding the flock of Christ, when they have so good an appetite." He was ready and glad to preach the gospel to any and all, indifferent as to the denomination for which he might be called to officiate, outdoors or in, and all this notwithstanding that by inheritance, family connections and education he belonged to the higher plane of society. This cosmopolitan spirit and indiffer-

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ence to ecclesiastical traditions were not approved by some of his more conservative parishioners, and these considerations added to others of a discouraging nature which have been mentioned, led to his retiring from the stated ministry and adopting the occupation of a traveling book salesman. This employment, in the words of Mrs. Skeel, "fitted him as his own skin; he was adapted to every sort and condition of man—phlegmatic Pennsylvania Dutch farmers; boisterous, hard-drinking Southern husbandmen, high-class city merchants, gentlemen, planters, dicing, brutal pot-house crew and successful politician."

He was an amateur violinist and his fiddle figures quite prominently in popular accounts of his career, which present him as a happy-go-lucky book pilgrim dispensing good cheer and music wherever he might be. One of these stories depicts him as being invited to play at a negro merry-making and consenting with the understanding that he would be concealed, as he would not violate the dignity of his ministerial profession. But during the dancing which had grown boisterous the screen behind which he was playing was thrown down and the good rector discovered engaged in his undignified occupation. But knowing as we do his unfailing gift of adaptability, he certainly found a graceful way out of his embarrassing situation. This is probably but another version of a similar anecdote which relates that he was solicited to play for a puppet show, the regular violinist being unable to function, and that Weems substituted, hidden behind the curtain, which in the midst of the performance fell, revealing him in full view of the audience vigorously manipulating his fiddle. But from this predicament the story goes on to say he extricated himself by launching into a lecture on philanthropy and the duty of rendering assistance to those in need.

Another yarn tells of how he liberated himself with his violin from a dangerous situation in South Carolina. Driving through a primitive district of the State heavily loaded with books, he found himself at sunset stalled in the mire and far from any human habitation. Moreover, it was a community which in his published "tales of terror," he had deeply offended, and where it was unsafe for him to travel, much more to be indefinitely delayed. Considering his hapless condition in a philosophical light, he took up his fiddle and sitting on a log by the wayside began to elicit sweet strains in the wilderness, which ere long attracted two men from the forest, who cheerfully lifted his wheels from the mud, while Weems kept regaling them with music. To all

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their questions concerning his name, destination and other matters the fiddler, appearing rapt in oblivion as the effect of his own harmonies, seemed not to hear, and finally rode away with his identity undiscovered.

Weems began his new employment in a small way, selling reprints and lately published books, to which he soon added his first attempt at authorship, entitled "Onania," which though having a good sale, was called "an odd publication" and occasioned many facetious remarks. But his prosperity began with his association with the Philadelphia publisher, Matthew Carey, in 1794, in whose employ he became the distributor of tens of thousands of books and pamphlets, many of his own composition or editing. As Carey figures very prominently in the career of Weems, and who was besides in his day a widely known and influential man, it will be pertinent to give a brief review of his life and services:

Born in Dublin, Ireland, on January 28, 1760, when of the age of fifteen he began his career as a printer and publisher; when but seventeen he issued his essay on Dueling and at nineteen published a pamphlet inveighing against the alleged ill treatment of the Irish Catholics, which was suppressed. Benjamin Franklin, taking notice of his abilities, employed him in his printing establishment at Passy, France. He returned to Dublin and engaged in newspaper publications, was indicted for libel, convicted and confined in prison. He came to America in 1784. Lafayette, who was then in Philadelphia, recommended him to prominent men for aid in starting a newspaper, and he soon issued the first number of the "Pennsylvania Herald," which became a leading journal of the state. After publishing one or two magazines for a time, he began the book-publishing business, and issued many important volumes which he marketed through agents, of whom Weems was the most successful. He was a publicist of ability and issued a number of pamphlets, contributed articles to newspapers and magazines on economic and political subjects, and wrote a popular history of the Irish people. During the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, he was very active in visiting the sick and as a member of the Committee of Health accomplished much for the amelioration of the suffering. In 1796, he and a few others organized the first Sunday school association in this country. His career was replete with dramatic phases in the many places

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and enterprises in which he was engaged, and all with notable success for the public good.

Neither he nor Weems, however, were practical men, at least not in regard to business and moneymaking, for they were scholars, sentimentalists and idealists primarily, and as such ill-adapted to the watchful care and planning essential for success in practical affairs. But they were good and generous souls, who, though frequently quarreling and exchanging bitter asperities, were never through their long association of thirty years or more seriously alienated, so that to the dying day of Weems he cherished Matthew Carey as a friend, who no doubt reciprocated his kindly sentiment. For he could not be otherwise disposed towards a genial, assiduous man who had so faithfully served him for many years, selling his books when the facilities for such trade was in its infancy and the principal dependence was upon personal solicitation and the insistent urge and amiable address of the agent.

While traveling in Virginia as an itinerant book salesman, he made the acquaintance of the Ewell family and in 1795 married Fanny, daughter of Colonel Jesse Ewell, of Belle Air, as their home was called, located five miles from Dumfries, Prince William County, Virginia. Dumfries, so-called from the Scottish town where the poet Burns lived and died, was then a prosperous place where dwelt a number of Scotch tobacco merchants; here Weems made his home and maintained a book store. Dumfries, eighteen miles below Mount Vernon, was a port on the west shore of the Potomac River and was on the road leading from Washington to Fredericksburg, but owing to the filling of the harbor with silt, its shipping facilities were ruined and the town fell to abandonment. The marriage of Weems at the age of thirty-six to Fanny Ewell, who was about twenty, was a very fortuitous union; the Ewells were a family of prominence and culture and being related to Washington introduced Weems favorably to that great man, whose successful biographer he afterwards became.

Washington was in the habit of visiting at Belle Air, and here to this fine mansion located on a slightly eminence Weems and his family went to reside on the death of Colonel Ewell in 1806. Ultimately he became the owner of this property, consisting of seven hundred acres of land, through having advanced funds to liquidate Mrs. Ewell's debts. The mansion is a steep-roofed building of English brick and is still standing. It has noble apartments, great fire-places and other



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features which characterize the better class homes of the colonial period. Weems resided here for twenty years when not engaged in his perambulations as a book agent. It was his practice when at home to ride over on Sundays to Pohick church and hold services, it having then no settled rector. This was carried on during the years he resided at Belle Air. Washington, before the Revolution, frequently worshipped at Pohick church.

One of Weems' earlier pamphlets was entitled "The Immortal Mentor," which was a symposium derived from the writings of Benjamin Franklin and others, and which Washington indorsed in the following words: "I have perused it with singular satisfaction and hesitate not to say that it is in my opinion at least, an invaluable compilation. I cannot but hope that a book whose contents do so much credit to its title will meet a very generous patronage." It is unnecessary to say that Weems did not forget to print this commendation upon the title page of the pamphlet. "The Philanthropist" (1799) was another pamphlet of his which he soon after published, which also was complimented by Washington and only four months before his death. Weems had a wonderful gift of depicting in a most stirring and realistic manner battle scenes both on land and sea, and in the pamphlet just referred to is described a naval engagement. He says:

All hands to quarters—fore and aft, clear ship—up hammocks—light the matches and stand by to make up the thunder—now may hearts be stout and bold. The flag of Columbia waves over their heads, the heroes eye the beloved stripes. The smile of joy is on their countenances and the fire of valor flashes from their eyes. They demand the fight. The tall black ship of the enemy is now close along side; her tremendous artillery stares them in the face yawning for destruction. The dreadful fray begins, the air is rent with the horrid thunder. Old ocean trembles and lowers all her waves. The ships are wrapped in flaming fire while storms of iron bullets dash everything to pieces. The decks are covered with mangled corpses and the scuppers run torrents of blood.

On the death of Washington, December 14, 1799, Weems in common with many or most clergymen preached a sermon on the event, probably in Pohick church, and elaborating and extending the discourse he published it as a pamphlet of eighty pages on Washington's birthday in 1800. From time to time, such was the demand, many other editions were issued by Weems, ever adding to the material, which con-

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sisted largely of anecdotes of the great Father of his Country. The author has been criticised for the welter of such stories which his book came to contain, especial doubt being laid upon the cherry tree episode, but which Weems averred he had derived from an "aged lady" of the home of Washington's father, and concerning which there is nothing unreasonable. But the adulatory style of the work is certainly one which present-day biographers would not adopt; Weems, however, was only suiting himself to the general conviction and sentiment of his day, which considered Washington a paragon of virtue, intelligence, of unequalled military and administrative ability, a belief which continues to the present time, and largely due to the influence of Weems. Here is the way in which he estimated Washington:

It is hardly exaggeration to say that Washington was pious as Numa; just as Aristides; temperate as Epictetus; patriotic as Regulus; in giving public trusts, impartial as Severus; in victory, modest as Scipio; prudent as Fabius; rapid as Marcellus; undaunted as Hannibal; as Cincinnatus, disinterested; to liberty firm as Cato; and respectful of the laws as Socrates. Or, to speak in plainer terms—he was religious without superstition; just without rigor; charitable without profusion; hospitable without making others pay for it; generous, but with his own money; rich without covetousness; frugal without meanness; humane without weakness; brave without rashness; successful without vanity; victorious without pride; a lover of his country, but no hater of French or English; a staunch friend of government, but respectful of those who pointed out its defects with decency; true to his word without evasion or perfidy; firm in adversity; moderate in prosperity; glorious and honored in life; peaceful and happy in death.

It is not too much to say that this eulogy finds a responsive echo in every patriotic American heart; we instinctively indorse the writer's opinion as correct and valid and believe that it will be perpetuated generation after generation to the end of time.

No less than eighty-six editions of Weems' "Life of Washington" have appeared, which indicate its merit and popularity. It should be said that the most of his books were written with especial aim to interest the young, a purpose which he well realized. He gives a more interesting story of Washington than the cherry tree anecdote, and it is in all respects more ingenious and impressive. In order to plainly teach young George that there was a Divinity presiding over nature, his father prepared a bed of earth and writing therein with large letters *GEORGE WASHINGTON*, sprinkled the lines with cabbage seed and

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covering them, rolled down the bed and waited for results; he knew that his little son would discover the words, for the bed was located near goose-berry bushes where George was wont to resort for the fruit. A few days later he came running to his father in great excitement, and leading him hastily to the bed showed him his name fresh-sprung from the soil and asked him, "Who did make it there?" He replied that he supposed it came by chance, and the author goes on to report the conversation, all imaginary, of course, by which he finally came to convince his son of the reality of a superintending Ruler of the world, that throughout nature there exists a design, witnessing as clearly as the writing of his name the working of a Supreme Intelligence governing and directing every atom of the realms of creation. The story closes with George's conviction of the truth of his father's teachings: "George fell into a profound silence, while his pensive looks showed that his youthful soul was laboring with some idea never felt before. Perhaps it was at this moment that the good Spirit of God ingrafted on his heart that germ of piety, which filled his after life with so many of the precious fruits of morality."

Weems in his writings makes free use of dialogues to lend to his accounts a realistic atmosphere, though in the Washington episodes he coined them from his own mind; yet it must be admitted that he gives them an air of reality and shows himself to have been an adept in this principle of literary craftsmanship. Froissart in his "Chronicles" makes a liberal use of conversation to enhance the interest and vivify the descriptions of his histories, though many or most of them must have been purely imaginary. I recall the method of an old army captain who had served in the Civil War, who in describing battles would give conversations between Union generals regarding phases of the engagement he was discussing, when it was perfectly clear that he was inventing them in order to lend force and reality to what he was portraying. In his case, as with Weems, it was an instinctive practice rather than a technique derived from books on fiction writing.

"The Life of Washington" elevated Weems to a place of honor and wide distinction and yielded him a considerable income. He was as a result in demand as an orator and spoke on "The True Patriot" before a number of State Legislatures, a single paragraph of which will convey an idea of his original and dramatic style of expressing himself: "Tyrants spread more havoc among mankind than all the lions and

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tygers, famines, plagues and earthquakes that ever cursed a guilty world . . . but all these are mere flea-bites in comparison of that abomination of desolation brought upon the earth by tyrants. Take for example our own country and the things which we have seen with our own eyes and our fathers have declared unto us. From 1774 to 1783 Britain and her American colonies lost by wild beasts—not a man; by plagues and pestilence—not a man; by earthquakes—not a man; by famines—not a man; but by Lords Bute and North—200,000 men!!”

In connection with the “Life of Washington” I might quote a specimen of the author’s style of describing a land battle. He tells of the closing phase of the second battle of Saratoga, on October 7, 1777: “The Americans with Arnold at their head stormed the British camp with inconceivable fury; rushing with trailed arms through a heavy discharge of musketry and grapeshot. The British fought with equal desperation. For their all was at stake; the Americans like a whelming flood were bursting over their intrenchments; and hand to hand with arguments of bloody steel, were pleading the causes of ages yet unborn. Hoarse as a mastiff of true British breed, Lord Balcarras was heard from rank to rank loud-animating his troops, while on the other hand, fierce as the hungry tiger of Bengal, the impetuous Arnold precipitated his heroes on the stubborn foe. High in air the encountering banners blazed; there, bold waving, the lion-painted standards of Britain; here the streaming pride of Columbia’s lovely stripes—while thick below ten thousand eager warriors close the darkening files all bristled with vengeful steel. No firing is heard. But shrill and terrible, from rank to rank, resounds the clash of bayonets—frequent and sad the groans of the dying. Pairs on pairs, Britons and Americans, with each his bayonet in his brother’s breast, fall forward together faint-shrieking in death and mingle their smoking blood.” Abraham Lincoln when a youth derived pleasure and profit from reading Weems’ “Life of Washington,” and the book having been borrowed and injured while in his care, he scrupulously repaid the owner for the damage sustained.

Weems also wrote biographies of Francis Marion, Benjamin Franklin and William Penn, of which, next to Washington’s, Marion’s was the most popular. His career lent itself perfectly to Weems’ talent for racy and stirring treatment, he having been a celebrated South Caro-

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lina leader, during the Revolution, of an independent or partisan band of yeomen, which began as a group of sixteen and was never larger than sixty men. With this little company he performed many feats of valor, falling repeatedly and unexpectedly upon the enemy with success, filling the British general, Cornwallis, with terror, and eluding his pursuers by retreating to his fortified position in an impenetrable swamp. The poet Bryant celebrates the fame of this brilliant captain in his "Song of Marion's Men," a stanza of which I quote :

Woe to the English soldiery
That little dread us near!
On them shall light at midnight
A strange and sudden fear:
When, waking to their tents on fire,
They grasp their arms in vain,
And they who stand to face us
Are beat to earth again;
And they who fly in terror deem
A mighty host behind,
And hear the tramp of thousands
Upon the hollow wind.

The materials for the "Life of Marion" were derived from the accumulated notes of Peter Horry, who during the war served as his lieutenant and intimate companion; but feeling himself of insufficient literary ability to work the information which he possessed into proper shape for publication, he submitted it to Weems, but with the stipulation that there should be no change except what was necessary by way of editing to make it presentable. But Horry was deeply chagrined when the book appeared to find it had been entirely recast into what Weems called a "military romance," and that it had been suffused with the author's colloquial style and a generally undignified mode of treatment. Though Horry had known Marion as a fiery and dashing leader, he knew him to be a retiring and modest man, and to have him held up as a swashbuckler was a most painful experience. However, Weems knew what was appreciated by the public, that a plain, drab account of this spectacular celebrity would fail of popularity, and he accordingly dressed it up in his own inimitable way, which won it favor and a profitable sale. Here is an excerpt from the book which gives an idea of its style:

Among the Spartans it was the constant practice on the birth of a male infant, to set a military granny to examine him, as a butcher would

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a veal for the market, and if he were found anyways puny, he was presently thrown into a horse pond with as little ceremony as a blind puppy. Had such been the order of the day in 1732, Carolina would never have boasted a Marion, for I have it from good authority that this great soldier at his birth was not larger than a New England lobster, and might easily enough have been put into a quart pot. This puny appearance continued with until the age of twelve.

In the meantime Weems was scouring a wide area of southern country and disposing of multitudes of books; from time to time he was quarreling with Carey, his principal publisher, and his letters to him indicate sometimes that a separation was inevitable, but they never were long disunited, but soon came to terms and continued their business relations to the end of Weems' life. While he was the prince of book agents he was besides a wholesaler or jobber of books and an employer of sub-agents; in order to promote sales he frequented hotels, horse races, court gatherings and Legislatures, ever glib of tongue, amiable of manner and persistent in recommending his wares. While on a court day at Fairfax Courthouse he was with a case full of books on the porch of the tavern, he was taken to task for offering for sale Paine's "Age of Reason," when he presented Bishop Llandaff's answer, remarking "Behold the antidote. The bane and the antidote are both before you." His letters reveal his personality better than any exposition of his character; they abound in original quips, conceits, wit, humor and friendly banter, with many bookish allusions, showing his extensive reading. He was ever ready to preach and perform the offices of a clergyman; in a letter dated Dumfries, October 2, 1800, he writes: "I married 2 couples yesterday. One gave me a dol, and the other 2 dol & 50 cents." In order to give a specimen of his epistolary style I quote from one of his letters to Carey at a time when they were engaged in a dispute:

DUMFRIES, March 24, 1801.

SIR: . . . I said in my last that I wd demonstrate to you the inhumanity of your treatment to me, from the commencement to the close of our dealings; but since those dealings are now at an end, why, Son of Erin, should I speak the bitter words of retaliation? But since you lay on me the fault of miscarriage, permit me to say one word before we part. You yourself allow that I am a man of some education, talent and address—and is there on earth a person of my acquaintance who does not acknowledge me a man of uncommon industry? Why then have we not had uncommon success? I will tell you, and

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with truth equal to texts of holy writ. When I began for you the sales of Goldsmith (*Animated Nature*), were not my rapidity and success above your expectations? What was the reason? Why, I had the book that suited the taste of the Virginians; hence, tho the supplies were not equal to my activity, yet I well know that I frightened even Matthew Carey with my incessant blaze of bank notes. In the midst of this glorious contest you sent me a quantity of miscellaneous books. Large, large monies were then waiting for me and Goldsmith, but *heu miserande!* I was obliged to shut down the flood gates and attend to these miscellaneous things—I soon found that these books did not hit the popular palate—I wrote to you, begging for sweet prosperity's sake that you wd send no more of such books, but send rather "fine sentimental novels, Histories, Voyages, Travels, etc.," but maugre my entreaties, you continued to send me the books I wanted not and to withhold those I wanted; and yet because great sales are not made, you blame me!! The General of some grand expedition sends for musquets, the Minister of War sends him mortars; he writes for field pieces, the other ships off two and forty pounders—he asks for soldiers and behold seamen—the expedition fails, the Minister rings in the people's ears, his great exertions, his vast supplies, etc. The poor General goes to pot, and his heart's blood is libated to extinguish the flame of popular fury. I leave to Minister Carey to make the application. . . . You saw what I did with Goldsmith, of which I sold for you nearly 1,000 in a twelve month. You saw what I did with the *Life of Washington* and the *Bachelor*, of which I have sold between 7 and 8,000 in less than a twelve month. . . .

All through Weems' career he was a fervent advocate of morality, in a time when ethical ideas were not popular, when intemperance, gambling, dueling and other immoralities were very prevalent, and in his pamphlets which he published and sold abundantly he boldly inveighed against these evils. Almanacs in his day were immensely more widely read and influential than in ours, and he was the author of several from 1799 to 1807, named in order of publication, "*The Lover's Almanac*," "*The Bachelor's Almanac*," "*The Virginia Almanac*," "*The Virginia and North Carolina Almanac*," "*Carey's Franklin Almanac*," "*Weems' Washington Almanac*," and "*The Grand Republican Almanac*." More and more as the years accumulated upon him he became distressed on account of the evils which in his travels he ever beheld and the resulting miseries which he observed, and he set himself to remedy in so far as he was able these unhappy conditions. In the year 1807 he published "*God's Revenge Against Murder*," a pamphlet, which was followed by others, entitled "*God's Revenge Against*

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Gambling," "The Drunkard's Looking Glass," "God's Revenge Against Adultery," "God's Revenge Against Dueling." These brief publications, of which he wrote others on the same lines, were generally illustrated with realistic cuts, and abounding with the popular slang expressions of the day, were widely read and very influential. Weems was ever striving for results rather than to shine as a man of profundity of thought and as a superb literary craftsman. This is the secret of his popularity and usefulness. We sometimes hear it said of certain ministers that they preach "over the heads" of their congregations, but would it not be better to sacrifice depth and dignity to persuasion?

Concerning Weems, Duyckinck says: "He went to work in stout heart and faith, a Livy of the common people. He first gave the fact and then the moral, and neither of them was dull." His appeal, however, was equally to the cultured who read his books and pamphlets with relish, though it must be admitted that the overwhelming mass of the population of his day may be characterized as the common people. Wroth says: "He was aggressive in business, zealous in religion, tactless and careless of opinion in both. He strode in his hob-nailed boots over a thousand conventions, but if he got his books sold, found an audience now and then for a sermon or an address and carried home a good profit to his interesting and pious family at Dumfries, he cared not what cherished ideals of clerical conduct he left trampled behind him." It was said of him: "He is the most delightful mixture of the Scriptures, Homer, Virgil and the back-woods. . . . He has been read a hundred times more than all the other historians and biographers of the Revolution put together." Ever a student and thinker, alertly observing, he noted down in his journal every episode, anecdote and thought which interested him, to utilize in his sermons and writings. He was ever supplied with materials thus accumulated, and through his habit of committing to memory much of the Scriptures, hymnal and book of prayer, was prepared at any time and place to conduct religious services where these books might not be at hand.

Weems' home life at Dumfries and later at Belle Air, was ideal; he refers to his wife as "the most amiable of women"; he had ten children, four of whom were sons and six were daughters, of whom a daughter and son died in infancy. Eight grew up and all were married; several of them with their mother united with the Methodist church, which did not disturb the Episcopal husband and father, who

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remarked: "They have not left the fold, only gone over the fence to browse in another pasture." The last five years of his life (1820-1825) he was most of the time at Beaufort, South Carolina. In January, 1825, he said in a letter that he had traveled for Matthew Carey "nearly thirty years," and he had been on the road for thirty-six years. During these last five years of his life he wrote little for publication and was afflicted with a painful disease; he wrote on May 9, 1822: "Thank God I have not long to labor, and suffer now. A man at 63 must soon hear the Boatswain's call—thank God I am not afraid." He died on May 23, 1825. His last words were, "God is love," a text upon which he had preached almost exclusively in his last years. He was buried at Beaufort, but later his remains were reinterred in the private burying-ground on the Belle Air estate, near the mansion. But vandals have carried away all the old grave-stones, Weems' among the rest, so that his grave has no memorial to identify it.

In these pages I have attempted to recite the leading phases of the career of Mason Locke Weems and to convey an appraisal of his character, personality and works. While he was not a profound scholar, nor a polished orator, nor an acute logician, he was yet in his day and generation most influential in the molding of the thought and sentiment of his time. He was richly gifted with high sentiment, moral elevation of purpose, deep religious conviction, to all of which he gave the wings of a fluent and graceful literary style. His perseverance was indefatigable, his heroism supreme, his faith in God and man a living belief which fed the springs of his cheerful and tireless occupation of writing and distributing literature of an ethical kind that he knew would be popular with the people; for he had his finger on the literary pulse of men, women and youth and adapted his writings to the prevailing desires. A review of his life is particularly appropriate just now when next year is to be celebrated as the bicentennial of the birth of Washington, with whom he was intimately associated and whose most important and most widely read early biography he wrote.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES—"Cyclopedia of American Literature," by Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, New York, 1855. "Parson Weems," by Lawrence C. Wroth, Baltimore, 1911. "Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree," by Harrold Kellock, New York, 1928. "Mason Locke Weems, His Work and Ways" (three volumes), edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, New York, 1929.

Thomas Mayhew, Patriarch to the Indians*

BY LLOYD C. M. HARE, LL. B., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER XVI

THE DEMOCRATS



AT Nantucket the Gardners continued to control the local courts, preventing Governor Mayhew from putting into force the authority from Governor Andros to call the rebels of that island to account.

Unlike the rebellion at Martha's Vineyard, the insurrection at Nantucket did not collapse on receipt of the news of the resurrender of New Amsterdam. Between the rebellious factions of the two islands a common cause was not effected.

The receipt of the Andros instructions stirred new activity in the ranks of the insurrectionists. Capt. John Gardner and Peter Folger were appointed by the half-shares men to go to New York to present Andros with a report of "the true state of affairs" on the island, as they saw it.

After some delay Gardner and Folger repaired to the capitol armed with a petition in which the half-shares men professed to welcome the arrival of the new governor-general as they would "the rising Sun after a dark and stormy Night." In the document the signatories advanced the hope that Andros would grant their "friends" Gardner and Folger, a favorable audience and a candid hearing of the situation, which they alleged to believe had not been accurately reported by Matthew Mayhew, Tristram Coffin, and Thomas Daggett. Much that did not appear in the petition would be told the governor by the envoys; "There being many Things and that of Consequence which by writeing we cannot so well do, which we have committed to our Friends, to attend yo'r Hon's Direction in." In the mouth of these friends, continue the petitioners, "we are confident will not be found a false Tongue."

Before the promulgation of the Andros orders, the half-shares men

*This is the last of four installments of Mr. Hare's story of Thomas Mayhew.

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had laid great stress on the Lovelace charter and had maintained that their conduct was wholly in submission to the Duke's government. But the opinion of the governor-general; that the charter did not void Mayhew's patent, cut the ground from under them. Although they professed to Andros their "true and hearty Obedience to his Royall Highnesse Lawes," their conduct belied their words. On the island they were now openly in opposition to the Duke's government, maintaining that the orders of the governor-general "were nothing" because, in their opinion, they had been promulgated under a mistaken knowledge of the facts.

When Gardner and Folger arrived at the capitol they found there Matthew Mayhew and Tristram Coffin on behalf of the whole-shares party. A four-day session with the governor ensued. The silvery-tongued "friends" harangued the governor and were answered by Mayhew and Coffin.

On the last day of the hearing a "Draught of what was graunted, allowed of, and consented unto by all Partyes" was ordered engrossed. It provided a number of radical changes in the scheme of government, not the least important of which was a provision that all matters triable in the local island courts, involving property or damages over five pounds in amount, and all cases and proceedings in the General Court should be tried in accordance with the Duke's laws. This changed the framework of government established by Lovelace which had permitted the island legislators to make laws based on selections from the Boston, Plymouth, and English law books.

The change sheared the island jurisdiction of a large share of its autonomy in local government. However, each island and the several town corporations were authorized to continue the making of local ordinances in matters not exceeding five pounds. By the confirmation of this power, Governor Mayhew and those associated with him in government were still empowered to make laws at Martha's Vineyard that would meet with Mayhew's high standards of morality in Indian affairs.

Other changes were made in government which were of no particular benefit to either side. The vital question of land titles was left *in statu quo*. A ruling that the Lovelace charter was one of confirmation was a victory for the landed party, but the ruling that the lands of the non-resident owners should not be forfeited, providing they should

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thereafter improve their properties, was a partial victory, not entirely fair to the proprietors who had originally acquired their lands without qualifications. The absentee owners were entitled to a confirmation of their rights in accordance with the terms of their purchase from Thomas Mayhew.

History paints Governor Andros in no pretty attitude as a governor of northern colonies in America, but his conduct of island affairs while in charge at New York was on the whole conciliatory.

Hardly had matters been temporarily adjusted at Nantucket when Simon Athearn lifted the lance of his pen and dipped into the ink pot to enlighten Andros of the "true" state of affairs at Martha's Vineyard. Like his prototypes at Nantucket he was not restrained in the use of personalities and criticism. He was particularly laborious in detailing the shortcomings of the ruling family at Martha's Vineyard as seen from his own angle, and made mention of "ribble rable and notions of men" in reference to laws not meeting his approval.

Athearn's spleen was aroused by the fact that he had just purchased lands of the Indians, in disregard of Mayhew's title, on the principle that he was entitled to do so under the terms of the Lovelace charter to the town of Tisbury, which was similar in language to that granted the town of Nantucket. In this respect Athearn borrowed some of Capt. John Gardner's thunder. Because Mayhew refused to record the lands purchased of the Indians, Athearn was in favor of a change of administration in government. He disapproved bitterly the power granted the local court which enabled it to make laws more stringent for Martha's Vineyard than those in force in other parts of the province.

Meantime the complexion of politics at Nantucket was changing. Thomas Macy, one of the few whole-shares men to be affiliated with the Gardner faction, had been appointed chief magistrate of Nantucket. For a reason not now known, at the end of his term of office a successor was not appointed. Macy called a meeting of the town to consider the matter and the town decided that he should hold over in office until a new magistrate should be commissioned by Andros.

Peter Folger writes of the meeting. Says he, "Som of vs said it was not the Town's Business to speake of his Commission, but we did conceiue that your Hon. had left a safe and plain Way for the carying on of Gouernment til further Order. Others said that his Commis-

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sion was in Force til further Order, though not exprest and argued it out from former Instructions, and began to be very fierce."

Continues Folger, "We thought their End to be bad and, therefore sayd littel or nothing more, they being the greater Part, but were resoulued to be quiet, looking upon it as an evil Time."

Island control had swung again to the side of the whole-shares men. A number of inhabitants of the mainland had removed to the island to escape the depredations of the Indians stirred by King Philip. Among these were Peter and James Coffin, sons of Tristram. Peter, later a chief justice of New Hampshire and for a time acting governor of that province, was a proprietor of Nantucket and had been one of the first Ten Purchasers. His brother James, a prominent merchant, was also a proprietor. Both were members of the absentee landlord class that the Gardners had been so assiduously attacking. Their appearance was embarrassing to the half-shares men.

"Then another Meeting was called to chuse new Assistants to Mr. Macy," recites our informant of still more "evil Times," and "We knowing that we should be out voted, sat still and voted not. The first Man that was chosen was Peter Coffin."

Whereupon rose the gore of Peter Folger. He had been one of the "friends" elected by the town who had given Andros "full Satisfaction and Information" concerning island affairs. As a reward for his efforts he had been appointed Recorder and Clerk of the Writs of the local court. In his possession were its records.

The new clerk questioned whether the court now constituted by the majority party at Nantucket was "a Legal Court." His quandary grew out of the holding over of Macy (which was in accordance with the rules of the Duke's government for which Folger expressed much solicitude) and the fact that Peter Coffin was an officer in the Massachusetts Colony at the time of his coming to Nantucket, and more particularly "A Man that brought hither an evil Report of your Hon. from the Bay" which "if your Hon. [Andros] did know the Man as well as God know him, or but halfe so well as some of us know him, I do verily belieue that your Hon. would dislike his Ruling here as much as any of vs."

In December the Quarter Court of Nantucket convened, and Folger as clerk was in a "Strait what to do," but he "Resolved to be quiet" and to that end appeared at Court with the court book "thinking

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thereby to while away Time" as peacefully as possible until some further order might be received from New York that would meet with the approval of the Gardner faction. At the session Folger refused to make any entry of the court's actions or to give up possession of the records.

According to Folger's admission the books and records of the court were demanded of him several times, before his arrest. At length a constable was dispatched with a warrant, whereupon Folger departed for the house of Captain John Gardner for solace and advice. Here he was found, in bad company as the constable thought, and "haled and draged" out of the house and carried to court.

"I cam before them," says Folger, "and carried myselfe every way as ciuilly as I could, only I spake neuer a Word, for I was fully persuaded that if I spake anything at al, they would turn it against me. I remembered also the old Saying that of nothing comes nothing."

The outcome of the adage was the return of Folger to jail, "where neuer any English-man was put, and where the Neighbors Hogs had layed but the Night before." Court records show that Peter Folger was "Inditted for Contempt of his Majis Athority, in not appearing before the Court according to sumons serued on him" and for refusing to speak when presented to the Bar "Tho the Court waited on hem a While and urged him to speak."

The case was remitted to the Court of Assizes at New York for trial, and Folger kept in prison, although upon occasion his kind hearted keeper allowed him to visit home.

Every effort was made by the authorities to secure the book of records, but without success. Valuable records of the early courts of Nantucket are consequently lost to the historian.

It is quite certain that Folger could have secured ample bail had he been so minded, for his family and friends were in a position to give him all the needed assistance. But although his adherents failed to raise bail, they were outspoken in their expressions of indignation at the imprisonment of the "Recorder and Clark of the Writs," "a poore old Man, aged 60 Yeares." Sarah, wife of Mr. Richard Gardner, being legally convicted of speaking very "opprobriously and uttering many slanderous words concerning the imprisonment of Peter Folger," was summoned to appear before the Court, where she was admonished at the Bar to have a care in the use of evil words tending to defame His

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Majesty's Court. Fines provided for by law in such cases were remitted upon her good behavior. Others convicted of speaking evil of authority, or in defamation of Court, were Tobias Coleman and Eleazur Folger, the latter a son of the martyred clerk.

Folger's stubborn conduct at this time was particularly unfortunate as it stimulated a feeling of unrest among the Indians. King Philip's War was waging on the mainland. The times were dangerous and troublesome. It is understood that the book withheld by Folger contained matters of Indian importance which could not be solved without the presence of the record.

Folger in a letter to Andros hints an Indian uprising if he is not released, and if laws passed by the new magistrates are not revoked. It must be inferred that one of these was the law against the liquor traffic. It is clear that Capt. Gardner paid little attention to this law and there is no direct evidence that either he or Mr. Folger was particularly active in quieting the resentment shown by the Indians.

Complaint was made by the Indians, reports Folger's letter, that the new magistrates were "Young Men," and that Peter Coffin, a "Boston Man," judged their cases. It is doubtful if the Indians would have questioned the right of Coffin to act as judge, without English instigation, which must have come from members of the half-shares faction.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that the Indians were accustomed to select the aged among them as the wisest. Experience alone brings education to men who do not learn by the printed word. In primitive communities experience is the result of age. The Indian listened in councils of state most flattering to men of the tribe on the sunny side of senility as oracles of profound wisdom.

The young men of the tribe were impressed more by the number of gray hairs on the speaker's head, the furrows across his withered cheek, and the moons that had passed over his venerable pate, than by any profundity of thought that poured from his lips. The progress of education was slow among the Indians, but for the needs of matrimony and war it was sufficient. Each generation in turn listened with depressing seriousness to the errors of the former and continued to perpetuate them.

This sad picture is not entirely unknown to civilized peoples, who are pleased to call the theory "conservatism" and to coin for it such a

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neat slogan as "getting back to normalcy." It is the soul of statesmanship. Lawyers call it precedence. Socialists call it other names.

It should be noted that of the men whom Folger complains were so youthful, Thomas Macy was aged sixty-nine years, Peter Coffin was forty-six, William Worth probably about thirty-nine, and Nathaniel Barnard thirty-four. Folger was about fifty-nine. As Governor Andros was but forty years of age, the argument was not a good one.

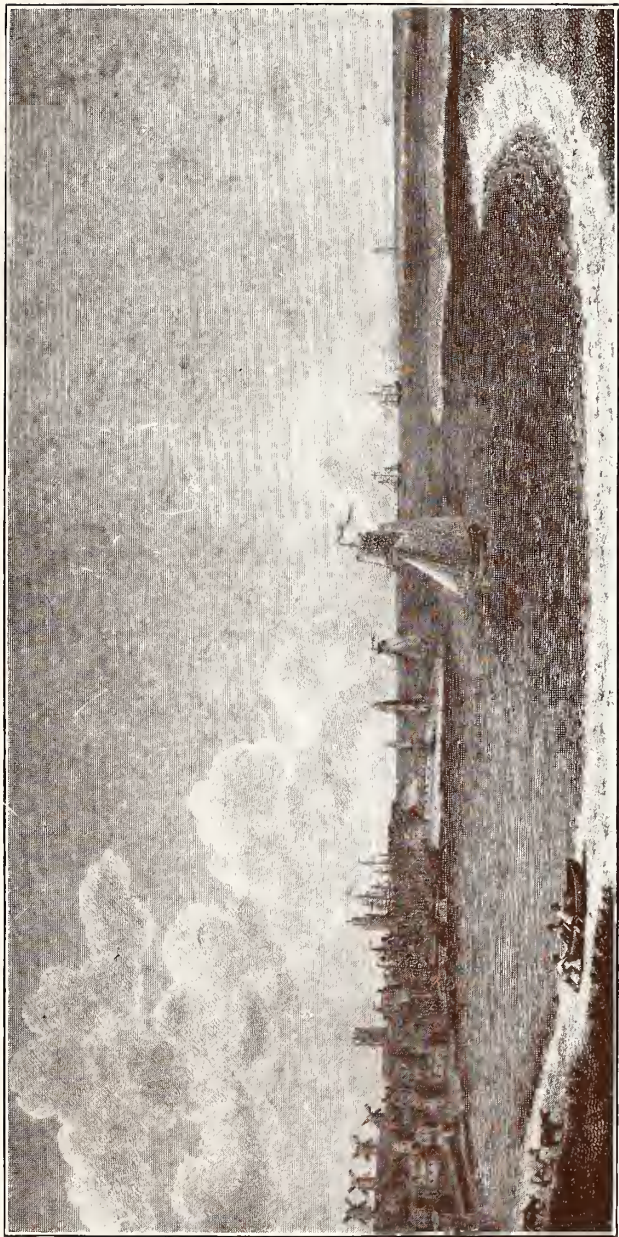
The troubles of Folger and Capt. Gardner were not ended by the sentences of the local court. The deflection of chief magistrate Macy to the whole-shares party enabled Thomas Mayhew to convene a General Court.

The first matter which the justices of the court took into consideration was "how they might best maintain his Majestie's Authortie in this Court, espetially with relation to the Heathen among whom it was vulgarly Rumored that there was no Gournment on Nantuckett and haueing good Cause to suspect, the same to proceed originally from some English instigating them, or by their practice incourageing them in the same, to the great Danger of causing Insurrection," the court saw fit to send for Captain Gardner.

The Captain of the local Foot Company, failing to respond to summons, was brought forcibly before the court, where he "demeaned himself most irreverently, sitting down with his Hat on, taking no Notice of the Court, behaveing himself so both in Words and Gestures" as to declare his great contempt of the court's authority, to the great dishonor of his "Majesties Authoritie."

Tristram Coffin, observing the Captain's conduct, spoke to him, saying that he was very sorry that he did behave himself with such contemptuous carriage in regard to the King's authority, whereupon the Captain retorted, "I know my business and it may be that some of those that have meddled with me had better eaten fier."

The sitting of the court was a busy one. In modern day it would have been covered by a corps of feature writers, pen and ink artists, and a staff of photographers. The records of posterity would have been enriched by court room photographs of the judge, pen in hand, poised over a ledger, a group of blasé court attachés, a battery of lawyers—chief, assistants, and "attorneys of counsel"—the malcontents, and certainly all their female relatives on the witness stand adorned in their best hosiery displayed in the most approved fashion in an



THE TOWN OF SHERBURN ON THE ISLAND OF NANTUCKET. SKETCHED 1810.

*Courtesy of Walter F. & George F. Starbuck.
From Alexander Starbuck's "History of Nantucket."*

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attempt to save their loved ones from incarceration in His Majesty's Gaol, where hogs had rooted the night before.

The session closed with the levying of numerous fines, and the disfranchisement of Capt. John Gardner.

With the close of court an epidemic of letters descended on the governor at New York like locusts of old in the land of Egypt. Gardner addressed Andros the 15th of March and again the 31st of May, 1677. Peter Folger contributed to the deluge with a lengthy epistle dated the 27th of March, in which he not only presented the story of his imprisonment, but took pains to round out any details that Gardner might inadvertently have slighted.

Shortly before this, the pent up emotions of Peter Folger had overflowed, and he took solace in the muses, writing a lengthy poem in which he pointed out the evil of magistrates. Upon their bowed shoulders he placed nearly all the ills of humanity including Indian wars and the persecutions of Anabaptists "for the witness that they bore against babes sprinkling."

The rulers in the country I do own them in the Lord:
And such as are for government, with them I do accord.
But that which I intend hereby, is that they would keep bounds,
And meddle not with God's worship, for which they have no ground.

Of course, it must be understood that there are good and bad magistrates. It only happened that at Nantucket the good magistrates were out of office and the enemy, composed always of bad magistrates, in office. Godly men, like the uncrowned poet laureate of Nantucket and the literarily inclined Gardner of letter writing fame, were without employment.

It is not known that Andros ever saw Folger's poem or would have read it had his attention been drawn to it, but he suspected by this time that all was not well at Nantucket. It was evident that some of His Majesty's well beloved subjects were not living in the bonds of peace and brotherly love. There was a great deal more politics than government at Nantucket.

From the sentence of disfranchisement, Captain Gardner entered his appeal to the Court of Assizes, addressing himself to "Mr. Thomas Mayhew and Gentlemen all such as are his Majesties Lawfull and Rightfully Established Officers," thereby reserving any recognition of the legality of the justices on the bench elected by the whole-shares party at Nantucket.

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Thereafter, not awaiting the action of the Court of Assizes on the merits of the appeal, Gardner brought his case directly to the attention of the governor at New York. This extra-judicial procedure resulted in an order by Andros that the proceedings against Gardner be suspended until further order, "during which Time all Persons [were] to forbear Intermedling Speeches or Actions or any Aggravations whatsoever, at their Perills." The action on the complaint against Peter Folger was likewise ordered suspended for the time being.

Thomas Macy, however, was ordered to continue in office as chief magistrate, notwithstanding the contention of the half-shares men.

A few months later Governor Andros issued a further order in the premises addressed to "the Magistrates of the Particular and Generall Court att Nantucket" in which he declared the sentence of disfranchisement to be illegal and beyond the authority of the court rendering the same.

The news that Capt. John Gardner had personally journeyed to New York and brought his case before the governor, and the report of the findings of Andros, was not happily received by the landed party. Feeling ran high. Gardner gives his version of what occurred when the order was received by Governor Mayhew. He writes: "Three Days after hee came to my lodging in as great passion as I judg a man could wel be Accu[s]ing me hyly whering I was wholly Innocent, and not proued though endeaouored, Mr. Mayhew taking this opportunity to vent himselfe as followeth, Telling me I hav bin at York but should loose my Labour, that if the Gouvernour did unwind he would wind, that he would make my fine and disfranchizement too abide on me do the Gouvernour what he could; that he had nothing against me neither was angry but that I had spocken against his Interest and I should doune, with maney more Words of like Nature, but to lounge hear to ensert; and when I came Home to Nantucket, I found the same Mind and Resolution there also."

After the pleasure of breaking the news to Governor Mayhew, Gardner took satisfaction in delivering Tristram Coffin a letter from Andros relative to the same matter. But restoration to citizenship did not follow. The local leader of the gentry expressed doubt as to the power of the governor-general to take Gardner's case away from the Court of Assizes. He informed Gardner of the purpose of the whole-shares men to test the governor's power in the matter. Meantime the

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governor's order "was nothing at all but two or three darke words." Gardner's disfranchisement and fine were to stand.

In time reaction expressed itself. Early in 1679 the men of the town of Nantucket decided to elect Gardner an Assistant in the government, notwithstanding the attitude of the General Court. Perhaps they thought that Gardner had been sufficiently punished. But Tristram Coffin was not willing to give in and at the next meeting of the General Court he took pains to direct the attention of that body to the fact that the town of Nantucket had illegally elected John Gardner to public office, whereupon the court ordered that a warrant should issue to call the town to answer for its contempt of the order disfranchising Gardner.

When it is considered that Gardner had long been under political disability, that the townsmen of Nantucket were willing to restore him to his former place in their good graces, and that rightly or wrongly he had the support of Governor Andros, the conduct of the General Court was obdurate. It may be thought that Thomas Mayhew, its president, now nearing his eighty-seventh year, was more and more coming under the influence of his grandson Matthew, but any one who has studied the old governor's career cannot but know that every act of his life to his dying day was the result of his own volition.

In the political history of Nantucket there is little to choose between the stubbornness of Thomas Mayhew, Tristram Coffin, Peter Folger, and John Gardner. Each was "firm" to the point of eccentricity.

In the end, the General Court was obliged to retract its sentence. Gardner's citizenship was restored by Governor Andros after years of dilatory tactics on the part of the central government, and he was commissioned Chief Magistrate of Nantucket. The breach between the doughty warrior and Tristram Coffin was healed and a substantial friendship established, befitting the spirit of Nantucket, destined to become a Quaker community.

Following the death of Tristram Coffin, a grandson married a daughter of Capt. Gardner. Thus were united the houses of Capet and Montague in the bonds of matrimony. Political feuds faded in the raising of five sons and three daughters.

A few rods east of the homestead of Richard Gardner, the bride's uncle, was built a mansion house, in its day pretentious and elegant, still to be seen. Here the united couple made their home. Tradition

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states that the site of the house was donated by Captain Gardner and the lumber in its construction sawed in New Hampshire in the mill of the groom's father, the Peter Coffin whom Gardner had once accused of having his "mouth full of vile reports."

Doubtless the stalwart old Captain quaffed a great glass of "Rom" at the marriage festivities and recalled the days when he had said that it were better to eat "fier" than to oppose his interest.

Tradition indicates that the Coffin-Gardner feud had not entirely subsided at the time of the marriage ceremony. Just prior to the event Peter took it upon himself to enquire if a deed had been executed to the land upon which the happy couple's home had been built. Informed that that little formality had been neglected, he forbade the performance of the ceremony until the agreement of the families had been consummated in full. The story goes that the Captain had to hustle in order to sign, execute, and deliver the deed to the intended couple before the time set for the wedding. Peter Coffin took a grim delight in the Captain's predicament. The fire-eaters were not all on one side.

Gardner in the office of chief magistrate later had trouble with the "mouthings" of "sum hote brains" on the island, as he picturesquely stated it. Satisfied with his abilities he wrote Andros that if the inhabitants of the island were left to themselves, it would soon be their ruin. Gardner had made the discovery that there is always a fractious party out of power to contend with. He had once been a rebel, he was now one of the "ins" seeking the support of the governor-general at York to whom he had so many times appealed as an "out."

With the ascension of William and Mary to the throne of England a new charter was granted the Massachusetts colony, by the terms of which Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and their dependencies were transferred from New York to Massachusetts.

Under the Massachusetts government the land question of Nantucket, as well as that of other towns in the province, was settled for all time by the passage of an act which authorized the proprietors of lands to meet as a body in respect to the handling of land, apart of the town as a political unit. Pursuant to the terms of the act the proprietors of Nantucket in 1716 formed themselves into a body corporate known as "The Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands of Nantucket."

CHAPTER XVII

THE INDIAN CHURCH

The greatest missionary triumph of Thomas Mayhew was the conversion of the Gay Head tribe of Indians, a race which for twenty years had resisted the influence of the white man, being animated in its obstinacy by pagan sachems on the continent near by. On the soil of Aquiniuh, as the Indians called this land, close by the multi-colored cliffs that are one of New England's marvels, heathen rights were performed and powwows exercised witchcraft and curative powers as in the days of their fathers.

Through the activities of native preachers Thomas Mayhew was able to reach the ear of the sachem Mittark, "Lord of Gay Head." An account of Mittark's conversion is penned by a contemporary, the Rev. John Mayhew: "Mittark, sachem of Gay Head, deceased January 20, 1693. He and his people were in heathenism till about the year 1663, at which time it pleased Him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, to call him out of darkness into his marvellous light; and his people being on that account disaffected to him, he left them and removed to the east end of the Island, where after he had continued about three years, he returned home again and set up a meeting at Gayhead, he himself dispensing the word of God unto as many as would come to hear him; by which means it pleased God to bring over all that people to a profession of Christianity."

Since that time Gay Head has been one of the Christian Indian towns of the island. The stronghold of paganism is today the last refuge of the Christian Indian.

About the time of the conversion of Mittark there came to fill the pastorate at Edgartown the Rev. John Cotton, Jr., son of the celebrated Boston preacher of that name and uncle of the still greater Cotton Mather. He accepted what the Reverends Pierson and Higginson had disdained, and with the enthusiasm of a youth of twenty-four years of age entered upon the duties of his first regular church office. It was understood that he was to lend himself to the work of the Indian mission, now without the services of Peter Folger, who had removed from the island.

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Cotton Mather informs us that the new clergyman hired an Indian at the rate of twelve pence per day for fifty days to teach him the Indian tongue, "but his Knavish Tutor having received his Whole Pay too soon, ran away before Twenty Days were out."

In addition to his salary as pastor of the church at Edgartown, Cotton received an honorarium from the Society for his missionary labors. The family purse was further filled, in one year, by a payment of ten pounds to the cleric's wife for her more or less professional services among the natives in the art and mystery of "Physicke and Surgery."

The Puritan mind conceived the profession of medicine, like law, a democratic pursuit for the well meaning soul rather than the trained mind. Perhaps he was not far wrong in reposing his faith in God rather than in the sciences of the seventeenth century.

The services of John Cotton were not of long duration. A rupture with the governor ensued. Cotton was inexperienced in years, a scion of a famous family, and doubtless headstrong in opinion, disinclined to submit to minute supervision. Mayhew was old in the arts of his labor, and settled in his ways, a man who brooked little interference and rebellion: that a clash of wills ensued is not surprising. The differences of the two were laid before the commissioners of the United Colonies, and the following is a record of what happened in the matter:

Mr John Cotton appeared before the Commissioners and was seriously spoken too To Compose those allianations between him and Mr Mahew; otherwise it was signified to him that the Commissioners could not expect good by theire labours wheras by theire mutuall Contentions and Invictiues one against another they vndid what they taught the Natiues and sundry calles (as hee said) being made him by the English to other places hee was left to his libertie to dispose of himselfe as the Lord should Guid him.

Severing his connection with the Vineyard, the young pastor removed to Plymouth, one of the "sundry calles," where he served a useful pastorate many years and continued his missionary labors by preaching to the Indians of that locality.

Three years after his removal from the island an Indian church was formed at Martha's Vineyard. The two Mayhews and Eliot had been slow to grant the natives full fellowship in a church body organized on the English pattern. John Eliot in 1660 had organized a church of Indians at Natick, but without native officers or pastor, due, informs

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Eliot, to the desire of the members that he alone should serve as its head.

As early as 1652 the junior Mayhew had drawn up "an excellent Covenant" in the native language, which was entered into by a number of Indians, who elected rulers from among themselves "to suppress all Wickedness" and to encourage goodness. It was the duty of these men "to see that the *Indians* walked in an orderly manner; encouraging those who did so, and dealing with those who did not, according to the word of GOD."

Shortly after the death of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., the father organized a few of the converts into a tentative church body. Ceremonies were arranged by him and invitations sent to Gov. Thomas Prince, of Plymouth, and others, "but they came not," says Mayhew. However, "the English on the island, and several strangers of divers places, present, did well approve of them." Like the church gathered at Natick, it had no officers.

Satisfied in time that the Vineyard converts had proven staunch in the new faith and were ready and qualified for the full status of church membership in accordance with the Congregational order, Thomas Mayhew made arrangements for the organization of a church which should be the first in both Americas to be regularly organized with native officers and presided over by an ordained native pastor.

Again he sent invitations throughout the New England colonies, inviting dignitaries interested in the Indian work to attend the ceremonies of installation. In response came John Eliot, "the leading light in the missionary firmament," and the Rev. John Cotton who had quarreled with Mayhew enough years before to have forgiven and forgotten.

The presence of Eliot was, in one respect, the return of a compliment. Years prior to this event, Eliot had dispatched invitations to scholars who were acquainted with the Indian language, inviting them to assist him at an assembly of converts for the purpose of investigating the fitness of Indians resident about Boston for church membership. Of those invited, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., alone responded to lend aid.

Writing of the foundation of the Vineyard church, Prince tells us that "The Day appointed being come, which was August 22, 1670, an *Indian Church* was completely formed and organized, to the Satisfaction of the *English Church*, and other religious People on the Island,

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who had Advantage of many Years Acquaintance, and sufficient Experience of their Qualifications."

The rites of the Congregational order were administered by the three missionaries. Hands were imposed in ordination by John Eliot, Mr. Cotton, and Thomas Mayhew. "We did at the first receive them," writes Mayhew, "they renouncing heathenism and confessing their sins."

Dr. Increase Mather in a Latin letter to Professor Leusden, of Utrecht, acquaints us that when the people had fasted and prayed, Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. John Cotton, of Plymouth, laid their hands on the ministers elect and they were solemnly ordained.

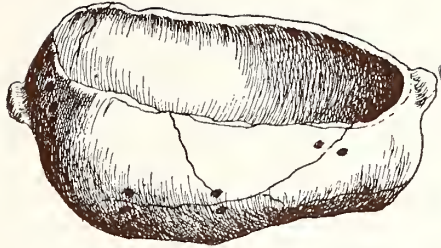
The Rev. John Eliot in a letter published at London writes of his attendance saying, "Many were added to the Church . . . both Men and Women, and were all of them baptised, and their Children also with them" and that "the church was desirous to have chosen Mr. Mayhew for their pastor; but he waived it; conceiving, he has greater advantageous to stand their friend, and do them good; to save them from the hands of such as would bereave them of their lands, &c. But they should always have his counsel, instruction, and management in their Ecclesiastical affairs, as they hitherto had; that he would die in the service of Christ; and that the praying Indians, both of the Vineyard and Nantucket depend on him, as the great instrument of God for their good."

The officers of the church ordained by the missionaries were Hiacoomes, pastor; John Tackanash, teacher; John Nahnoso and Joshua Momatchegin, ruling elders.

The ordination of a pastor and a teacher was in accordance with the practice of the ancient churches of New England when each church was supplied with two ministers who were supposed to be in some respects distinct officers in the church.

The church at Martha's Vineyard first gathered its membership from all parts of the island and Nantucket, but within two years was divided into two churches, one at Edgartown and the other at Chappaquiddick, both on the island of Martha's Vineyard. The Indian officers of these churches solemnly and successfully carried on the work with which they were charged, proving themselves worthy of the trust imposed on them by their missionary father.

The story of Hiacoomes has already been related.



INDIAN STONE BOWL EXCAVATED
AT GAY HEAD



A STONE WEIR IN THE INDIAN TOWN OF GAY HEAD

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Tackanash, teacher of the first church and after its division pastor of the church at Edgartown, was the most distinguished of the Indian preachers and was deemed the superior of Hiacoomes in both natural and acquired abilities. He possessed considerable talents and was exemplary in his life. Allowing himself few diversions he studied much and seemed to advance in piety as he became more acquainted with the truths of the gospel. In prayer he was devout and fervent. He was faithful in his instructions and reproofs, strict in the discipline of his church, excluding the immoral from the ordinances until they repented. So much was he respected that the English at Edgartown, when deprived of their own minister, received the Lord's supper from his hand.

Says the Rev. Experience Mayhew :

The last time Tackanash administered the holy ordinance, I was present, and saw with what gravity and seriousness he performed the duty, which, though then a youth, I could not but specially notice, as did many other English persons present. He was then indeed so weak in body as not to be able himself to preach, but desired my father [Rev. John Mayhew] to preach for him, which he did [in the Indian language], and immediately repeated to the English then present the heads of his discourse. After this our Tackanash was never able further to exercise his ministry in public.

This good man, and one of the great converts of the Mayhews, died in his faith and was interred January 23, 1683, two years after the death of the governor; mourned on the islands and the continent by those who knew him. Like a true Puritan on his death-bed he "gave good instructions and exhortations to his own family and such as came to visit him." He was a splendid example of the accomplishment of English influence, but unfortunately the greater numbers of his race were lacking in the qualities that placed him their superior.

A great concourse of people attended his funeral. Instead of the howlings of the multitude, the gibberish of powwows, and pagan rites, a funeral oration grave and serious was preached over his body by the ancient Hiacoomes who, although too feeble to perform regularly the duties of a pastor, returned from retirement to do honor to his departed colleague.

Japheth Hannit made also a "grave speech," some of the heads of

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which were preserved. These present a picture of the Indian mind in respect to Christianity:

We ought [said he] to be very thankful to God for sending the gospel to us, who were in utter blindness and ignorance, both we and our fathers. Our fathers' fathers, and their fathers, and we were at that time utterly without any means whereby we might attain the knowledge of the only true God.

Before we knew God, when any man died we said the man is dead, neither thought we anything further, but said he is dead, and mourned for him, and buried him; but now it is far otherwise, for now this good man being dead, we have hope towards God concerning him, believing that God hath received him into everlasting rest.

Japheth, favored by the author of "Indian Converts," with the title "Mr.," succeeded to the office of Tackanash and Hiacoomes, becoming the third pastor of the Indian church at Martha's Vineyard. At the ordination of Japheth, the superannuated Hiacoomes again appeared publicly. "He laid hands on Mr. Japhet, prayed and gave the Charge to him; which Service he performed with great Solemnity."

We are told that Japheth's father becoming a serious and Godly man by conversion, the son had the advantage of a Christian education while he was a child, living in a family "where God was daily worshipped." He married the daughter of a very Godly Indian. She proved a very pious person "and did him good and not evil all the days of her life." With these advantages Japheth, after the gathering of the Indian Church in 1670 "made a public profession of repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and joined as a member in full communion." He was for a considerable time employed in offices civil and military, being captain of a military company and later a magistrate. In both offices he acted to the acceptance of English and Indians. His death in 1712 removed one of the great Indian preachers of the church founded by Thomas Mayhew.

The ruling elders of the church were men well approved among both English and Indians. John Nahnoso was known as Aiuskomuaeninoug, the Man of Reproofs, for the carefulness with which he admonished sinners and offenders against the discipline of the church. He died "universally esteemed a good Man." Joshua Momatchegin, the second elder, was a resident of Chappaquiddick. He lived to survive all his colleagues of the first church.

Religion falling into great decay among the English of Chappa-

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quiddick, so it was among the Indians, insomuch that in a short time there were very few "godly persons" left there. "The *Candlestick* which had been there being *removed out of its Place*," and the Indians unchurched, the place was "filled with *Drunkards* instead of the Good People who had before inhabited it," and these were continually supplied, with the hot liquors by which they were debauched, from the very place whence the people of that district had formerly received the good instructions and exhortations which had been a medium of their happiness.

Momatchegin, nevertheless, held fast and "tho there was such a Flood of strong Drink, as drowned most of the People in the Place where he lived, yet he kept wholly free from any Excess in the Use of those Liquors by which his Neighbors were destroyed."

At the ceremonies that established the Vineyard church were present a number of Nantucket Indians, among them the teacher of the praying Indians of that island. There were at this time ninety families on Nantucket that prayed to God. A number of these joined in full worship at Martha's Vineyard, who later became a church of themselves at Nantucket. Mayhew speaks of this church as one which "relates to me," being as he meant an off-shoot of the Vineyard church, and under his missionary supervision.

The first light of the Gospel came to Nantucket by means of the Mayhews and Hiacoomes. Governor Mayhew, in 1674, writes that he had "very often, these thirty-two years, been at Nantucket," which takes us back to the year of his purchase of the island, and before its settlement by the English.

No great missionary progress was made at Nantucket during the lifetime of the younger Mayhew. From early accounts the native inhabitants appear to have been a murderous and less tractable people than their neighbors at Martha's Vineyard, but this may have been due to the fact that they were far removed from the seat of English influence and subject only to occasional visits from the Mayhews. They failed to adopt the white man's religion to any great extent until the settlement of the island by Tristram Coffin and the company of first proprietors. The Indians then so marvelled at the white man's superior knowledge and mode of living that they sought a teacher to come among them to teach them the new life.

In 1664 the Apostle Eliot wrote that "sundry places in the country

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are ripe for labourers," whose Indian inhabitants intreat that some of their countrymen be sent unto them to teach them, whereof "one of the brethren of the Church at Martins Vinyard is called by the Nantuket Indians to teach them." And because no soldier goes to war at his own expense, Eliot promised several of these militant bearers of the Cross that they should be completely outfitted with new clothes—shoes, stockings, a coat and neckcloth—a costume sadly missing in a necessary garment to any but the Indian eye.

The Indian ordered from Martha's Vineyard to Nantucket, in response to the request for apostles, was Samuel, a schoolmaster employed at the Vineyard as an assistant to Thomas Mayhew. The Commissioners at their annual meeting voted ten pounds "More to M^r Mahew to dispose to Samuell sent to Natuckett and other deserueing Indians there."

It is known that Mayhew at one time sent what he termed "4 vnderstanding Indians thither purposely, whose goeing was very usefull in severall respects too longe to recite." Whether these four emissaries were sent before or after Samuel, and whether they preached their doctrine openly, or quietly diffused the new religion in the Indian ranks, cannot be said.

The work at Nantucket progressed with success. Says Gookin, "The Indians upon this island sow English as well as Indian corn, spin and knit stockings, and are more industrious than many other Indians. The truth is," he adds, with a show of philosophy, "the Indians, both upon the Vineyard and Nantucket are poor; and, according as the scripture saith, do more readily receive the gospel and become religious. The rules of religion teach them to be diligent and industrious; and the diligent hand maketh rich, and adds no sorrow with it."

The pastor of the first church at Nantucket was Assassamoogh, known to the English by the less difficult name of John Gibbs. He was Thomas Mayhew's prime convert on this island. By 1674 the church had admitted thirty members to full communion; the men in fellowship being twenty and the women ten—a ratio of sexes in reverse of that customarily the rule in church societies. Forty children and youths had been baptised and three hundred Indians, young and old, prayed to God and kept holy the Sabbath day.

Oggawome was the meeting place of the Indian church, a location nearly abreast of the fifth milestone on the Siasconset Road. It is in the neighborhood of modern Plainfield, and was one of the largest

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Indian villages on the island. Here John Gibbs for twenty-five years preached to his countrymen by the waters of the pond that still bears his name, Gibbs Pond.

Elsewhere meetings were held, presided over by Indian teachers—Joseph, Samuel, and Caleb; the latter master of the Indian school. The school was conducted in the Indian tongue, but Caleb confided to Gookin an earnest desire to read and understand English and entreated that dignitary to procure him an English Bible, which was accordingly done by order of the commissioners. Like numerous others of Mayhew's best converts, Caleb was the son of an Indian prince.

Shortly after the governor's death there were two Indian churches of the Congregational persuasion and one Baptist church at Nantucket. All three traced their origin to the first Indian church of Martha's Vineyard.

It is a startling fact that for nearly half a century after the settlement of the island of Nantucket the only Christian churches in the community were those gathered among the Indians. Unlike the rulers of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew made no effort to compel the settlements to establish churches. An aristocracy of saints was not set up and church membership was not a prerequisite to the ballot. Thomas Mayhew was a man of deep religious instincts, but he also believed in freedom of thought in matters touching man's relation to God.

The early settlers of Nantucket are known to have been men of definite religious convictions, but differing widely in doctrinal beliefs, they determined to let each go his own ecclesiastical way. A diversity of beliefs prevented the formation of an early church. In after years the island became a Quaker stronghold—the natural outcome of an independent spiritual attitude.

A number of the early settlers, including Peter Folger, were Anabaptists. The members of this sect tried at first to hinder the Indians from administering baptismal rites to infants, but were soon prevailed on to be "quiet and meddle not" with missionary activities. The Baptist churches at Gay Head and Nantucket are said to be the fruition of Folger's teachings.

A picture of an Indian church in 1792 portrayed by a Quaker may suffice to give a glimpse of the native mode of worship:

I will say something more in recommendation of some of our old Indian natives. They were very solid and sober at their meetings of

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worship, and carried on in the form of Presbyterians, but in one thing they imitated the Friends or Quakers, so called; which was to hold meetings on the first day of the week and on the fifth day of the week, and attended their meetings very precisely. I have been at their meetings many times and seen their devotion; and it was remarkably solid; and I could understand the most of what was said: and they always placed us in a suitable seat to sit; and they were not put out by our coming in, but rather appeared glad to see us. A minister is called cooutaumuchary. And when the meeting was done, they would take their tinder-box and strike fire and light their pipes, and, may be, would draw three or four whifs and swallow the smoke, and then blow it out of their noses, and so hand their pipes to their next neighbor. And one pipe of tobacco would serve ten or a dozen of them. And they would say "tawpoot," which is, "I thank you." It seemed to be done in a way of kindness to each other.

It has been said of the Puritan missionaries of New England that had they been satisfied with the "coining" of Christians by baptism they could have greatly increased the number of nominal converts.

Notwithstanding the high standards of conduct set by the missionaries, the progress and numbers of converted Indians in the New England missions compare favorably with those elsewhere. Comparison may be made with the famous California missions, the first of which was established in 1769, one hundred and twenty-six years after the conversion of Hiacoomes.

Although the Indian population of California was large, the growth of the missions was not fast. By the end of the fifth year the five Spanish missions had a total of 491 baptismal converts, and of these it is believed only sixty-two in the territory were adults. "These slender results in such a populous field seem even more significant when analysed," says Professor Charles E. Chapman, the well-known historian of Spanish-California. An average of five or six adults a year at a mission was all that had been obtained, and three missions in fact had few or no adult neophytes.

The one Vineyard mission in 1651, with only the private support of the Mayhews, had in that year 199 men, women, and children who professed themselves worshippers of the Christian God, and among these were included Indian chieftains and powwows.

In referring to the methods and successes of the several missionary projects in America, differences of culture, religious practices and

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beliefs, geographical conditions, and Indian attitude have each their place. True and valuable comparisons are difficult.

However, admitted differences in the methods of the Spanish and English missions existed in several respects. The Spaniards in California brought the Indian to the mission, where he lived and labored upon rich farms for the communal benefit of those of his race who accepted the faith. No pretense of purchase of these farms was made, and Indians who refused to accept the faith were not allowed to share in the fruits of their own lands. In New England the mission was of necessity brought to the Indian and not the Indian to the mission. Territory did not exist in areas of sufficient fertility to warrant the establishment of mission plantations. Indian towns were established, but in the main the Indians of Martha's Vineyard were taught in their own villages.

The instruction of the Indian in the science of self-government did not receive the approbation of the Spanish missionaries, but it was attempted by them in a limited degree because of the insistence of the civil authorities. The Spaniard was monarchical in his ideas of government and hierarchical in religion. He cared little for the principles of Magna Charta and the "liberties" which every Englishman considered a part of his personal rights, and for which he would spend a lifetime in politics or war to protect. This was, of course, due to a difference in cultural background and viewpoint.

According to Fr. Engelhardt, author of an elaborate history of the California missions, the Spanish missionaries believed in teaching very little book knowledge to the California Indian, who was mentally of an inferior type. Stress instead was laid on manual labor and skilled craftsmanship. The education of the Indian was warranted to prove practical and useful to him in his life at the mission.

The methods of the mission system in California have not escaped criticism. A less severe critic than many, Dr. Chapman, writes: "Discipline was strict and severe. Native officials inflicted whippings or other penalties upon the recalcitrant, by order of the missionaries, but the more serious offences were turned over for punishment to the corporal of the guard. Unaccustomed either to working or to submission to discipline the Indians often endeavored to run away, but were pursued and brought back. To lessen the opportunity of escape, walls were constructed around the mission, and the Indians were locked up

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at night. All in all, the institution of the Spanish mission was one of the most interesting examples of 'benevolent depotism' that human history records."

If a convert chose to attempt an escape, writes Fr. Engelhardt, he was followed and brought back to the mission, not being free to resume his wild and immoral life as he "bore the indelible mark of a Christian upon the soul" which he was not allowed to desecrate. Once he had submitted himself to the mission and been baptised he was considered, explains Engelhardt, "on a level with the soldiers who had taken an oath to stand by the flag of their country which they could not be permitted to desert."

Whipping was a form of punishment common to civilized nations. At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket Indians in Governor Mayhew's time were whipped by each other for drunkenness, and in later years were ordered whipped by their own and English judges for infractions of the civil law. The attitude of the English towards the power of the church and its control of civil and religious conduct prevented the restraint of the Indian under lock and key or military guard, as was the practice in California.

Some of the criticism of the California missions has had its origin in the attitude of Spanish and Mexican civilians who were not in sympathy with the work of the Franciscans and who aspired to share in the ownership of the great tracts of land under mission control.

Notwithstanding the attitude of the earlier California historians who are critical of mission methods or of Fr. Engelhardt who rails at these students as "bigots" and "infidels" and "closet historians," the fact remains there is room in the heart of posterity to accord glory to all the missionaries. Certain it is there was not enough profit in the work to call to its banner any but men of the highest Christian type and good will, of whatever faith or blood. However one may disagree with some of the methods practiced, the labors and sacrifices of the missionaries are indisputable. Their glory belongs to mankind and to no one religion or race.

The missionary history of California is one of the state's best traditions. But it has not escaped glorification. It is unfortunate that writers and publicists have found it necessary to over-emphasize the missionary activities of any one race and to belittle those of another in an effort to aggrandize a particular nation or creed.



ABRAM QUARY, LAST MALE NANTUCKET INDIAN. HE WAS OF MIXED BLOOD; DIED IN 1854, AGED 82 YEARS, 10 MONTHS.



OLD COFFIN HOUSE ON SUNSET HILL AT NANTUCKET,
BUILT FOR JETHRO AND MARY (GARDNER) COFFIN

*Courtesy of Walter F. & George F. Starbuck,
From Alexander Starbuck's "History of Nantucket."*

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Little has been written of the missionary labors of the English and much about the Spaniard. An unhappy balance has been the result in the public mind. This is increased by Mr. Charles F. Lummis who, in an effort to present the Spaniard in a favorable light, finds it necessary to speak slightly of John Eliot and to ignore the existence of other English missionaries. Mr. Lummis has made the astounding statement that Eliot had no "imitators," implying that missionary work by the English was carried on by Eliot alone, and that it came to an end with his death.

The same author suggests that his readers fancy Massachusetts with twenty-one industrial schools for Indians, each with five hundred to three thousand pupils (such being the number and population of the Spanish missions in California at one time), but he fails to call attention to the fact that statistics place the number of Indians in California from 50,000 to 150,000. In all southeastern New England, that is, the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and the present states of Rhode Island and Connecticut, there were in the first days of settlement no more than a few thousand Indians. Naturally the English could not obtain great numbers of converts, but they did obtain a high percentage of the population, probably greater in proportion than did the Franciscans in California.

The territory embraced in the present state of Massachusetts not only was sparsely populated with Indians, but its geographic area is roughly one-twentieth that of present California. An effort to detract from the earnestness and ability of the Puritan missionaries by a numerical comparison of converts without regard to areas and population is not short of ridiculous.

The several missions of Mayhew, Eliot, Tupper, Bourne, and Cotton, compare favorably with any five of the twenty-one Spanish-California missions. Laperouse is authority for the statement that in 1789, seventeen years after the foundation of the first California mission, the number of converted or domesticated Indians was 5,143. This gives an average of between five and six hundred converts per mission. In 1802 eighteen Spanish missions had 15,562 converts ranging from 437 to 1,559 Indians each. Statistics of the New England missions are scant, but it is known that in 1674 Eliot had 1,100 praying Indians under his care, the Revs. Bourne and Cotton 700 in Plymouth Colony, and Mayhew, 1,800 converts. Making allowances for differences of

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population and area, it can be seen that the work of the English missionaries was as successful and laudable as that of the Spanish Franciscans.

The work in California was carried on by a well organized religious order, which the ancient and solidified Catholic church permitted. The Franciscans had the advantage of some of the most fertile land in the world, their converts belonged to a weak and spiritless race of Indians who never produced a King Philip to rouse them to a state of rebellion, and more important, there was never a crowding, pushing, restless surge of Europeans about the missions to interfere to any great extent with the activities of the Indians in their struggle for existence.

One admires the splendid self-sacrifice, the devotion and daring of the Franciscan friars, but one cannot so readily admire some of their glorifiers who disdain the facts of history and distort perspective in order to aggrandize a work that is able to stand on its own merits.



CHAPTER XVIII

THE WAR OF EXTIRPATION

On the 24th of June, 1675, King Philip opened his long cherished war for the extermination of the English by the sack of Swansea. Whatever is the ill repute of Governor Andros in New England history he was an officer of administrative ability, and upon Philip's threat responded with a promptness and efficiency to a degree laudable when compared with the military helplessness of many of the governors of colonial America. Andros was an untactful but well meaning cavalry officer. An aristocratic servant of the Stuarts, he was only popular in America while governor of Virginia, but as a man he was honest, faithful to his masters, and endowed with an administrative ability that deserves better of historians than has been his fortune.

There was stir and bustle in the early morning scene at Fort James on the day when the fate of New England hung by a thread. News that the Indians were in arms in Plymouth Colony reached Andros by letter from Governor Winthrop at "About 3 o'clock" on the morning of July 4.

At that hour the messenger on the King's service drew rein before the massive gates of the fort. He was met with the sharp challenge of a sentry, there was an exchange of voices, a hurriedly opened gate, the muffled tread of footsteps across parade ground and court yard, an uncanny knock on the governor's chamber, voices, whispers, orders, cries, the sound of feet, the sharp staccato of a trumpet in the still night—unreal, chilling—excited inquiries, running feet, soldiers falling into line, rumors, a word hurriedly whispered from file to file, an electric current through the lines, INDIANS. It was a scene not uncommon in colonial days.

Andros awaited no massacre of inhabitants in outlying towns, but proceeded to set his province in order. He immediately dispatched a letter in reply to Winthrop to be carried "in Post Hast" from constable to constable until its destination should be reached. In the letter the New York governor conveyed his intent to march that night with a force of men to the Connecticut River, "his Royall Highnesse Bounds there."

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It is typical of the colonial governors that although servants of the same king, in an hour of peril they would continue to press their several claims to territory. Both Andros and Winthrop claimed the territory west of the Connecticut River as part of their respective colonies. In repairing to the river Andros was furthering the jurisdictional claims of his master as well as affording military protection to the king's subjects.

Governor Andros and his troops were at Saybrook on the eighth, where they found nothing to fear on the Indian account. The governor accordingly ordered one of his transport sloops eastward on a cruise for intelligence, and dispatched letters to Winthrop and the governor of Massachusetts. He then crossed over the sound to the towns on the eastward of Long Island, where he conducted a tour of military inspection on his return down the island to New York. At Southold he ordered a sloop to Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket with two barrels of powder, twenty-five muskets, and seven skeins of matches.

The fear of Andros for the safety of his eastward territories was needless. The situation at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket was the pastel shade in the crimson picture of Philip's War.

At the outbreak of the war the question uppermost in the minds of the settlers was whether the converted Indians would remain true to the English government which they professed. Never was an opportunity so favorably presented a people to throw off a yoke had their allegiance to the new religion and government been anything but a voluntary and happy submission. To one who asks, was the missionary work of the Mayhews a success? Was the conversion of the Indians a heartfelt acceptance of the white man's civilization or was it a superficial conversion accomplished by force, bribery, or cajolery? The answer lies in the conduct of the island Indians during King Philip's War.

Elsewhere in New England attempt was made, wherever feasible, to disarm the Indians, but at Martha's Vineyard an unheard of step was taken. Instead of disarming the native inhabitants, Governor Mayhew was emboldened to arm those among the Indians whom he especially trusted as faithful adherents of the English.

The feasibility of an Indian militia Mayhew had broached many years before to the commissioners of the United Colonies, who in reply warned him that "for the training of the Indians and furnishing them

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with guns, powder and shott; wee are not free but wish rather it might bee wholly restrained."

The governor of Martha's Vineyard knew the temperament of his converts and when Philip's War broke out felt justified, as a means of defense, in raising the military establishment proposed by him nearly two decades before. He accordingly enlisted a company of Foot among the red men, armed with powder and ball, and under the command of Indian officers. The Indians being "improv'd" as a guard, "he gave them instruction how to manage for the common safety." It was the first Indian company of troops under British colors commanded by a native captain.

On the island of Martha's Vineyard, as elsewhere, there were many English who suffered themselves to be unreasonably exasperated against all Indians to such an extent that they could hardly be restrained by the governor and those associated in government with him from attempting to disarm the natives, who greatly outnumbered the whites in a ratio of about twenty to one.

To allay the fears of the timid and to satisfy the doubtful, the governor ordered "captain Richard Sarson, Esq.," with a small company of English, to march to the west end of the island, where resided the Indians whose loyalty was most to be doubted, to treat with them concerning their attitude toward the war. Captain Sarson accordingly marched his command to Gay Head, the last stronghold of the powwows, where lived many of the Vineyard Indians.

Although the tribes of the island had at one time been tribute to princes on the continent and subject to King Philip, the chief men of the place met the military embassy with a protestation of friendship. They answered the enquiries of the captain by saying that the Indians engaged in the war against the English were not less the enemies of the English than theirs. They expressed sorrow that their English neighbors had seen fit to suspect their fidelity, stating that they had never given occasion to arouse the distrust intimated. But for delivering up their arms, this they did not think wise to do as disarmament would leave them exposed to the will of the warring Indians on the neighboring continent. They stated that "if in any thing not hazard-ing their safety, they could give any satisfaction for the proof of their fidelity, they would willingly *attend* what should reasonably be *demande*d of them; but they were unwilling to deliver their arms,

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unless the *English* would propose some *mean* for their safety and livelihood."

With this they drew up a writing in their own language, the substance of which was "that as they had submitted to the crown of *England*, so they resolved to *assist the English* on these *islands* against their *enemies*, which they esteem'd in the same respect equally their own, as subjects of the same *king* which was subscrib'd by the persons of the greatest note among them."

It was then that the governor proceeded with his plan to establish an Algonquin military guard.

The news of Mayhew's comportment was received by the people of Nantucket with disapproval. On that island the personal influence of the missionary-governor among the Indians was less potent. The men of Nantucket town recalled stories of war, fire, and rapine that came from the mainland, of sleeping villages which had been ravaged at night, and women and children fiendishly tortured, slain, or carried into captivity. These tales recalled memories of murders perpetrated by the Indians of Nantucket upon English sailors and shipwrecked travelers; the inhabitants counted their weak numbers and were convinced that a general uprising of the island Indians would indubitably wipe out their settlement.

At Nantucket the situation was intensified by the conduct of the English inhabitants themselves. As has been related in prior chapters, political feuds and jealousies had the island in their throes. Rumor was rampant among the Indians that there was no longer government among the English. The respect of the native for the function of law and order and his belief in the ability of the whites to rule was badly shaken.

For the safety of the island a number of inhabitants composed a letter to Governor Andros in which they recited the defenseless condition of Nantucket and their fear of ill consequences "upon the Indyans Trayning in Armes on Martins Vineyard." The writers commented on the great strength of the Indians on both Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket and expressed a desire that Andros should send the inhabitants a "Couple of great guns, & halfe a dosen Sould^{rs}."

About this time Andros received also a letter from Simon Athearn, of Martha's Vineyard, who was always capable of giving advice, soliciting an order that "no person or persons be suffered to let any Indian

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or Indians have any powder in these perilous times." If Athearn had been governor of Martha's Vineyard, there is little doubt but that his request would have been necessary.

As it was, the letters had a logical sound, and Andros ordered a cannon each to be delivered to the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard and that copies of "y^e Proclamation concerning y^e Indyans, of keeping Watches, erecting Block-houses &c" should be sent to the inhabitants.

Throughout the war the English officials of Nantucket affected a carriage towards the Indians of confidence, pretending no distrust, although, reports chief magistrate Thomas Macy, "we haue heard now and then a Word . . . which we haue not liked but haue overlooked the same." The cool head of Thomas Macy was of great benefit to the inhabitants at this time.

One of Macy's early moves was the confiscation of liquor on the island that the natives might not be kept "like wild Beares and Wolves in the Wildernese." It was this move that aroused the antagonism of John Gardner and others temporarily out of governmental power. Gardner had a half barrel of "Rom" taken from him which he could well have used. Suppression of the liquor traffic was difficult. Some of the inhabitants would purchase liquor from traders coming to the island, ostensibly for their own consumption, but actually for resale to the Indians. It was Macy's suggestion that the governor of New York issue an order prohibiting the sale of liquor by masters of visiting vessels and that the island justices be empowered to regulate the sale of strong drink in small quantities "for the moderate use of the English here, or for Indians in case of distresse."

Dangerous and troublesome times passed without bloodshed. It is traditional that a number of Indians brought guns and a cow to the Nantucket court, as testimony of their fidelity to the English. Control of the liquor traffic was effectuated and although the right of some of the planters to keep and sell liquor was temporarily infringed, their lives and the lives of their neighbors were thereby made safe.

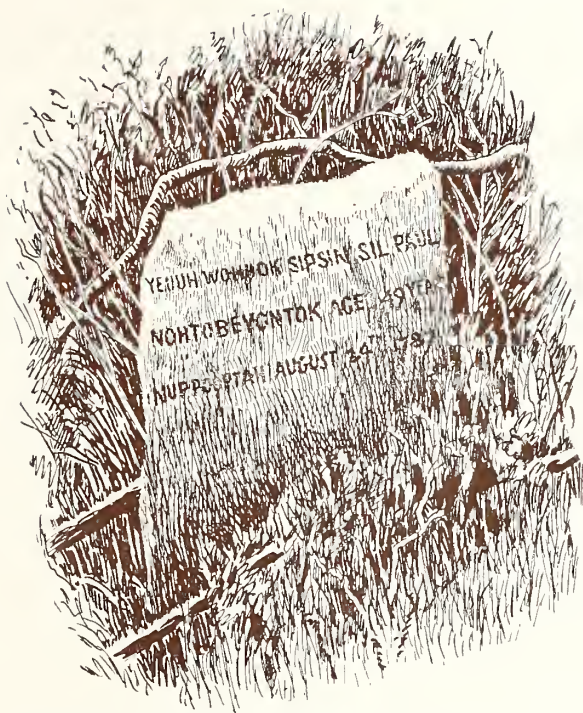
The efforts of King Philip to arouse his countrymen on the islands failed. The region of Gay Head was frequently visited during the war by Indians from the continent coming to the islands to solicit members of their race, in many instances related by marriage or blood, to rise against the English. Again and again these envoys were captured

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and brought before Governor Mayhew by his native militia men to attend his pleasure. So faithful were the members of the Indian company to the local English government that the European inhabitants of the island took little heed of their own defense, but left it mainly to these Christian Indians to warn them of approaching danger, not doubting to be advised by them of any danger from the enemy.

"Thus while the war was raging on the neighboring continent, these islands enjoyed a perfect calm of peace, and the people dwelt secure and quiet. This was the genuine and happy effect of Mr. Mayhew the governor's excellent conduct, and of the introduction of the Christian religion among them."





GRAVESTONE IN GAY HEAD OF SILAS PAUL, AN
EARLY INDIAN MINISTER AND CONVERT
OF THE MAYHEWS

CHAPTER XIX

THE PRAYING TOWNS

No phase in the story of the struggle of the Indian to attain the white man's civilization is more picturesque than that which relates to the foundation of Indian towns at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, where self-government was exercised by the inhabitants under principles that reached far into the antiquity of English history.

To the outward eye the Praying Indian differed little from the savage, but in philosophy of life a wide variation placed him a thing apart from those of his race who clung to the old beliefs. The Christian Indian spoke things not understood by his unconverted countrymen. Naturally he sought to live in congregations.

In the winter of 1659 the sachem Josias of Takemmy granted the praying Indians of his sachemship a tract of land one mile square for their exclusive use, on payment of twenty shillings yearly to himself. This was the beginning of the Indian town of Christiantown, which for 228 years was the home of praying Indians. In 1910 its last inhabitants were Mr. Joseph Mingo, his wife, and widowed son, Samuel. Mr. Mingo is described at the time as being over eighty years of age "and as straight as an arrow."

The verbal grant of Christiantown, or Manitouwattootan, stood for a decade upon common report. In time a number of English planters commenced the purchase of lands in Takemmy for the settlement of Middletown. The sale by Josias of the rich fields of Takemmy aroused the anger of his pagan subjects, who realized that they would not profit in the bargains made by him, but would only lose their lands.

Between Josias and his braves constant quarrelings became the order of the day. Conditions reached such proportions that Thomas Mayhew concluded to call a great conclave of the natives to thresh out their difficulties. A day was set when all factions met in the presence of the patentee. We are told by an English eye-witness that the argument between the sachem and his subjects at the powwow became so heated "that mr Thomas Mayhew Esqr" had "very much adoe to quiet the Indians." An understanding was effectuated through the good graces of the patentee, and it was agreed by the sachem that no

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further land should be sold the English without the consent and approbation of trustees appointed to act for the tribe as a whole. These trustees were six in number; five of them being Indians and the other Mr. Thomas Mayhew.

In part the agreement provided that "It is absolutely agreed by us Thomas Mayhew, Kiteanumin [*i. e.*, Josias], Tichpit, Teequinomin, Papamick and Joseph, and wee doe hereby promise for our heirs and successors that all the lands in Takemmy that is not sold unto the English shall remain unsold for the use of the Indians of Takemmy and their heirs forever; except the said Thomas Mayhew, Kiteanumin, Tichpit, Teequinomin, Papamick and Joseph their heirs successors doe all and everie one of them consent to the sale thereof of any part of the same."

At the conclave, the sachem Josias also confirmed his verbal grant of Christiantown to the praying Indians, "and ever since the sd Meeting," concludes our informant, "it hath generally been esteemed to be the Indians and called by the name of the Indian Town."

Thomas Mayhew drew up the following statement for permanent record:

Josias and Wannamanhutt Did in my Presence give the Praying Indians a Tract of Land for a Town and Did Committ the Government Thereof into my hand and Posteritie forever: the Bounds of the said Land is on the North sid of Island bounded by the land called Ichpoquassett and so to the Pond called Mattapaquattonooke and into the island so far as Papamaks fields where he planted and now Plants or soes: it is as broad in the woods as by the Seaside.

The form of government instituted by Thomas Mayhew at Christiantown was probably one suited to the monarchical customs of the Indians, and was democratized as the inhabitants grew in capability for self-government. It may be supposed that petty courts were erected for the trial of trivial matters, presided over by Indian magistrates, with power of appeal to English justices, as this was the practice of the governor in other Indian plantations where "a happy government" was settled among the Indians and records kept of all actions and acts passed "in their several courts, by such who having learn'd to write fairly, were appointed thereto."

Scant are the records of Christiantown, and the history of its judicial and administrative affairs is gleaned from occasional documents

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and papers. As early as 1690 mention is made of an Indian magistrate in the town and in 1703 Stephen Nashokow was "Justice of peace for the Indians of Takymmy." In 1696, Isaac Ompanit, Stephen Nashokow, and Obadiah Paul, trustees, refer to the rights "of themselves and body politick as a town." Stephen was a preacher as well as a justice of the peace. Experience Mayhew writes of Isaac Ompanit, he "was a *Magistrate* as well as a Minister among his own Countrymen, and faithfully discharged the Duties of that *Office*, according to the best of his Skill and Judgment, not being a Terror to *good Works*, but to those that were Evil."

For a number of years the Indians of Christiantown remained under the general supervision of successive members of the Mayhew family. After the governor's death, his grandsons, Thomas and Matthew, were prominent in their civil affairs. In time the Indians of the island as a tribe came under the guardianship of the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in material as well as spiritual matters. Occasionally agents were appointed by the provincial, and later the state government, of Massachusetts to act for the Indians in certain capacities relating to their legal rights. Many of these agents or "guardians" as they were called were members of the Mayhew family in name or blood, carrying on the traditions of their family.

Early among these was Major Paine Mayhew, a great-grandson of the governor, who in 1727 was one of the attorneys "To the Honorable the Company for Propagating the Gospel & etc." He was Commissioner of Indians at Chappaquiddick appointed to prosecute claims on their behalf, and was also Guardian of Indians for Dukes County. Other guardians were Colonel Zaccheus Mayhew, Dr. Matthew Mayhew, Deacon Timothy Mayhew, Dr. Thomas Mayhew, and after the Revolution, William Mayhew, librarian of Harvard College, Nathaniel Mayhew, Simon Mayhew, Esq., and another William Mayhew, in 1813.

NOTE—Paine Mayhew, born 1677, died 1761. Within one hundred years of his death was born an unusual number of nationally known descendants, a number of whom gained world-wide recognition. Descendants include Major-General William Jenkins Worth, the Mexican War hero; Lucretia Mott, founder of the woman's movement; Mde. Lillian Nordica, prima donna; "Camp Meeting" John Allen, a most popular clergyman of his day in America; Rev. Charles F. Allen, D. D., first president of the University of Maine; James Athearn Jones, one of the leading minor authors of the early nineteenth century; Cyrus Butler, founder of the Butler Hospital for the humane treatment of the insane at Providence, Rhode Island; Hon. Henry L. Dawes, United States Senator from Massachusetts, author of Indian bills; Dr. Walter Hillman, college president, in whose honor was named Hillman College, Mississippi; and Hon. Walter Folger Brown, postmaster-general of the United States under President Hoover.

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In 1731 Experience Mayhew as agent for the Indians of Christiantown procured a grant from the provincial General Court granting the praying Indians of Christiantown the right to elect officers for the conduct of Indian affairs, making legal under the Massachusetts government the practice that had been in vogue under the Mayhews.

Thereafter "Legall Town Meetings" are of record presided over by moderators and their business recorded by town clerks. The inhabitants, however, continued under the supervision of guardians and missionaries.

Christiantown was essentially a religious community. Accordingly a meeting house was erected for the Indians during the governor's lifetime. Prior to this event the Mayhews, in making the circuit of Indian plantations, had preached to the natives in their wigwams or in the open fields when weather permitted. In the woods adjoining the simple church, the Indians in later years placed a great square stone, known as the Mayhew horse-block, to assist the missionaries in mounting their horses.

After Governor Mayhew's death the original church structure was replaced by another. In 1732 two flagons of silver were presented the native congregation by the society of the Old South Church of Boston, through the influence of Experience Mayhew.

Experience has left an account of a number of the Indian converts of Christiantown. Contemporary with the governor was John Amanhut, son of Wannamanhut, the sachem. John was a preacher in the town and in turn was the father of a still more illustrious preacher, Hosea Manhut, ordained pastor of "the Indian Church at the West End" of the island. Other native preachers at Christiantown in the governor's day were Joel Sims who died about the year 1680 "much lamented" and James Sepinnu, a brother of Tackanash.

The first to exercise the office of a minister to the people of Christiantown was Wunnanauhkomun. He was well connected by marriage "in the Indian way." His wife was a daughter of Cheshchaamog, the sachem of Homes Hole and a sister of Caleb Cheshchaamog, the graduate of Harvard College. Her Indian name was Ammapoo, but among the English she was called Abigail. "She used, while her husband lived, to pray in the family in his absence, and frequently gave good counsel to her children." Of death she would sometimes speak "as the hand of God, by which his people were removed into a better

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place than this; and would also call it a ferryman, by which we have our passage out of this life into the next."

The most remarkable family in Christiantown was that of Shohkow. The progenitor of this family was a praying Indian of Takemmy called Nashokow. He had five sons, all of whom became Indian preachers on the island. His son Micah was in early life "a lover of strong Drink," but reforming in after years, "frequently preached to the Indians on the island," especially those in the town in which he lived and died. Stephen, heretofore mentioned, was brought up "in a pious English family," where he received an education. The other sons were preachers and esteemed for "piety."

A noted Indian was Old Paul, who was "generally esteemed a godly Man" and "without any Stain in his Life and Conversation." An Indian classified as one of the "Good Men" of the island was Job Somannan, of mixed antecedents, his father being a praying Indian and his mother a heathen. He was taught to read in his native tongue and later learned to read and write in English. He became a schoolmaster and "a great Lover of good Books," yet he had "such Apprehensions of the Holiness that was necessary to qualify Persons for the Enjoyment of Church Privileges, that he thought it not safe for him to venture to lay claims unto them."

It must not be thought that all native preachers on the island were ordained clergymen. Experience Mayhew classifies ruling elders and deacons in the same category as "will appear the more natural when I have said that in the Indian churches both ruling elders and deacons have generally been preachers of the word of God, though they have been only chosen and set apart to the offices by which they are denominated." The majority of those who preached in the several towns of the island were lay ministers and teachers. Ordination was an honor bestowed upon only a chosen few.

Preachers, lay and ordained, taught at several centers of population on the islands. Christiantown was the oldest, but not the sole organized Indian town. A sister community was Gay Head, with a history even longer in years than Christiantown. Although Gay Head had no town government for many years, it is of interest as the sole surviving Indian town on the islands. Its church is one of the ancient in North America.

Mittark, the first preacher at this place, was succeeded by Japheth

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Hannit, of Chilmark, who was assisted by Abel Wauwompuhque and Elisha Ohhumuh. The two latter were preaching to 260 souls in 1698 and had a meetinghouse framed. This may have been the edifice which was standing on the Old South Road over a hundred years later. In it were heard the voices of the Mayhews, at least Experience preaching 1694-1758, and Zachariah, 1767-1806, and their successor, the Rev. Frederick Baylies, in years beginning 1810.

The Congregational Church at Gay Head founded by the Mayhews is commonly remembered as "The Old Presbyterian Church" and as "The Church of the Standing Order"; the first having reference to its form of organization and the second to the fact that the Congregational Church in Massachusetts was the State Church, supported by taxation. Churches not Congregational, were dissenting bodies, and not of the "standing order."

The last preacher of "the Standing Order" was Zachary Howwoswee, "still a name to conjure with, a dim figure looming out of the past—but looming mightily." He was the last to preach in the Indian tongue, although there were few left in his congregation that were capable of understanding the language of their fathers. He clung, however, to this last tie of the entity of his race. So fervidly could he preach in the unknown language that he could make his listeners cry, although they knew not a word he spoke. He was a "large farmer" and prosperous, but declined into drink. He made a brave but vain struggle to maintain his people as a race; but with dwindling attendance and his own unfortunate struggle with intemperance, the light he sought to keep burning, went out. He used to tell his congregation "you must not do as I do, but as I say."

A Baptist schism at Gay Head appeared in the eighteenth century. Little effort was made to combat it as the Mayhew missionaries were willing that any Christian faith should be worshipped in preference to paganism. At one time the sole Baptist minister on the island was an ordained Indian preacher.

In 1849 it was said of the Gay Headers that they were "in the main, a frugal, industrious, temperate and moral people; but not without exception." Twelve years later it was said, "They are generally kind and considerate toward each other, and perform their social and relative duties as well as do other people in whose vicinity they reside." In 1869, at a hearing held by the legislative committee, three clergy-

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men testified that covering a period of seven years neither of them had seen a case of drunkenness nor heard profanity among them in that time. In 1862 the reservation was incorporated by the State Legislature into the "District of Gay Head" and, in 1870, it was conferred the full status of a township.

Under the rotation plan of electing a representative for the island to the General Court of the State then in vogue, Mr. Edwin DeVries Vanderhoop, a native Gay Header, with a large admixture of Dutch blood in his veins, was elected to the session of 1888 to legislate for the white people who had lately enfranchised him.

Says the island historian, "The town is now in its fortieth year of existence [1910], a self-respecting community of people, obedient to the laws, managing its affairs economically, fulfilling all the requirements of an incorporated part of the Commonwealth, and justifying fully the faith of the men who gave it this opportunity for independent development. But it is still an 'Indian' town, for the white man has made no invasion here."

The long "apprenticeship in civilization" has been served. Lacking initiative by inheritance, the Indians seemed for a time like the children of Israel, lost in the wilderness, with no incentive to raise them from their sloth. The journey was long and tedious, but not without reward.

The type of local government that Thomas Mayhew instituted among the island Indians was the most highly developed of its kind, and was singularly free of the casuistic notions of the day. The Apostle Eliot in founding Natick took occasion to put into force a theory of his that all civil government and all laws should be derived from Scripture alone. Said he of the Indians, "They shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things, both in church and State; the Lord shall be their lawgiver, the Lord shall be their judge, the Lord shall be their king, and unto the frame the Lord will bring all the world ere he hath done."

The virtue of this form of government Eliot loved to argue and promulgate. He refers frequently to the point in his correspondence claiming that the time would come when all other civil institutions in the world would be compelled to yield to those derived from the Bible.

Pursuant to the eighteenth chapter of Exodus the Indians of Natick divided their community into hundreds and tithings and appointed

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rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. This was only a municipal government. In general affairs they acknowledged their subjection to the English magistrates of the colony, and appeals were made from their courts to these authorities in all necessary cases.

Laws for the regulation of Indian affairs were passed in the several colonies. In 1670 the selectmen of the towns in Plymouth Colony were empowered by the General Court to judge disputes arising between English and Indians, except in capital cases and matters pertaining to the title of lands. Three years later Magistrate Thomas Hinckley* was appointed to call and keep courts among the Indians, and was authorized to make orders respecting their government in conjunction with the Indian chiefs of the several locations. Afterwards the Court of Assistants appointed an "able and discreet" man in each town to hear cases "betwixt Indian and Indian" in association with tithingmen appointed one for every ten Indians. Constables among the Indians were appointed yearly.

At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket a more complete form of government was provided, and greater liberty given the Indians in self-government than elsewhere. In general the laws were those in vogue among the English. The Indian was brought forward in the science of government and not turned back to the days of Moses.

The antiquarian Macy says of the Nantucket Indians, "they had justices, constables, grandjurymen, and carried on for a great many years, many of them very well and precisely, and lived in a very good fashion."

Macy tells the story of a picturesque Indian judge whose administration was of a date later than Governor Mayhew, but of interest as a first hand picture of Indian justice. "There was one Indian man," recites Macy, "his name was James Skouel, but was mostly called Corduda. He was justice of the peace, and very sharp with them if they did not behave well. He would fetch them up, when they did not tend their corn well, and order them to have ten stripes on their backs, and for any rogue tricks and getting drunk. And if his own children

*Thomas Hinckley, b. cir. 1618 in England; d. in Barnstable, Mass., 25 April, 1706. He was the last governor of Plymouth Colony. His daughter Thankful became the first wife of Rev. Experience Mayhew. After her death, Experience Mayhew remarried Remember Bourne, daughter of Shearjashub Bourne, Esq. (who had civil oversight of the Mashpee Indians), and granddaughter of Rev. Richard Bourne, missionary to the Indians. The missionary families of Bourne, Tupper, and Mayhew are intermarried.

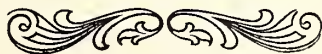
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played any rogue tricks, he would serve them the same sauce. There happened some Englishmen at his court, when a man was brought up for some rogue tricks, and one of these men was named Nathan Coleman, a pretty crank sort of man, and the Indian pleaded for an appeal to Esquire Bunker, and the old judge turned around to said Nathan and spoke in the Indian language thus, 'chaquor keador taddator witche conichau mussoy chauquor,' then said Nathan answered thus, 'martau couetchawidde neconne sassamyste nehotie moche Squire Bunker'; which in the English tongue is thus, 'What do you think about this great business?' then Nathan answered, 'may be you had better whip him first, then let him go to Squire Bunker'; and the old judge took Nathan's advice. And so Nathan answered two purposes, the one was to see the Indian whipped, the other was, he was sure the Indian would not want to go to Esquire Bunker for fear of another whipping."

The fundamental principle of English law that an accused shall be tried by a jury of his peers was never better exemplified than at a session of the English court at Nantucket when the trial of an Indian tried for "striking mortal blowes" upon the body of one Wappomoage was heard by an Indian jury.

Committees of Indians were occasionally appointed by the English judges to assist as committeemen in the adjustment of legal disputes, especially in matters relating to the traditional boundaries of lands.

Descendants of the Vineyard Indians, mixed largely with negro blood, still live, but the Indians of Nantucket dwindled gradually in number as the years rolled by. The census at Nantucket discloses that twenty-four died after 1800, including the well-known half-breed Abram Quarry. Dorcas Honorable, the last pure blooded member of her race, died Friday night, January 12, 1855, aged seventy-nine years, and was buried from the Baptist Church. With the death of these peaceful, law abiding remnants of a once populous and savage race, the Nantucket Indian passed into the realm of people who are no more.



CHAPTER XX

THE EIGHTH DECADE

Thomas Mayhew entered the last decade of his life in 1673. He was still active in missionary work, ready even to go to Plymouth to see the commissioners about missionary matters; letters being "little" to a man's presence.

The missionary had a remarkable physique and mentality. The state of his health in his declining years he recapitulates in a letter to his physician:

Sir I haue not yett made vse of the cordiall powder which you sent me. I haue beene verry well synce, I blesse the Lord, beyond expectation. That paine I had seized one me in the morning betyme, vppon the right syde; the paine was not so broade as the palme of my hand. It was like to take me off the stage, but it went away in my sleepe that night. When I awoke, I was altogether free of that paine and of other sore paine which came vppon me in vseing menes by a glyster to free my sellfe of that. This God can doe. I am 71 and 5 monthes at present. My sight is better then many yeares synce. I can write well without spectacles. I wash my head ordinarily with spring water, yf the weather be neuer soe colld, euery morning. Heate troubles me most, ells I would haue com by land vnto Hartford. Heate doth hurt me. I wash my head vppon the waye sometimes, though I sweate much, I confesse I find much good in it. I was 6 years synce verry weake, yett not syck, but a swymming in my heade, and a noise allso, which hath neare quite left me, and I am strong for my yeares, rarely a man so strong.

The last he mentioned with pride. It was true of his last and eighty-ninth year, "rarely a man so strong."

No mention is made in the writings of Thomas Mayhew at this time of any solicitation for help in his missionary enterprises. He had long ago given up hope of interesting outside clergymen, either "solid" men or otherwise. Yet assistance was forthcoming in the person of a grandson.

The son destined to follow in the footsteps of the Vineyard's "Christian Warrior" was John, the youngest of the three sons of the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr. More than any of his kindred he is said to have resembled his gifted father, inheriting his scholarly inclinations

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and missionary spirit. He was not originally trained for the work, but as time went on and it became apparent that Matthew, who had been trained as a missionary, was interested in temporal affairs and the other brother in executive and judicial duties, the way was cleared for John, co-heir of the proprietary, to devote himself to the work of his choice.

John "was early inclined to the Ministerial Work," says an early account, "and having the Benefit of the Grandfather's wise Instructions, and of his Father's Library; and being a Person of more than ordinary natural Parts, great Industry and sincere Piety, he made such a large Proficiency in the Study and Knowledge of divine Things, that about 1673, when he was twenty one Years of Age, he was first called to the Ministry among the English in a new and small Settlement, at a Place named Tisbury, near the middle of the Island; where he preached to great Acceptance, not only the People under his Care, but of very able Judges that occasionally heard him." His charge included the church societies of Chilmark and Tisbury united.

The newly ordained clergyman settled in Chilmark, where he built a house on a neck of land called Quanaimes, an Indian word meaning "the long fish" or eel. The house is referred to in a deed wherein Governor Mayhew "of the town of Chilmark in the Manor of Tysbery" conveys a parcel of land "opposite against the point of a neck of Quanaimes, which John Mayhew's house standeth upon." In this house at Quanaimes, writes Charles E. Banks, "was born in the year 1673 the famous Experience, author of 'Indian Converts,' and after the property had descended to him, as the 'first born son,' it disclosed the light of day in 1720 to his no less famous scion, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, the great pulpit orator. This spot, therefore, may well be regarded as the cradle of Chilmark's most distinguished sons."

One is not surprised that John Mayhew should have entertained an urge to enter the Indian service in which his grandfather rich in years was laboring. But we are informed that heredity and environment alone did not sway the destinies of the youthful preacher. He was so beloved and respected among the Indians that they would not be content until he became a preacher to them as he was to the English. It is said of John that while a young man he was often resorted to by the chief Indians of the island for advice, and that he knew their language well. He was referred to by the commissioners in 1672 as a potential "useful instrument" to be encouraged in missionary work—

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"One whereof is the son of that Reuerend and Good man M^r Mahew deceased whoe being borne on the Iland called Marthas Viniyard and now growne to mans estate and there settled; is a hopeful younge man and hath theire Language p^rfectly."

Sometime after his ordination John Mayhew regularly entered the missionary service as an assistant to his grandfather. Among his many duties was that of preaching to the natives once every week. He visited the several praying towns within the jurisdiction and mapped out programs of instruction for the guidance of the native teachers, taught, preached, and catechized the Indians and their children; journeying by canoe or sloop in visitations to Nantucket and the several Elizabeth Islands. In long and arduous journeyings over land and by water he was of immeasurable service to the grandfather burdened by age and civil duties.

A number of years after the entry of John into the work of his fathers, Thomas Mayhew reports to the commissioners that "the work of God amongst the Indians . . . seemes to me to prosper." The two churches at Martha's Vineyard had forty members who "walked inofensyvely." The chief men of every place were now allied with the new religion and put forth their efforts to uphold the worship of God. Sachems and powwows alike were converted. Witchcraft was "out of vse."

The evil of the Indian still was drunkenness. The missionary reports one hundred and forty men not so tainted. It is severely punished in every place, reports he. He hopes the Lord will give endeavors to the efforts being made to stamp out that great offense, "there are some that are already of the worst that hates it."

It is strange to see how readily offenders strip themselves to receive punishment for this sin "of w^{ch} o^r nation is much gylty." He complains that vessels passing through the sound, largely owned at Rhode Island, kept natives supplied with liquor. This had been the complaint of Thomas Macy a number of years before. Rhode Island was early a rum selling and slave catching state, where merchants waxed rich on blood and rum.

At Nantucket things are "in a very comfortable way," and at the Elizabeth Islands there are forty families and a teacher in the worship of God. "Thus matters stand heer at present. I conceiue no man can contradict it."

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The career of Thomas Mayhew as a missionary and governor was drawing to a close. In his letter one perceives signs of fatigue. The flow of language is not easy. He writes significantly, "It hath pleased God to keepe me alyue and verry well, to write thus much in my 87th yeare hallf out."* He closes with a plea for the prayers of the commissioners, "that I may fynnish my dayes in a holy manner." Retirement before death was something he had no wish for.

Three years and a half later, in the eighty-ninth years of his age and the thirty-fifth of his ministry to the Indians, Thomas Mayhew died. Shortly before his death he had an illness which was thought by his relatives to be his last, but he told them that the time was not yet come and that he should not die with that fit of sickness. Accordingly he recovered and preached again several times. Realizing, however, that the time of his departure was near, he so expressed himself to a grandson, adding that he earnestly hoped that God would give him one opportunity more to preach in public to the English at Edgartown, where he had been for some time obliged to supply the pulpit through the want of a regular minister.

His wish being gratified he appeared before his flock the following Sunday for the last time, preached a final sermon and took an affectionate farewell of his people. In the rude little meetinghouse at Edgartown the broken, crumbling patriarch of the island clasped hands for the last time with the people he loved so well, nearly all of them late comers or children of the first settlers. Thomas Mayhew was among the last of the little band of pioneers that had founded Great Harbor two generations before. He had seen his people go to the grave, one by one, and new faces with old names take their places.

Returning home from the sombre scene in the church, that evening he fell ill. He assured his friends and relatives that his sickness would now be death, adding that he was well contented, being full of days and satisfied with life. "He gave many excellent Counsels and Exhortations to all about him; his Reason and Memory not being at all impaired." He continued full of faith and comfort to the end.

His great-grandson, Experience, being then about eight years of age, accompanied his father to the governor's house, and well remembered the patriarch calling him to his beside and laying his hands on his head and blessing him in the name of the Lord.

*Mayhew appears to have been in error as to his age at this time, an error into which he occasionally fell, making himself older than he actually was.

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The governor's family on the island at the time of his death consisted of his daughter Hannah Daggett, step-daughter Jane Sarson, and their husbands, numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren. His wife is believed to have been dead.

Full details are lacking of Mayhew's marital life. He is known to have been twice married. According to a genealogical memorandum prepared before 1840 by Judge William Mayhew, of Edgartown, the governor's first wife, the mother of his only son, was named Abigail Parkus. No record of this marriage has been discovered and the further tradition that she was a member of the Parkhurst family, of Ipswich, England, of which George Parkhurst, of Watertown, Massachusetts, was a member, is unconfirmed. The Parkhursts were clothiers, an occupation not unconnected with Mayhew's own trade. Daughters of the Parkhurst family and their husbands were among the early settlers of Martha's Vineyard, which gives credence to the tradition.

It is not thought that the first wife lived to accompany her husband to the New World as Thomas Mayhew contracted a second marriage about the year 1633. Jane, the second wife, was widow of Mr. Thomas Paine, merchant, of London, where it is said, the marriage took place.

To this union were born four daughters: Hannah; Bethia; Mary, who died young, and Martha. Hannah became the wife of Captain Thomas Daggett, an official many years prominent in the civil, judicial, and military life of the islands. She was a 'favorite daughter and was known to the inhabitants as the "deputy-governor." After her husband's death she married, second, Captain Samuel Smith, of Edgartown, by whom she left no issue.

Bethia, the second daughter, married Thomas Harlock, of Edgartown, and after his death, Lieutenant Richard Way, of Dorchester, Receiver General of the Imposts and an officer of the Castle at Boston. She died in 1678 and lies buried in Copp's Hill Cemetery, where her gravestone may still be seen.

Martha married Captain Thomas Tupper, of Sandwich, on Cape Cod, where both resided. Captain Tupper was a prominent figure in the life of Plymouth Colony and like his father-in-law became a missionary to the Indians. Captain Tupper's father founded an Indian Church near Herring River, which was supplied by a succession of ministers by the name of Tupper until the decease of the Rev. Elisha Tupper in 1787, aged four score years. Captain and Martha (May-

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hew) Tupper were progenitors of Sir Charles Tupper, one of the fathers of united Canada and prime minister of the Dominion.

Thomas Mayhew's step-daughter, Jane (Paine) Mayhew, after the death of the younger Mayhew, married Captain Richard Sarson, Esq., thirty years an officeholder under the Duke's government.

Eligible material for husbands of the daughters of a proprietary house was limited on the island. Hannah married as her second husband a man twenty-six years her junior; Bethia married a man believed to have been forty years her senior; and Jane Paine was some twelve years older than her second husband.

To a number of these union came children, grandsons and granddaughters of the island patriarch. In their welfare the old governor took an active interest. His letters to Winthrop, the family physician, contain references to the childhood ailments of these little ones. In one letter the grandfather writes to "testyfie" his thankfulness for Winthrop's readiness "in sending that powder" for a grandchild "together with the advice" and intreats for more of the powder "for now shee is willinge to take it, and wee are of the mind that shee is now much likely to recouer: but yf shee should not shortly vissibly mend, my daughter doth desire your worshipp to know whether yow are willing shee should com to Conectacut, where shee may be neare yow." To this Mayhew adds the pregnant suggestion that "the sight of hir may much more informe your judgment touching hir disease."

Upon another occasion he writes that his "daughter Doggetts eldest daughter hath vsed your phisick with very good successe. The little ones haue not yett taken any. I hope they will haue the like benefitt."

Surrounded by these loved ones, Thomas Mayhew died Saturday evening, March 25, 1682.

A letter by his grandson Matthew addressed to Governor Thomas Hinckley, of Plymouth Colony, gives the following particulars of the last hours of the old missionary-governor:

It pleased god of his great goodness, as to continue My honoured Grandfather's life to a great age, wanting but six dayes of ninety yeares: so to give the comfort of his life: and to ours as well as his comfort, in his sickness which was six dayes, to give him an increase of faith, and comfort, manifested by many expressions, one of which I may not omitt, being seasonable, as in all, so espetially in these times; viz: I have lived by faith, and have found god in his son; and there

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I finde him now, therefore if you would finde god looke for him in his son, there he is to be found, and no where else &c: he manifested great assurance of salvation; he was of low price in his own esteem, saying that he had been both unworthy and unprofitable, not deserving the esteem many had of him; and that he was only accepted in, and through the lord Jesus: &c.

To this the grandson adds, "I think without detraction I may say no man ever in this land approved himself so absolute a father to the Indians as my honoured grandfather: I got no great hope that there will ever be the like in this selfish age."

In the Mayhew family private burying ground on South Water Streets in Edgartown lie the mortal remains of this venerable patriarch, the Puritan merchant, the missionary-governor, the manorial lord, the "Grave and majestic" father of a distinguished posterity. His son preceded him; three grandsons, a great-grandson, and a great-great-grandson of the name followed his hallowed footsteps in the missionary field and made their name famous in England and America.

The town of Mayhew Station, Lowndes County, Mississippi, was founded 1820 as a missionary station among the Choctaw Indians by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and named "in memory of the excellent and devoted men who so successfully preached the Gospel to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, and consecrated their lives to this self-denying service at an early period in the settlement of our country."

The establishment of this town for the education of Indians was a fitting memorial to the patriarch whose grave at Martha's Vineyard was unmarked by a tombstone. An inornate sepulcher may have been the governor's last request, a fitting testimony to his modest nature, "not deserving the esteem many had of him" as he said in his dying sickness.

The wise, benevolent, and judicious labors of Thomas Mayhew among the Indians stamp him a great colonial governor and administrator. He ranks as one of the successful colonizers of America. Under his supervision islands were settled, and towns and villages founded, courts established, and churches gathered, and a militia formed.

Reference is found in the records to General and Quarterly courts, of magistrates, assistants, recorders, marshalls, waterbailiffs, criers,

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clerks, and all the various officers necessary to perfect government among civilized men. But the great triumph of the missionary-governor was the conquest of a savage race by peaceful means, the bringing of the Indian to a recognition of English supremacy and to the adoption of the white man's religion and code of laws.

In all history from the conquest of the Romans in pagan lands to the founding of America, no greater romance can be conceived than the establishment, upon these little far-flung islands, of Indian churches taught by Indian clergymen, Indian courts presided over by Algonquin judges, and a military company of forest children officered by an Indian Joshua. The diplomatic skill, the untiring fortitude, the Christian spirit necessary for this triumph cannot be too greatly stressed.

The nobler deeds of men are judged by the spirit that actuates their labors. The name of Thomas Mayhew is worthy of perpetuation as a Father of the New World, but it is of greater worth as the name of a patriarch to the Indians.

In the words of the Prince of Peace, in whom Thomas Mayhew found God, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

THE END.



The Expansion of Vermont---Chronological. Based On Official Records

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, NEW YORK



ON July 4, 1609, Samuel de Champlain, a French explorer, discovered the lake which bears his name. In 1665, a French officer, LaMotte, built Fort St. Anne, on Isle la Motte in Lake Champlain, for Indian trade; but no progress appears to have been made in settling families. A few of the settlers of Northfield, Massachusetts, 1714-23, may have crossed the present southern boundary of Vermont at Vernon; and two or three New York Dutch families settled in 1724 within the present limits of Pownal.

The northwestern part of Vermont was known to the French of Canada at that time as Iroquoisa; the Iroquois on the New York side of Lake Champlain having recently conquered it, as evidenced by the fact that none of the names of streams, lakes, mountains, or other landmarks are found in the Iroquoian language; but all in Abenaki (Waubanaukee, from Waban, eastern, and auke, land), or Eastern Indian of northern New England and southern Canada east; the people a branch of the great Algonquian family. The Abenakis so greatly feared the Iroquois of eastern New York, the fierce Mohawks, that they left a wide space west of the Connecticut river almost uninhabited.

The King of England, when in 1741 he separated New Hampshire as a royal province independent of Massachusetts, appointed Benning Wentworth royal governor of New Hampshire, giving him authority to issue town charters in the King's name; and as New Hampshire was understood to extend as far west as did Massachusetts, he issued charters for townships west of the Connecticut. This tract, having no general distinctive name of its own, became known as the "New Hampshire Grants." (For the text of the town charters in Vermont, see New Hampshire Provincial, State, and Town Papers, Vol. XXVI, with notes, historical and descriptive, compiled by Hiram A. Huse, with references to authorities, in the Appendix.) The Governor's

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fee for issuing each charter was equivalent to \$100. Each grantee was required to cultivate within five years from the date of the town charter of the town in which he was a grantee, five acres of every fifty in his share, usually about 250 acres; a town grant uncultivated at the end of the five years being forfeited; in some charters a small house was also required on each grantee's land, in evidence of actual or bonafide settlement. As the tract, with the exception of two or three small settlements, was a trackless wilderness, there were few petitions for grants for several years, fifteen being issued 1744-54. After the New Hampshire troops in 1759, during the French and Indian War, cut a road from Charlestown on the New Hampshire side of the Connecticut River, northwestwardly along Black River, through the present Rutland, Vermont, to Crown Point on the New York shore of lower Lake Champlain, petitions for grants took a great leap forward, 118 grants being issued from January 18, 1760, to June 15, 1764. The provincial government of New York became aroused by this movement; and Lieutenant Governor Colden, by his proclamation of April 10, 1765, assumed jurisdiction over the territory to the Connecticut River, and issued his first grant of 26,000 acres therein, May 21, 1765, named Princetown, and covering parts of the present towns of Arlington, Dorset, Manchester, and Sunderland, in southwestern Vermont; and by the end of his term of office in 1770, he had made grants of the best lands in almost every township west of the Green Mountains. As his fee was equivalent to \$2,000 to \$2,600 per grant, the contest with New Hampshire grants pitted wealth against numbers. Governor Wentworth, at the end of his term in 1767 had issued 138 grants west of Connecticut River. A few were confirmed by New York; but about one-half were forfeited for lack of fulfilling the five-year requirement of bonafide settlement, hence are not a safe guide to the date of settlement. This must be sought in such works as Hayward, "History of Vermont"; A. M. Hemenway, "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," 5 vols., and the county histories of Vermont. The usual area of Wentworth's grants was 23,040 acres each.

1. Brattleboro, begun by the building of Fort Dummer in the southeastern part of the present town, 1724, made a trading post for Indian trade in 1728; granted as a township of 19,360 acres to William Brattle and fifty others, December 26, 1753; charter renewed 1760 and 1761; confirmed by New York July 22, 1766. The making

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of new settlements in Vermont was, with rare exceptions, prevented by the French and Indian War 1754-63; but Brattleboro seems to have acquired settlers sufficient for organization before 1766; and formed a church in 1769.

2. Addison, the present town, had a fort built by New Yorkers from Albany under Captain Jacobus de Warm in 1690, at Chimney Point, but not permanently occupied, as was the case with the French fort Ste. Anne on Isle la Motte; for at the time of de Warm's expedition, it had been for some time deserted. The French built a fort in 1730, at Point à la Cheveleure, now in Addison and in 1731, which was included under grants from the King of France to M. Hocquart, Intendant of New France (that is, Canada), the first patent being dated April 20, 1743, and the second April 20, 1745—the two patents forming a tract of land four leagues in front and five leagues in depth, or about 115,000 acres; a seigniory covering the present towns of Addison, Bridport and Panton; given up to the English about 1759, and settled by them in numbers by 1769.

3. Rockingham, begun as Bellows Falls in 1753.

4. Putney, New Hampshire, grant 1753, settled 1755; abandoned; resumed 1761.

5. Bennington, New Hampshire, grant 23,040 acres, January 3, 1749; the first of Benning Wentworth's grants west of the Green Mountains, and named in his honor; first settler, Col. Samuel Robinson and wife, March 25, 1761.

6. Townshend, grant 1753; regrant 1762; settled June, 1761.

7. Pownal had two or three Dutch families supposing themselves in New York jurisdiction 1724. New Hampshire grant 1761; settled 1762-68.

8. Norwich, New Hampshire, grant July 4, 1761; settled in 1762.

9. Halifax, New Hampshire, grant 1750; settled 1761-63.

10. Vernon, the part of Hinsdale, New Hampshire, west of the Connecticut River. Hinsdale was on both sides of the river when the town was incorporated September 3, 1753. The settlers of Vernon came from Falltown, incorporated as Bernardston, Massachusetts, March 6, 1762; or, as others claim, from Fort Dummer in the present Hinsdale, New Hampshire, earlier; named Vernon, 1802.

11. Newbury, New Hampshire, grant 1769; first settler, 1762.

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12. Arlington, New Hampshire, grant 1761; included in New York grant of Princetown, 1765; settled in 1763.
13. Marlborough, New Hampshire, grants 1751, 1761, 1764 as New Marlborough; settled 1763.
14. Shaftsbury, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled, 1763, from Rhode Island.
15. Hartland, New Hampshire, grant as Hertford, 1761; confirmed by New York, 1766; named Hartland, 1782.
16. Hartford, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled, 1764, from Connecticut.
17. Guilford, New Hampshire, grants 1754, 1761, and 1764; settled 1764.
18. Manchester, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1764.
19. Panton, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1764; partly overlapped by Addison.
20. Thetford, New Hampshire, grant August 10, 1761; first settlers May, 1764.
21. Westminster, New Hampshire, grants 1752, 1760; confirmed by New York 1772; settled about 1764-66.
22. Windsor, New Hampshire, grant 1761; confirmed by New York 1772; settled August, 1764.
23. Chester, New Hampshire, grant as Flamstead, 1754; as New Flamstead, 1761; New York confirmatory grant as Chester, July 14, 1766; settled 1764.
24. Danby, New Hampshire, grant 1761; first settler 1765.
25. Pittsford, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1765.
26. Rupert, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1765.
27. Sharon, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled from Connecticut, 1765.
28. Swanton, New Hampshire, grant 1763, of French grant 1754; English settled in 1765.
29. Fairlee, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled in 1766.
30. Newfane, New Hampshire, grant as Fane, 1753; regrant as Newfane, 1761; confirmed by New York, 1772; settled in 1766.
31. Shoreham, New Hampshire, grant as Killington, 1761; settled 1766.
32. Sunderland, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled from Connecticut, 1766.

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33. Clarendon, granted by New York, as Durham; New Hampshire grant 1761, as Clarendon; settled in 1768.
34. Pawlet, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled in 1763.
35. Shelburne, New Hampshire, grant 1763; first settler, 1768.
36. Woodstock, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1768; town organized 1773.
37. Wells, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled in 1768.
38. Dorset, New Hampshire, grant 1761; first settlers in 1768.
39. Bradford, New York, grant as Mooretown, 1770; named Bradford, 1788; settled about 1768-70.
40. Cavendish, New Hampshire, grant 1761; confirmed by New York, 1772; settled 1769.
41. Landgrove, settled from Connecticut, 1769; Vermont grant November 9, 1780.
42. New Haven, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1769. See also Vergennes.
43. Rutland, New Hampshire, grant as Fairfield, 1761; New York grant as Socialborough; settled in 1770.
44. Pomfret, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled in 1770.
45. Whitingham, New York, grant of 10,000 acres March 12, 1770, to Nathan Whiting; settled 1770. Vermont grants 1781, 1787, and Whitingham Gore, 1796.
46. Barnet, New Hampshire, grant 1763; first settlers March 4, 1770.
47. Castleton, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled May, 1770.
48. Dummerston, sold at auction 1716, to Hon. William Dummer and Simon Stoddard; New Hampshire grant as Fullam to S. Stoddard and others 1753, 1760, 1761, 1762 and 1764; settled by 1770, and named Dummerston.
49. Bridport, New Hampshire, grant 1761; first settlers about 1770.
50. Lunenburg, New Hampshire, grant 1763; settled 1770.
51. Poultney, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled April 15, 1771.
52. Brandon, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1772; named Brandon 1784.
53. Wilmington, New Hampshire, grant 1751; regrant as Draper, 1783; settled 1771-72.

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54. Maidstone, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1772.
55. Sandgate, New Hampshire, grant 1762; settled about 1772.
56. Reading, New Hampshire, grant 1761; New York, 1772; settled 1772.
57. Springfield, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled about 1772.
58. Peru, New Hampshire, grant as Bromley, October 12, 1761; first settlers 1773.
59. Middlebury, New Hampshire, grant 1761; first settler 1773.
60. Tinmouth, New Hampshire, grant 1761, forfeited; town organized 1774.
61. Ryegate, New Hampshire, grant 1763; New York grant 1775; settled by Scots 1773.
62. Whiting, New Hampshire, grant 1763; later in New York grant; settled 1773.
63. Marshfield, New Hampshire, grant 1763; settled 1773-74.
64. Weathersfield, New Hampshire, grant 1761; New York grant 1772; settled about 1773.
65. Colchester, New Hampshire, grant 1763; settled 1774.
66. Cornwall, New Hampshire, grant 1761; first settler 1774 from Litchfield, Connecticut.
67. Leicester, New Hampshire, grant 1761; later in New York grant; settled 1774.
68. Londonderry, first settlers 1773; abandoned in the Revolution; resettled 1780; Vermont grant 1781.
69. Monkton, New Hampshire, grant 1762; settled in 1774.
70. Williston, New Hampshire, grant to S. Willis and others 1763; settled 1774.
71. Bernard, granted 1761; settled 1775; named from Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts.
72. Guildhall, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1775; one man, 1764.
73. Hubbardton, New Hampshire, grant 1764; settled 1775.
74. Jamaica, in New York Camden grant 1769; first settlers June 16, 1775; Vermont Jamaica grant 1780.
75. Middletown, settlers about 1775; town incorporated from parts of Wells, Tinmouth, Poultney, and Ira, 1784. Name changed to Middletown Springs in 1884.
76. Peacham, New Hampshire, grant 1763; settled 1775.

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77. Richmond, covered in New York grant of Minto, 30,000 acres, 1772; settled 1775; incorporated as Richmond, out of parts of Jericho, Williston, and New Huntington, by Vermont, October 27, 1794.

78. Salisbury, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled about 1775; named from Salisbury, Connecticut.

79. Strafford, New Hampshire, grant 1761; transient settlers 1768; permanent settlers 1776.

80. Somerset, grant 1761; settled 1776; population 20 in 1930.

81. Andover, New Hampshire, grant 1761; settled 1776 from Enfield, Connecticut.

82. Corinth, granted 1764; confirmed by New York 1772; settled 1777.

John Wentworth succeeded Benning Wentworth as royal governor of New Hampshire in 1767 and retired at the beginning of the Revolution in 1775. So many of the recent settlements west of the Connecticut River had been made from Connecticut that the tract was called at this period "New Connecticut," as appears in the Declaration of Independence, January, 1776. Dr. Thomas Young, of Philadelphia, who had a strong friendly interest in the partisans of the American cause in New Connecticut, suggested in his letter of April 11, 1777, addressed "to the inhabitants of Vermont," the name, for *verd mont*, the French for Green Mountain, the name of "Green Mountain Boys" already being the popular distinctive appellation for the soldiers of this region fighting on the American side. This would also avoid confusion, not only with Connecticut, but also with another tract called New Connecticut. The name Vermont was adopted by the seventy-two delegates to the Vermont convention, June, 1777, representing fifty townships, twenty-three being west of the Green Mountains and twenty-seven east of the Green Mountains. The first State Legislature met in March, 1778. Thereafter the township grants and quasi incorporation of towns were issued by the State of Vermont.

83. Randolph, settled 1777; New York grant as Middlesex, 1770; Vermont grant as Randolph, 1781.

84. Brunswick; the New Hampshire grant of 1761 forfeited; settled 1778.

85. Wallingford, New Hampshire, grant of 1761 forfeited; New York grant as Durham; town organized 1778.

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86. Woodford, New Hampshire, grants 1753 and 1762, and New York Leinster grant forfeited; settled 1779.

87. Fair Haven, granted October 27, 1779; settled 1779.

88. Brookfield, first settlers 1779; grant August, 1781.

89. Ira, organized May 31, 1779; grant October 1780; no charter found.

90. Readsborough, New Hampshire, grant 1764, and New York 1770, forfeited; settled 1779.

91. Athens, granted May 3, 1780; settled 1780.

92. Bridgewater, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; settled 1779-80.

93. Grafton, New Hampshire, grants 1754, 1762, 1763 forfeited; settled 1780; named Grafton October 13, 1792.

94. Morristown, settled 1780; granted August 24, 1781.

95. Royalton, settled about 1780; granted December 20, 1781.

96. Shrewsbury, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; settled about 1780.

97. South Hero, settled about 1780, as part of the Two Heroes grant of October 27, 1779, to Ethan Allen, Samuel Herrick and 363 associates, divided into North Hero and South Hero in 1788.

98. Stamford, New Hampshire, grants 1753, 1761, 1764 forfeited; settled before 1780.

99. Tunbridge, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; settled 1780.

100. Wardsborough, New Hampshire, grant 1764 forfeited; settled 1780; Vermont grant November 7, 1780.

101. Wheelock, first settlers 1780; Vermont grant to Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School, June 14, 1785.

102. Winhall, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; settled 1780.

103. Acton, settled 1781; New York grant of Warrenton, 1769, included part of Acton and Athens. Vermont grant February 23, 1782; incorporated November 6, 1800.

104. Dover, four personal grants 1764 forfeited; settled as southern part of Wardsborough 1781; incorporated from it in 1810.

105. Alburgh, settled by French at Windmill Point 1731, under French grant to Francis Foucault as a manor; at the conquest of Canada 1759, the title passed to Gen. Fred Haldimand, who sold it to

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

Henry Caldwell; Caldwell's Upper Manor, French name Point Algonquin, or Point du Detour; small and obscure until granted by Vermont February 23, 1781, to Ira Allen and sixty-four associates; Allenburgh, settled 1782.

106. Milton, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled February, 1782.

107. Mount Tabor, settled about 1782; Vermont grant August 23, 1791; named Mount Tabor 1803.

108. Benson, Vermont, grant May 5, 1780; first settlers 1782.

109. Burlington, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; first settlers 1783; New York early grant as Deerfield; made a city in 1852.

110. Cabot, Vermont, grant August 15, 1781; settled 1783; annexed to Washington County 1855.

111. Cambridge, Vermont, grant August 30, 1781; first settlers 1783.

112. Chittenden, Vermont, grant March 16, 1780; settled about 1783; absorbed Philadelphia 1816.

113. Essex, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1783.

114. Fairfax, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1783.

115. Grand Isle, in Vermont grant of "Two Heroes," October 27, 1779; settled 1783 as part of South Hero in the division October 25, 1788; incorporated as Middle Hero November 7, 1798; name changed to Grand Isle 1810.

116. Middlesex, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; also New York grant as Kilby, 1771; settled 1783.

117. North Hero, in Vermont grant of "Two Heroes" October 27, 1779; settled 1783; division into North Hero and South Hero, October 25, 1788.

118. Rochester, Vermont, grant July 30, 1781; settled about 1783.

119. Stratton, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; also New York grant June 22, 1775, called Stratton; settled 1783; population fifty-five in 1930.

120. Vershire, Vermont, grant August 3, 1781; settled 1783; named Ely, 1878; changed back to Vershire, 1882; New York grant 1770 as Gageborough forfeited.

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

121. Washington, Vermont, grant August 8, 1781 as Kingland; settled 1781-83 and renamed Washington.

122. Waterford, Vermont, grant as Littleton November 8, 1780; first settlers 1783; named Waterford March 9, 1797.

123. Bethel, Vermont, grant 1779; date of settlement not found; probably by 1783.

124. Orwell, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled about 1783.

125. Chelsea, Vermont, grant August 4, 1781, to Bela Turner et al., as Turnersburgh; settled 1784.

126. Ferrisburgh, New Hampshire, 1762 forfeited; transient settlers 1769; permanent settlers 1784; Ferrisbourg or Ferrissburg.

127. Greensboro, Vermont, grant August 20, 1781; settled 1784. The Hazen road was made 1776-79, through Cabot and the present Walden, Greensboro, and Craftsbury to present Lowell.

128. Charlotte, New Hampshire, grant 1762 forfeited; settled 1784.

129. Bolton, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled about 1784.

130. Hinesburg, New Hampshire, grant 1762 forfeited; permanently settled 1784.

131. Johnson, settled 1784; grant to William S. Johnson, Rev. Jonathan Edwards and others January 2, 1792.

132. Ludlow, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; settled 1784.

133. St. George, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1784.

134. Waterbury, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1784.

135. Williamstown, Vermont, grant August 7, 1781; settled 1784.

136. Franklin, settled 1784-85; grant March 19, 1789; named Franklin, 1817.

137. Berlin, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; first settlers 1785.

138. Braintree, Vermont, grant August 1, 1781, to Braintree, Massachusetts, people; first settlers 1785.

139. Canaan, Vermont, grant February 25, 1782; settled 1785.

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

140. Danville, first settlers 1784-85; Vermont grant October 31, 1786; named from the French admiral D'Anville. New charter issued November 12, 1802.

141. Georgia, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1785.

142. Jericho, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1785.

143. Northfield, Vermont, grant August 10, 1781; settled 1785.

144. St. Johnsbury, settled 1785; Vermont grant November 1, 1786; named from St. John de Crevecoeur, French consul at New York City.

145. Sherburne, New Hampshire, grant as Killington 1761 forfeited; settled 1785; named Sherburne November 4, 1800.

146. Stockbridge, New Hampshire, grant 1761 and New York Fincastle grant forfeited; settled 1785.

147. Windham, incorporated from Londonderry October 22, 1785, and "Mack's Leg."

148. Bristol, New Hampshire, grant 1762 as Pocock forfeited; settled 1786; name changed to Bristol October 21, 1789.

149. Duxbury, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1786.

150. Highgate, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1785-86.

151. Huntington, first settlers 1786; on forfeited New Hampshire grant of New Huntington; name changed to Huntington October 27, 1795.

152. Montpelier, Vermont, grant October 21, 1780, chartered August 14, 1781; settled 1786-87; new charter February 9, 1804; city.

153. Mount Holly, first settlers 1786; incorporated from Jackson's Gore and parts of Ludlow and Wallingford, October 31, 1792.

154. Pittsfield, Vermont, grant July 29, 1781; settled 1786.

155. St. Albans, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1786.

156. Underhill, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1786.

157. Calais, Vermont, grant August 15, 1781 on New York grant of Penryn; settled 1787.

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

158. Granby, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; settled about 1787.
159. Groton, first settlers 1787; Vermont grant October 20, 1789.
160. Westford, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1787.
161. Barre, Vermont, grant as Wildersburgh, August 12, 1781; settled 1788; name changed to Barre October 19, 1793; city, 1894, incorporated from the village part, 1,917 acres; the rest, 17,736 acres.
162. Concord, Vermont, grant September 15, 1781; settled 1788.
163. Craftsbury, Vermont, grant as Minden August 23, 1781; first settler Col. E. Crafts, 1788; named Craftsbury 1790.
164. Fairfield, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled 1788.
165. Hancock, Vermont, grant July 31, 1781; settled 1788; annexed to Addison County January 18, 1791.
166. Hyde Park, Vermont, grant to Jed. Hyde and others, August 27, 1781; settled 1788.
167. Lyndon, Vermont, grant November 20, 1780; settled April, 1788.
168. Starksboro, Vermont, grant November 9, 1780, to Gen. John Stark and others; settled April, 1788; transferred from Chittenden County to Addison County, October 29, 1794.
169. Sudbury, New Hampshire, grants 1763, 1764 forfeited; settled 1788.
170. Vergennes, city incorporated out of parts of New Haven, Panton, and Ferrisburgh, October 23, 1788.
171. Waterville, first settlers 1788; incorporated out of Coit's Gore and parts of Bakersfield and Belvidere, 1824.
172. Fletcher, Vermont, grant August 20, 1781; settled 1788.
173. Moretown, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled about 1789.
174. Roxbury, Vermont, grant August 6, 1781; settled about 1789.
175. Waitsfield, Vermont, grant to Roger Enos, Benj. Wait and others, February 25, 1782; settled 1789.
176. Walden, Vermont, grant August 18, 1781; settled 1789.
177. Wolcott, Vermont, grant August 22, 1781; settled 1789.

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

178. Bakersfield, settled 1789 by Joseph Baker and family, of Westborough, Massachusetts; Vermont grant of 10,000 acres, Knowlton's Gore, to Luke Knowlton, January 25, 1791.

179. Elmore, Vermont, grant August 21, 1781; settled 1790.

180. Lemington, New Hampshire, grant 1762 forfeited; first settlers 1790.

181. Sheldon, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; settled by George Sheldon, 1790; named 1792.

182. Granville, Vermont, grants as Kingston, August 2, 1781; Granville 1834.

183. Hardwick, Vermont, grant August 19, 1781; settled 1792.

184. Kirby, settled 1792; incorporated from Burke Tongue and Hopkinstown, October 28, 1807.

185. Plainfield, settled 1792; Vermont grant November 10, 1797.

186. Sutton, New York, grant Banf forfeited; Vermont grant as Billymead, 1782; settled 1792, organized 1794; name changed to Sutton, 1812.

187. West Haven, set off from Fair Haven, October 20, 1792.

188. Berkshire, Vermont, grant June 22, 1781; first settlers 1793.

189. Orange, Vermont, grant August 11, 1781; settled 1793.

190. Montgomery, Vermont, grant October 8, 1789; settled Spring, 1793.

191. Newport, settled about 1793; Vermont grant as Duncanborough to George Duncan and others, October 30, 1802; named Newport, 1816.

192. Brookline, incorporated from Athens and Putney, November 30, 1794.

193. Burke, Vermont, grant as Burk, February 20, 1782; first settlers 1794, from Connecticut.

194. Sheffield, Vermont, grant October 25, 1793; settled 1794.

195. Lincoln, Vermont, grant November 9, 1780; settled 1795.

196. Stowe, New Hampshire, grant 1763 forfeited; first settlers 1794.

197. Richford, Vermont, grant August 21, 1780; settled March, 1795.

198. Weybridge, New Hampshire, grant 1761 forfeited; set-

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

tled 1795; with additions from New Haven, 1791; Panton, 1806; Addison, 1814.

199. Barton, Vermont, grant to Col. William Barton, of Providence, Rhode Island, and others, as Providence, October 23, 1781; chartered as Barton October 20, 1789; settled 1795.

200. Derby, Vermont, grant October 29, 1779; settled 1795 from Southbury, Connecticut.

201. Bloomfield, New Hampshire, grant as Minehead, 1762, forfeited; first settlers 1796.

202. Brownington, Vermont, grant October 12, 1790, to Daniel and Timothy Brown and others; settled 1796-97.

203. Waltham, that part of New Haven annexed to Vergennes November 1, 1791, incorporated as Waltham October 31, 1796.

204. Worcester, New Hampshire, grant as Worcester 1763 forfeited; settled 1797.

205. Enosburgh, Vermont, grant May 15, 1780, to Roger Enos and fifty-nine associates; settled 1797.

206. Newark, Vermont, grant August 15, 1781; settled 1797; transferred from Essex County to Caledonia County, 1824.

207. Plymouth, New Hampshire, grant as Saltash 1761, forfeited; first settlers 1779; incorporated as Plymouth February 23, 1797.

208. Troy, settled 1797; as Missisquoi formed from Avery's grant and Kelly's grant October 28, 1801; named Troy October 26, 1803.

209. West Fairlee, set off from Fairlee February 25, 1797.

210. Albany, granted to Col. Emanuel Lutterloh and others as Lutterloh; charter June 27, 1781; settled about 1798; organized March 27, 1806; name changed to Albany, 1815.

211. Fayston, Vermont, grant February 27, 1782; settled 1798.

212. Glover, Vermont, grant November 20, 1783; settled 1798.

213. Irasburgh, Vermont, grant to Ira Allen et al., February 23, 1781; settled 1798.

214. Salem, Vermont, grant August 18, 1781, and as Gatesborough, November 1, 1780, to Josiah Gates; settled March 15, 1798.

215. Warren, Vermont, grant August 20, 1789; organized September 28, 1798, in Addison County; with added tract November 5, 1798; annexed to Washington County, 1829.

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

216. Westfield, Vermont, grant November 15, 1780; first settlers 1798.

217. Weston, incorporated out of Benton's Gore and part of Andover, October 26, 1799.

218. Coventry, settled March, 1800, charter November 4, 1780, as Coventry; name changed to Orleans, 1841; Coventry, 1843.

219. Eden, Vermont, grant August 21, 1781; settled 1800.

220. Holland, Vermont, grant October 26, 1779; settled 1800.

221. Mendon, Vermont, grant February 23, 1781, as Medway; settled about 1800; Parker's Gore annexed and name changed to Parkerstown, November 7, 1804; to Mendon, 1827.

222. Westmore, Vermont, grant as Westford August 17, 1781; named Westmore October 26, 1787; settled 1800-04.

223. Belvidere, Vermont, grant to John Kelley of New York, November 4, 1791; settled 1800.

224. Ripton, Vermont, grant April 13, 1781; settled 1801.

225. Morgan, Vermont, grant as Caldersburgh, November 6, 1780; named Morgan October 19, 1801; settled 1802.

226. Stannard, chartered as Goshen Gore No. 1, November 1, 1798; settled 1802; severed from Goshen 1854; named Stannard 1867 and incorporated 1869.

227. Charleston, Vermont, grant as Navy November 10, 1780; settled 1803; name changed to Charleston, November 16, 1825.

228. Woodbury, Vermont, grant to Col. Eb. Wood, et al., August 16, 1781; settled about 1804; named Monroe 1830; name changed back to Woodbury, 1843.

229. Charlotte, New Hampshire, grant 1762 forfeited; name kept; settled 1805.

230. Lowell, Vermont, grant as Kellyvale to John Kelly of New York City, June 7, 1791; named Lowell, 1831; first settlers 1806.

231. Goshen, Vermont, grant February 28, 1782, but not issued until February 2, 1792, as Goshen; settled 1807; incorporated 1814.

232. Jay, Vermont, grant as Wyllis to sixty officers of the Connecticut Line, in 1783, as Carthage; granted December 28, 1792, as Jay to John Jay and John Cozine of New York City; settled in 1809.

233. Searsburg, New York, grant April 24, 1770, to John Read as Readsburg forfeited; Vermont grant February 23, 1781; settled about 1812.

THE EXPANSION OF VERMONT—CHRONOLOGICAL

234. Victory, Vermont, grant September 6, 1731; settled 1815.
235. Brighton, Vermont, grant August 13, 1781, as Random; first settlers 1820; name changed to Brighton November 3, 1832.
236. Baltimore, set off from Cavendish, 1823; population nineteen in 1930.
237. Glastenbury, New Hampshire, grant as Glossenbury 1761; organized as a town Glastenbury, March 31, 1834; population seven in 1930.
238. West Windsor, set off from Windsor 1848.
239. East Montpelier, incorporated from Montpelier 1848.
240. Proctor, incorporated from parts of Rutland and Pittsford 1886.

241. West Rutland, incorporated from Rutland 1886.

South Burlington, the part left after Burlington was set off, 1852.

There are three townships little settled, which have never been organized, namely: Averill, New Hampshire, grant 1762, population 1930 only nineteen; Ferdinand, New Hampshire, grant 1761, 1930 population eighteen; and Lewis, New Hampshire, grant 1762.

Vermont has eight cities: Vergennes, incorporated October 14, 1788; Burlington, February 21, 1865; Rutland, November 1, 1872; Barre and Montpelier, March 5, 1895; St. Albans, March 3, 1897; Newport, March 5, 1918; and Winooski, March 17, 1922, from Colchester.

Fourteen counties: Bennington, also Windham, erected in 1778; Orange, Rutland, and Windsor, 1781; named from their county towns: Addison, 1785; Chittenden, 1787; named from their county towns: Caledonia, Essex, Franklin, Orleans, 1792; Grand Isle, 1802; Washington, 1810; Lamoille, 1835, on Lamoille River.

Area of Vermont, 9,124 square miles; population in 1930 is 359,611.



Esleeck and Allied Families

BY HEROLD R. FINLEY, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



F the origin of the Esleeck family or the etymological beginnings of the name no record is to be found.

I. Isaac Esleeck died in the West Indies, in February, 1752. He married, May 18, 1740, Mary Lawless. Children, born in Bristol, Rhode Island: 1. Samuel, born January 8, 1741. 2. John, born September 17, 1743. 3. Isaac, of whom further. 4. Mary, born November 12, 1746.

(Arnold: "Vital Records of Rhode Island," Vol. VI, pp. 20, 75.)

II. Isaac Esleeck, son of Isaac and Mary (Lawless) Esleeck, was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, February 8, 1745. He was pilot and commander of the sloop "Ranger."

In 1775 the "Viper," an English sloop of war, captured the "Polly" and put a crew aboard with orders to take the boat to Boston. Isaac Esleeck, commander of a sloop, had just been captured by the enemy. He was placed aboard the "Polly" as pilot, and freedom for himself and repossession of a boat and some goods that had been taken from him, were promised if he would faithfully pilot the sloop into Boston. With great address, he with two others who had been left on board, brought the sloop into Seaconnet River, when she was taken possession of by General Hopkins. Isaac Esleeck received £250 voted him by Legislature, for his achievement.

Captain Isaac Esleeck married (first), November 1, 1772, Martha Salisbury. He married (second), in Bristol, Rhode Island, August 13, 1786, Ruth Read, died May 17, 1797, daughter of Joseph and Mary Read. Mrs. Esleeck joined the Congregational Church of Bristol, April 28, 1797, and all her children were baptized there, April 30, 1797. Child of first marriage: 1. Child, born February 24, 1774, died January 20, 1786. Children of second marriage: 1. Allen, born September 29, 1787. 2. Isaac, born in 1789, died August 26, 1791. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Lydia, born August 28, 1792; married,



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ESLEECK AND ALLIED FAMILIES

May 15, 1814, James Salisbury. 5. Sally, born March 4, 1795; married, November 25, 1819, Thomas Randall.

(Smith: "Civil and Military List of Rhode Island," Vol. II, p. 114. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rhode Island," Vol. VI, pp. 20, 75, 130; Vol. VIII, p. 332; Vol. VI, p. 75; Vol. XV, p. 59. "History of Bristol, Rhode Island," p. 236.)

III. John Read Esleeck, son of Isaac and Ruth (Read) Esleeck, was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, March 30, 1790. He married Ann Hunt. They had a child: 1. John Read, of whom further.

(Arnold: "Rhode Island Vital Records," Vol. VI, p. 75. Family data.)

IV. John Read Esleeck, son of John Read and Ann (Hunt) Esleeck, was born in Rhode Island, in 1816, and died in 1868. He married Ruth Ann Perry, daughter of David and Ruth (Wheldon) Perry. (Wheldon III.) They were the parents of: 1. Sarah Virginia, married Franklin Manson Eames; child, Grace Manson, married William L. Plowman. 2. Augustine Washington, of whom further. 3. Frank, died when two years of age. 4. Harriet Frances.

V. Augustine Washington Esleeck, son of John Read and Ruth Ann (Perry) Esleeck, was born in Galveston, Texas, March 28, 1848. When he was in his infancy, the family migrated to the North, and having attained school age and finished his education, he sought employment, which he found as a clerk in a wholesale boot and shoe house in New York City.

The principal turning-point in Mr. Esleeck's life which had the most salutary effect in settling his feet in the path of success and fame came with his arrival in the "Paper City," or Holyoke, Massachusetts, June 15, 1871, when he joined the force of the Valley Paper Company. At that early day he must have shown a remarkable aptitude for the business, as well as skill in matters of finance, for he eventually was made treasurer of the concern. He had now come to an official position where his qualifications told out their best. Energetic, bright, wholesomely aggressive, and of commanding personality, he forged ahead, saving money and holding the confidence of his friends and associates. On all sides in the trade and in allied business circles he was looked upon as a coming man. It seemed that he was destined to attain success in the paper making world, and subsequent events proved

ESLEECK AND ALLIED FAMILIES

that this was a correct prognostication. In 1888 Mr. Esleeck purchased an interest in the Beebe and Holbrook Mill, another well known paper concern, and his services as treasurer of that company were most successfully employed during his connection, which lasted ten years. In the year 1900 he represented his constituency in the Massachusetts House of Representatives for the term of that session, showing here as in business the keen insight and fine executive ability that marked all his enterprises. He then returned to Holyoke in 1898, purchased the Nonotuck Paper Company, managed it with his accustomed acumen for two years, and then disposed of the property and good will to the American Writing Paper Company, known as "The Combine," which then was in the midst of the process of absorbing into one parent organization what so-called "fine" mills of the country it could persuade, through their shareholders, to do so.

In July, 1901, Mr. Esleeck purchased the Marshall Paper Company in Turner's Falls. He modernized the plant and inculcated a new spirit into every department of the mill and office. For nearly six years he went back and forth on the train—a hard and trying experience, so that although he had resided thirty-six years in Holyoke, he moved his family in 1906 to Greenfield, where he made his home, and again pressed his paper making art with steadily increasing achievement and progress. The remainder of his business life was thus employed and the momentum thus attained will continue to carry the principles, policies, and good-will of the concern down through the years with mounting success. Mr. Esleeck improved his Turner's Falls property to the point where it became one of the best paper mills in the country, and the water-mark "Esleeck" was a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of its product. Mr. Esleeck also became a successful bidder for many government contracts for paper, and thus he and his company met with the favor of the respective federal departments or bureaus with which they had dealings.

Greenfield, Turner's Falls and Holyoke people recall with happy memory and tender feelings the fine spirit of coöperation in the various channels of worthy endeavor which Mr. Esleeck exercised while he went in and out among them, a generous and helpful figure for the uplift of the public weal. Community enterprises of whatever nature were approved by him and all progressive movements commanded his sympathetic and active interest during his residence in Greenfield. In

ESLEECK AND ALLIED FAMILIES

the World War period he threw his whole heart and energy into the raising of funds for the government and local causes. He himself was a most generous contributor to these funds, and he headed the United Drive, this association having been the greatest factor in the success that was achieved. He was a conspicuous worker by reason of his organizing power and seemingly tireless energy. In Holyoke he served as chairman of the Young Men's Christian Association, and was prominently identified with the County Association. To many other commendable objects he gave most liberally of his time and strength. In the work of the churches he was a sincere and constant participant, especially in the Greenfield Second Congregational Church, where for many years he was a member of the Board of Deacons. He was a director of the Franklin Trust Company, of Greenfield, and an inspiring member of the town school committee.

Augustine Washington Esleeck married (first), January 30, 1871, Emma Howard Colton, daughter of George and Mary Elizabeth (Lombard) Colton. (Colton IX.) He married (second) Martha Robins. (Robins VIII.) There were three children of the first marriage, of whom was: 1. Mrs. Loring H. Dodd, wife of a member of the faculty of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts.

The latter years of his life Mr. Esleeck had been accustomed to spend a part of the twelvemonth in travel, passing his winters in Florida, where he maintained a home to which he would hie for relief from the rigors of the northern climate. His death came suddenly at his home in Greenfield, September 30, 1926, in his seventy-ninth year. At that age even it did not seem that he should be taken from the large place that he had created and which he had filled with such brilliant service. The community became suddenly and painfully conscious that a great benefactor had been parted from them.

In his death the paper industry suffered a severe loss. For more than half a century, a period which saw the industry attain its acme of perfection, Mr. Esleeck had been identified with the manufacturing end of the business, which he knew with the thoroughness that comes of long and intimate contact with the details of the respective departments. His long residence in Holyoke and later in Greenfield, Massachusetts, had seen him become endeared to a large body of people, particularly that large group known familiarly as his fellow-workers, who regarded him with an affection that was as enduring as it was

ESLEECK AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ardent. His public spirit, also, led him as a cheerful and willing servant into divers relationships with men and affairs of his time and place; and ere he died, he was one of the outstanding, all-round figures of the communities where he had labored so long and with success so abundant.

Numerous tributes to the memory and worth of Mr. Esleeck, and messages of condolence to the family from many quarters, attested the great sorrow that had stricken the friends and associates of this man. A Greenfield newspaper had the following to say editorially:

The news of the sudden death of Augustine W. Esleeck at his home in Greenfield yesterday noon came as a great shock to this community. For a number of years Mr. Esleeck had held a place in the affections of the entire community which seldom is attained by any man. He had always taken a very great interest in the affairs of this town, and his benefactions reached into numerous homes. It may be said in all truth that there was not a day passed but what he helped to make life happier for someone. While it was generally known that he was always lending a helping hand to those in distress, very few people, if any, realized the extent of his good deeds. The stores of the town will be closed on Monday afternoon during the time of the funeral, out of respect to the memory of a man who was held in the highest esteem and affection by every individual of the town.

An appreciation from a friend of the family:

I have known Mr. Esleeck for a few years . . . a good man, a patriotic and a godly man. He was good, and all over the Connecticut Valley I have had testimony borne to me of his genuine Christian character. I stopped on my way to church (funeral service) to talk with two splendid workingmen friends of mine. They told me more than I can relate of his kindness to widows and orphans. Not so very long ago I saw a beautiful cup in his magnificent home, given him by his workers, his fellow-workers, as a token of their love and esteem for him. I never talked to him in his office at Turners Falls without feeling that before me was a Christian and a lover of his fellowmen. When I talked to him I felt that I wanted to be a better man, and that was the way Mr. Esleeck affected all who had anything to do with him. The splendid leaders in industry from this vicinity, the workers from his own plant, the beautiful words of his pastor, the beautiful casket banked with blankets of roses and all sorts of flowers, spoke of the esteem of his townsmen in Greenfield, among whom, with no thought of himself, he was *facile princeps*. Such men as he commend God, the invisible, to us all. . . .

Augustine W. Esleeck was a helper of many and he made life



Weldon
(Wheldon)



Mason



Robyns
(Robins)



Jenney



Bird



Warren

NOVEMBER 1961

1. The first of these is the fact that the

2062 M

1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and the goals that need to be achieved.

1940-1941

How do the people agent and sale
 Greatly increased the
 He is in the all companies
 I am a people agent and sale

YEN-CHEN

DR. J. H. HARRIS

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WELDON (WHELDON)

Arms—Argent, a fess sable, a border gules platee.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

MASON

Arms—Per pale argent and sable a chevron between three masons' squares, all counterchanged.

Crest—A stag's head erased sable attired or, ducally gorged or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

ROBYNS (ROBINS)

Arms—Per pale sable and argent, two flaunches and three fleurs-de-lis in fesse all counterchanged.

Crest—Between two dolphins haurient respecting each other or, a fleur-de-lis per pale argent and sable.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

JENNEY

Arms—Ermine a bend cotised sable.

Crest—A falconer's hand within a glove in fesse proper, bearing a falcon perched thereon or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

BIRD

Arms—Quarterly argent and sable, in the first quarter an eagle displayed of the second.

Crest—On a dolphin proper an eagle or, wings expanded.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

WARREN

Arms—Chequy or and azure. (Burke: "General Armory.")

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worth living for a host of people. . . . His is one of those names that shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

(The Weldon (Wheldon) Line)

Arms—Argent, a fess sable, a border gules platée.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Captain Joseph Wheldon was born in 1768 and died December 22, 1854, in his eighty-sixth year (inscription Long Plain, North Fairhaven, Massachusetts). He was an energetic, thrifty, retired whaling master. We quote from "Past Industries of Upper Acushnet River," by Mrs. Daniel T. Devoll: "On the opposite side from the Morse mill we come to the ruins of what was once the famous Wheldon factory. Here in 1814, Captain Joseph Wheldon built a stone mill for the manufacture of cotton cloth. Captain Wheldon was famous in his day and generation, and it is said of him that when he was paid off his lay in the voyage of the 'Rebecca,' he felt himself to be a very wealthy man." The mill is now in ruins. Just before this enterprise he sold, in 1814, to William White, Jr., an interest in the dam, two horses, gristmill, sawmill, dye house, cotton factory and machinery, the cotton factory and two acres of land having been bought in 1811 from William White, and upper gristmill from Edward Pope in 1790. On May 27, 1808, he was chosen as one of a committee to choose a site for a town house. Joseph Wheldon was selectman in 1816-17-18-19-31-32. He was a State Representative from Fairhaven (when Acushnet was a part of that town) in the years 1823-25-31-32.

Joseph Wheldon married Ruth Mason. (Mason VI.) They were the parents of a daughter: 1. Ruth, of whom further.

(Franklin Howland: "History of Town of Acushnet, Massachusetts," pp. 62-63, 105, 144, 175-76. Daniel Ricketson: "History of New Bedford," p. 397. R. B. Tobey and C. H. Pope: "Tobey Genealogy," p. 74. J. L. Gillingham: "A Brief History of Fairhaven, Massachusetts," pp. 21 and 34. "Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch," No. 7, pp. 5-6 (1904), and No. 41, p. 7 (1915).)

II. Ruth Wheldon, daughter of Joseph and Ruth (Mason) Wheldon, married (first) David Perry. They were the parents of two daughters: 1. Ruth Ann, of whom further. 2. Evelyn Church, born in Newport, Rhode Island, August 3, 1838; married (first) Nathaniel Delano; child: Clara Evelyn. She married (second), April 27, 1865, Joseph M. Lawton.

("Delano Genealogy," pp. 454-56, published 1899.)

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III. Ruth Ann Perry, daughter of David and Ruth (Wheldon) Perry, married John Read Esleeck. (Esleeck IV.)

(The Mason Line)

Arms—Per pale argent and sable a chevron between three masons' squares, all counterchanged.

Crest—A stag's head erased sable attired or, ducally gorged or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Doubtless the first one who assumed the name Mason as surname derived it from his occupation. It is supposed that the word comes from the old Latin *Mocco*, or possibly it may be a modification of *marcia*, from *marcus*, a hammer. Le Mason, le Marson and le Mason are old forms of the name. In French the name is Macon.

(Eleanor Lexington: "The Mason Family." F. C. Mason: "History of the Borton and Mason Families," p. 207.)

In Northumberland, England, is a township called Mason, and it is probable that this was the ancestral home of the Masons in America. Their early history in England is obscure, but it is thought that they were of Anglo-Saxon origin.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 207-11.)

One of the first of the name of whom records are preserved is Charles Mason, born in 1616. He was a minister and a writer. Some of his letters are preserved in the British Museum.

Archdeacon Francis Mason was born in Norfolk of poor parents. He rose to power through his own efforts, "after making a hard shift to rub on," as he expressed it.

Martin Mason, son of John Mason, "gent." of Lincoln, was a Friend who was continually being imprisoned for his opinions. He was concerned in the controversy about wearing the hat during prayer. He took a broad-minded view of this question and said: "What matter whether the hat be on or off, so long as the heart be right?" He wrote an address to Charles II, which was considered so forcible and able a document that it was printed broadside.

George Mason, the artist, was grandson of the potter, who invented the celebrated ware called Mason's ironstone china. Melancthon Wells Mason designed parts of the first railroad engine, also the locomotive headlight. The name of the family is perpetuated in Mason and Dixon's line.

(S. S. Mason: "Enoch and Elizabeth Mason and Their Ancestry and Descendants," pp. 11-12.)

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I. Sampson Mason was in America as early as 1649, for his name appears in the will of Edward Bullock, of Dorchester, Massachusetts Bay, New England, thus: "To Sampson Mason, for wife's shoes." Sampson Mason was a shoemaker.

(Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Wills, Vol. I, p. 288.)

"Sampson Mason was a soldier in Cromwell's Army," so tradition says, "and came to America upon the turn of the times in England and settled in Rehoboth, and his posterity are now as numerous as perhaps those of any other man who came to our country in his day."

(Rev. Isaac Backus: "History of the Baptists in America," Vol. II, p. 435.)

On March 9, 1650, he purchased from William Betts, his home and home lot in Dorchester, the lot containing six acres.

(Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Deeds, Vol. I, p. 127.)

The exact date of his removal to Rehoboth is unknown, but the records of the town have the following entry: "December 9, 1657, it was voted that Sampson Mason should have free liberty to sojourn with us and to buy houses, lands and meadows, if he see cause for his settlement, provided he lives peacefully and quietly." This was the usual form of vote in early towns.

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," p. 7. L. Bliss: "History of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," p. 48.)

Sampson Mason was one of the original proprietors of Swansea, and a subscriber to the agreement which took effect when the town was incorporated by the court at Plymouth in an order, as follows: "March 5, 1668. The township of Wannamoisett and the parts adjacent are established as Swansey" (Swanzy.)

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," pp. 9-10. "Plymouth Colony Records," Vol. IV, p. 175.)

His personal estate was large for his time. During King Philip's War, which broke out before his death, his widow contributed thirteen pounds, five shillings, and two pence, one of the largest contributions in Rehoboth.

Sampson Mason married (probably about 1650-51, when he bought land in Rehoboth) Mary Butterworth, who is thought to be

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daughter of John Butterworth, of Weymouth, and sister of John Butterworth, of Swansea.

(O. O. Wright: "History of Swansea," p. 180.)

Children: 1. Noah, born between October 26, 1651, and February 8, 1651-52, at Dorchester, Massachusetts. 2. Sampson. 3. John, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1656. 4. Samuel, born probably in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, February 12, 1656-57; married, March 2, 1682, Elizabeth Miller, of Rehoboth. 5. Sarah, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, February 15, 1657-58. 6. Mary, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, February 7, 1659-60. 7. James, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, October 30, 1661. 8. Joseph, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, March 6, 1662. 9. Bethiah, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, October 15, 1665. 10. Isaac, of whom further. 11. Pelatiah, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, April 1, 1669. 12. Benjamin, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, October 20, 1670. 13. Thankful, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, October 27, 1672.

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," pp. 10-11. "Representative Men and Old Families of South Eastern Massachusetts," p. 934.)

II. Isaac Mason, son of Sampson and Mary (Butterworth) Mason, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, July 15, 1667, and died January 25, 1741-42. He, like his father, was a shoemaker and lived in Rehoboth for some years, moving to Swansea about 1706, where he probably erected the house, still standing, which was his home. He was chosen deacon of the Second Baptist Church of Swansea soon after its organization in 1693, and held that office until his death. Isaac Mason married Hannah. Children: 1. Hannah, born in Rehoboth, January 9, 1694. 2. Mary, born January 26, 1695, died March 4, 1697. 3. Isaac, born in Rehoboth, December 26, 1698. 4. Sampson, born February 24, 1700. 5. Hezekiah, of whom further. 6. Nathan, born in Rehoboth, May 10, 1705. 7. Oliver, born in Swansea, August 20, 1706. 8. Hannah, born in Swansea, in March, 1710. 9. Benjamin, born in Swansea, April 10, 1711. 10. Mary, born in Swansea, May 21, 1713.

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," p. 26.)

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III. Hezekiah Mason, son of Isaac and Hannah Mason, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, June 6, 1704, and died April 4, 1738. He was married by Elder Ephraim Wheaton, July 23, 1730, to Rebecca Martin, daughter of Deacon Melatiah and Rebecca (Brooks) Martin. Rebecca (Martin) Mason was born February 19, 1708-09, and probably married (second) Abadiah Bowen. Her father, Melatiah Martin, and Isaac Mason, father of Hezekiah Mason, were simultaneously deacons of the Second Baptist Church in Swansea. Children of Hezekiah and Rebecca (Martin) Mason: 1. Melatiah, born in Swansea, Massachusetts, April 19, 1731. 2. Hezekiah (twin), of whom further. 3. Jeremiah (twin), born in Swansea, Massachusetts, August 11, 1732, died young. 4. Phebe, born in Swansea, Massachusetts, December 17, 1736.

(*Ibid.*, p. 62. H. J. Martin: "Notices of the Martin Family in New England," pp. 75-76.)

IV. Hezekiah Mason, son of Hezekiah and Rebecca (Martin) Mason, was born in Swansea, Massachusetts, August 11, 1732, and died January 22, 1801. He settled in Freetown, Bristol County, Massachusetts. In 1776 he enlisted as sergeant and served in Captain Nathaniel Morton's Company, Colonel Edward Pope's regiment, at the Rhode Island Alarm. (D. A. R. Records, Vol. LXXIV, p. 140, No. 73371.) He married, November 28, 1756, Parnel West, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Jenney) West. (Jenney V.)

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family, p. 105. "Vital Records of Dartmouth, Massachusetts.")

Children, probably born in Freetown, Massachusetts: 1. Rebecca. 2. Susannah. 3. Hezekiah. 4. Reuben, of whom further. 5. Benjamin, married and removed to Montpelier, Vermont. 6. Mary, married, October 28, 1781, Amasa Fuller, and removed to Montpelier, Vermont. 7. Richard. 8. Peleg, died young. 9. Thomas, died young. 10. Phebe, married William Keene.

(*Ibid.*, 106.)

V. Reuben Mason, son of Hezekiah and Parnel (West) Mason, was born, according to family records, at Freetown, Massachusetts, September 4, 1757. He served in the Revolutionary War, the record of his service showing that he was a private in Rounsevel's company, Colonel D. Brewer's regiment; muster roll dated August 1, 1775;

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enlisted May 5, 1775; served three months and four days. He was also in Captain Rounsevel's company, Colonel Rufus Putnam's (late Brewer's) regiment, and received an order for bounty-coat or its equivalent in money dated Roxbury Camp, November 8, 1775. Reuben Mason was also a private in Lieutenant Nathaniel Morton's company, Colonel Edward Pope's regiment; marched December 8, 1776; discharged December 27, 1776; service twenty days. The company marched to Rhode Island on the alarm of December 8, 1776. He served also in Captain Manasseh Kempton's company, Colonel Freeman's regiment; enlisted September 27, 1777; discharged October 29, 1777; service one month four days at Rhode Island on a secret expedition. ("Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War," p. 331.)

Reuben Mason married Thankful Tobey (intention published in Dartmouth, September 12, 1778.) She was born about 1756, died August 19, 1802. She was the daughter of John and Mary (Bennet) Tobey.

(R. B. Tobey and C. H. Pope: "Tobey Genealogy," p. 74.)

Children: 1. Richard. 2. Reuben, owned a tract of land near the north line of James Sampson's tract near what is now Quaker Lane, extending to Rochester, and was part owner in a stone mill, established in 1815 by Joseph Wheldon. (F. Howland: "A History of Acushnet, Massachusetts," pp. 56-62.) 3. Charles. 4. Ruth, of whom further. 5. Parnel, married (first) Consider Smith; (second) in November, 1812, Joshua Morse. 6. Mary, died young. 7. Grace. 8. Betsy, married a Cook.

VI. Ruth Mason, daughter of Reuben and Thankful (Tobey) Mason, was born about 1778, and died March 10, 1821, in her forty-second year. She married (second) Joseph Wheldon (wrongly spelled Welding in the Mason Genealogy). (Wheldon I.)

(Ricketson: "History of New Bedford, Massachusetts" (1858), pp. 395-96.)

(The Jenney Line)

Arms—Ermine a bend cotised sable.

Crest—A falconer's hand within a glove in fesse proper, bearing a falcon perched thereon or. (Burke: "General Armory.")

The name Jenney shows us the undoubted French origin of this family, which was well represented in County Norfolk, England, as

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early as the twelfth century. John Jenney was sheriff of Norwich in 1486. Those of the name in Suffolk County, England, are from Jenney of Knodishall, who date from the coming of the Conqueror, and who settled in Suffolk County in the fourteenth century. The name is represented also in Lincolnshire, in Middlesex, in Derbyshire, and Leicestershire. The American Jenneys are from the Norwich, Norfolk County, England, family. Some of this American family were famous in the old New Bedford whaling days. Among those who have carried the name with distinction in America are (in direct descent from John Jenney) William Le Baron Jenney, architect and inventor, born in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, September 25, 1832. He was educated at Phillips Academy, at Harvard University and at the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures in Paris. He became associated in America with the building of the railway on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Later, in the Civil War, he served in important engagements and was breveted major in 1865. He contributed valuable articles to various technical publications. Charles A. Jenney, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and New York City, was prominent internationally in lines of fire insurance.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," p. 429. Burke: "General Armory," p. 540. "National Cyclopaedia of American Biography," Vol. X, pp. 208 and 218.)

I. John Jenney was of Norwich, England, and was of those brave English who settled in Holland in those memorable days of hardship. John Jenney was a brewer in Norwich, England. In his youth he went to Holland, married in Leyden and lived at Rotterdam. He came to America, to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1623, sailing with his family in the ship "James," or "Little James." The following is taken from the "Genealogy of Edward Small":

Although a resident of Leyden for so many years, John Jenney did not become a citizen, as did William Bradford, Isaac Allerton, Edmond Chandler, and others. Dexter states that sixty-five of the Pilgrim Company were made citizens there—thirty-three before the sailing of the *Speedwell* in July, 1620, and thirty-two between 1621 and 1642. He estimates that the whole number of members belonging to that Company previous to July, 1620, was four hundred and seventy-three; and the other English, "of whom some perhaps belonged to the colony," numbered one hundred and fifty-three, making a total of six

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hundred and twenty-six. Yet not more than two-thirds of that number appear in the Leyden records.

Among the varied occupations followed by the Pilgrims, but two persons chose such an arduous calling as that of a "brewer's man"; and, while some changed their employment, John Jenney remained a "brewer's man," or brewer, so long as he remained in Leyden. He was more familiar with the Dutch language than many of Pastor Robinson's Company, for Winslow wrote: "As for the *Dutch*, it was usual for our members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to *London*, to communicate with them, as one *John Jenney* a Brewer long did, his wife and family, &c. and without any offence to the Church." On June 16, 1618, John Jenney buried a child in St. Peter's Church, at Leyden. He was then living in the *Veldesstraat* (Field Street).

Upon his arrival in New England, in August, 1623, he and his family shared, with Experience Mitchell and others who came in the *Anne* and *Little James*, the trials and privations of that fateful summer—the most distressing period of the early settlement, when they apparently faced starvation. Although John Jenney's years of usefulness, terminating in his death, were but twenty in number, his services to the Colony were many and conspicuous. He was one of the few who were early styled "gentlemen"; and on March 25, 1633-34, he paid the third largest tax in the town of Plymouth, a tax of £1:16:00, "rated in corn at vi^s p bushel." The name John Jenney appeared in the first list of freeman of the "Incorporacon of Plymouth," in 1633; and "John Jenney, gen.," in the later list of March 7, 1636-37. "John Jenney, Sen., Samuel Jenney, and John Jenney, Ju^r," were among the males, in August, 1643, who were able to bear arms "from xvj yeares old to 60 yeares."

On October 1, 1643, Francis Cooke, John Jenney, and five others were appointed "for laying out of highways" in the town of Plymouth. On January 5, 1635-36, John Jenney was on a committee of seven who were chosen "to assiste y^e Goue^r & Counsell, to sett shuch rates on goods to be sould, & labourers for their hire, as should be meete & juste." On March 6, following, Captain Myles Standish, John Jenney, and three others, were a committee to select a suitable location for "the two meeting houses." In 1636, John Jenney was a Deacon of the Plymouth Church. "M^r John Jenney," on March 20, 1636-37, was "appoynted to view the hey grounde from the town of Plymouth to Iland Creeke." "M^r John Jenney Francis Cooke and John Cooke," with four others, were chosen May 5, 1640, "to view the meddows about Edward Doteys, & to compute the numbers of acres, & make report thereof to this Court." In 1641 and 1642, he was among those authorized by the General Court to grant lands in Plymouth.

"John Jenney, gent." was chosen Governor's Assistant, on January 5, 1635, and was continuously reëlected to that office for seven years;

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with Winslow, Bradford, and Prince, successively, Governor. At the time of his election in 1638, John Jenney was away on one of his many voyages to England, and it was provided by the General Court, on June 5, that: "Forasmuch as M^r Edward Winslow & M^r John Jenney were elected Assistants the last Court, and were now absent, & so could not bee sworne, the Court doth order that the Goun^r and rest of the Assistants shall administer the oath unto them if they returne home before the next Court." Two months later, on August 7, "M^r John Jenney was sworne for an Assistant, according to the form elecon, and the order of the Genal Court." He also was Deputy to the General Court, in 1641-42; and appeared as Deputy, September 27, 1642, at a special session "occationed by the Indians to guide forces against them for an offensive & Defenciue warr; and though all the inhits (inhabitants) were warned, yet they appeared by their seuerall deputies, as they had liberty to doe." When the Court met, "having intelligence of a general conspiracy by the natives to cutt off all the English in this land," they "tooke the same into serious consideracon," and agreed "to make speedy pparacon throughout the gouernment" for defence. Yet, with all their many threats, no serious uprising occurred among the Indians previous to 1675.

In the first distribution of ground, by lot, to those who came over in the *Anne* and *Little James* in 1623, John Jenney (or Jenings, as his name was spelled in the list) was allotted five acres, out of forty-five that "lye beyond the brooke to Strawberie-hill," later known as Mill Hill, and now Watson's Hill. The Indians called it Cantaugheantiest, or Planted Fields. Davis says that these forty-five acres were situated on both sides of what is now Cold Spring Brook. In 1626-27, "M^r John Jenney," with "M^r Isaack Allerton Thom Cushman Francis Cooke Experience Michell," and others, became "Purchasers" of the English merchant's interest in Plymouth Colony; this enabled him to share in the division of cattle, May 22, 1627. "The twelueth lott fell to John Jene & his companie joyned to him."

The first mill on Town Brook was proposed January 8, 1632, by Stephen Deane, who at once erected it, and kept it in operation until his death in 1634. The inventory of his estate, taken October 2, 1634, gave the valuation of the mill as £20. Two years later, John Jenney undertook to build a mill for grinding corn, on about the same site; and the permit to do so, dated March 7, 1636, was as follows:

"It is concluded upon by the Court That M^r John Jenney shall haue liberty to erect a Milne for grinding and beating of Corne upon the brook of Plymouth to be to him & his heires for euer. An shall haue a pottle of Corne towle upon euery bushell for grinding the same for the space of the two first yeares next after the said Milne is erected, and afterwards but a quart at a bushell for all that is brought to the milne by others, but if he fetch it & grind it himself or by his servants then to haue a pottle toule for euery bushell as before."

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Grist-mills at first were scarce, and to build such a mill required more skill, as well as capital, than was possessed by most of the townsmen; hence the miller usually was a man of much importance. Yet this mill was not altogether a success. On September 4, 1638, "Mr John Jenney" was "psented (at Court) for diging downe the highway before his mill, to the endangering of man and beast"; and, six months later, he was "psented for not grinding corne serviceable, but to greate losse & damage, both in not grinding it well, as also causing men to stay long before it can be ground, except his servant be feede." These accusations were not sustained by the evidence, and the Court ordered the defendant "Released." On August 20, 1644, after the death of her husband in the spring, "Mrs Jenney, upon the psentment agst her pmiseth to amend the grinding at the mill, and to keepe the morters cleane, and baggs of corne from spolyeing and looseing." Her son Samuel practically carried on the mill, but other complaints followed at intervals, until the long-suffering town took the matter into its own hands, and ordered, "in Reference to the Corn Mill," that Mr. Edward Gray and two others should treat with "Samuel Jenings" and the rest of the partners for the purchase of the mill, but if he refused, they should "signify to him that they Intend to Build another mill."

John Jenney also participated extensively in the trade and maritime interests of the colonists; and although there is no evidence to support the statement that he owned the pinnace *Little James*, a two-master craft of forty-four tons, he did possess, in 1637, "a new barque" which, plying back and forth between England and the Colony for a number of years, was known as "John Jenney's barque." It is also known that he often sailed in her. When the colonists decided, on January 24, 1641-42, to build a new and larger ship than any yet undertaken at Plymouth, although it was but "a Bark of 40 to 50 Ton, estimated at the Charge of 200^{li}," those who contributed toward it were William Paddy, Mr. William Hanbury, and John Barnes, who each pledged themselves for "I eight part"; and Mr. William Bradford, Mr. John Jenney, Mr. John Atwood, Samuel Hicks, George Bower, "John Cooke and his fath^r," Samuel Jenney, Thomas Willett, Mr. Hopkins, and Edward Banks, each, "j xvjth (one 16th) part." Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Paddy, Mr. Thomas Willett, and John Barnes were "appoynted to undertake the pcureing her to be built."

As juryman, and on the Great Inquest, John Jenney served many times; also on committees chosen by the General Court for special service. In January, 1641-42, he was to "view the lands on both sides of the towne, that convenient heighwayes & passages for cattell into the woods by reserued & set forty." On September 20, 1642, Governor Thomas Prince, Mr. Atwood, Mr. Jenney, and Mr. Paddy were chosen to have the fortification strengthened, another piece of ordnance mounted, and to "repaire the watch-house and make a brick chimney to it." The Governor (Mr. Prince), Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Jen-

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ney, Mr. Paddy, and Nathaniel Souther, on October 9, 1643, were appointed "To be a Counsell of war for the Towne."

The year 1644 was fateful in Plymouth. The Elder William Brewster died in April, Stephen Hopkins and several others in July; and John Jenney passed away, probably early in May, since the inventory of his estate was taken on the 25th of that month. His age was less than sixty years.

"1644 The Last Will and Testament of John Jenney of Plymouth gent lately Deceased exhibited to the gen^rall Court the fift of June in the XXth yeare of the now Raigne of our Sou^raigne Lord Charles Kinge of England &c.

"I John Jenney of New Plymouth in New England being sick and weake in body but through Gods speciall goodness in pfect memorie Do thinke meete to settle that estate the Lord in mercy hath bestowed on me according as I conceive hee requireth at my hands. And therefore Do ordaine this my last will and testament. And therefore having bequeathed my sould to God that gaue it and my body to the earth whereof it is I do give unto my eldest sonne Samuelle Jenney a Double porcon of all those lands I stand possessed of or have right unto wth in the Government of New Plymouth my will being pformed next of all I giue unto Sarah my loveing wyfe whom I ordaine my Executrix my Dwelling house and Mitte adjacent together wth all the lands thereunto belonging, my will being that shee freely and fully enjoy it together wth all other my moueables goods and chattels so long as God shalbe pleased to continue her life except such as I shall after Dispose of or shee shall willingly and freely part wth to any our children according to my will and Desire Alsoe whereas Abigaile my eldest Daughter had somewhat given her by her grandmother and Henry Wood of Plymouth aforesaid is a suter to her in way of marriage my will is that shee the said Abigaile will Dwell one full yeare wth m^r Charles Chauncy of Scittuate before her marriage (puidec he be willing to entertaine her) that then my said Daughter Abigail have two of my coves and my full consent to marry wth the said Henry Wood And in case m^r Chauncey be against it then I would haue her dwell wth M^{ris} Winslowe of Careswell the said terme of one yeare further as I haue given to my eldest sonn Samuell a double porcon of all my lands whatsoever after the death of his said mother so also I give him a Double po^rcon of my whole estate wth the rest of my children viz^t John Abigatt Sarah and Susannah My will being that after the death of my said wyfe my house and mill and other my lands and goods be sold or valued to the utmost they are worth and that the estate be equally Distributed amongst my said children. Samuell John Abigall Sarah and Susan as followeth, Samuell to have a double pcon and the rest of them eich a single &c equall porcon of the same Last of all I do ordaine my worthy frends M^r W^m Bradford now Gouenor of Plymouth and M^r Thomas Prence of the same now Our^r seers of this my last will and testament and Do

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give eich of them a paire of gloves of five shillings price. And in witness that this is my will I have hereunto sett my hand & seale the XXVij of December Anno Dm 1643.

JOHN JENNEY
(his seale)

Witnesses hereunto:

EDWARD WINSLOWE

THOMAS WILLETT

WILLIAM PADDY

"Mistris Jenney," occupying the position due to her as the widow of John, was not forgotten in the division of land at Achsuena (Dartmouth) among the "Purchasers," or "Old Comers," in 1652, when she was allotted "one full share." Although she had died early in 1655, her name appeared in 1657, in a list of those who had an interest "in the Townes (Plymouth) land at Puncateesett over against Road Iland," later known as Little Compton, which was laid out March 22, 1663. The exact date of her death is not known. Her will was made August 18, 1654, and she was "deceased" before March 5, 1655. John Jenney died in 1644 or 1647.

John Jenney married, at Leyden, Holland, November 1, 1614, Sarah Carey, of Monkton, County Hants, or Monk Soham, County Suffolk, England. She is said as widow to have been one of the first purchasers of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Sarah (Carey) Jenney died in 1654. Children, first four born in Leyden: 1. Child, buried June 16, 1618. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Abigail, born April 16, 1644; married Henry Wood. 4. Sarah, married, May 26, 1646, as his second wife, Thomas Pope. 5. John, born in Plymouth; living in 1643, but probably died not later than 1654. 6. Susanna, born in Plymouth, died March 23, 1654.

("Descendants of Edward Small" (1910), p. 497. T. Spooner: "Memorial of William Spooner," p. 129. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1544. D. Ricketson: "History of New Bedford, Massachusetts," p. 182. "Old Dartmouth, Massachusetts, Historical Society, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 11-12.)

II. Samuel Jenney, son of John and Sarah (Carey) Jenney, was born, probably, in Leyden, Holland. He came with his parents to Plymouth, Massachusetts. He died in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, his will being dated November 25, 1685, and the inventory of his estate being made April 12, 1692. His estate included houses and lands in Plymouth, besides personal property. In 1683 he removed to Dart-

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mouth, Massachusetts. On November 13, 1694, a deed is recorded of William Bradford to certain Dartmouth proprietors, three of whom were probably the sons of Samuel Jenney, the names of said proprietors being Samuel Jenney, Lettice Jenney, Mary Jenney, and Stephen West.

Samuel Jenney married Ann Lettice, daughter of Thomas and Ann Lettice, of Plymouth. Children, named in the following order in will: 1. John. 2. Job. 3. Samuel, born in Plymouth, July 23, 1659. 4. Lettice, of whom further. 5. Mark. 6. Susanna. 7. Elizabeth. 8. Ruth.

("Genealogical Advertiser," Vol. III, p. 27. "Descendants of Edward Small," Vol. I, p. 508. T. Spooner: "Memorial of William Spooner," p. 129. "Old Dartmouth, Massachusetts, Historical Society," Vol. XXXIX, p. 12. D. Ricketson: "History of New Bedford, Massachusetts," pp. 33, 130. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1701. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XX, p. 34.)

III. Lettice Jenney, son of Samuel and Ann (Lettice) Jenney, died in 1734. He was of Plymouth and Dartmouth, Massachusetts. He is mentioned in deed of William Bradford as a proprietor in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, November 14, 1694. Again in 1710 Lettice Jenney's name is listed there. His farm was near the road to Mattapoisett, Massachusetts, where he had a water mill. This farm went to his son, Cornelius, in 1754.

Lettice Jenney married (first) Desire Blackwell. (Blackwell III.) A second marriage to Elizabeth Young is sometimes recorded, but in view of his own death date and that of his first wife, Desire Blackwell, who died January 2, 1773, aged ninety-five, this seems quite impossible. Children: 1. Cornelius, born November 3, 1697, died October 12, 1774; married (first) Elizabeth, who died March 18, 1743; married (second) Eleanor, who died February 14, 1786. 2. Sarah, born May 28, 1699; married Simpson Spooner. 3. Reliance, born March 1, 1701. 4. Ignatius, born February 6, 1702-03; married, January 21, 1725, Catharine Green. 5. Mary, of whom further. 6. Benjamin, born March 20, 1707. 7. Caleb, born June 20, 1709, died August 25, 1761; married Patience Standish, daughter of Miles and Experience Standish, of Duxbury, Massachusetts, and great-granddaughter of Captain Myles Standish, the "Mayflower" passenger, and his second

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wife, Mrs. Silence (French) Howes. 8. Ruth, born September 5, 1711; married Jeduthan Spooner. 9. Samuel, born March 30, 1714, died February 21, 1784; married, November 30, 1746, Patience, who died February 16, 1802. 10. Elizabeth, born June 16, 1716; married, February 26, 1736, Samuel House, or Hawes. 11. Nathaniel, born October 3, 1720; married, November 15, 1743, Mercy Mitchell. 12. Parnell, born September 1, 1722; married, in October, 1745, William Mitchell.

(T. Spooner: "Memorial of William Spooner," pp. 130-31. Records of William Spooner, Vol. I, p. 91. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1701. D. Ricketson: "History of New Bedford, Massachusetts," p. 33. "Old Dartmouth, Massachusetts, Historical Society," Vol. XLI, p. 9. "Acushnet Cemetery Memorial Record," p. 10. "Mayflower Descendants," Vol. XXII, pp. 44-45.)

IV. Mary Jenney, daughter of Lettice and Desire (Blackwell) Jenney, was born in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, April 20, 1705. She married (intentions recorded April 27, 1728) Thomas West, who was born at Dartmouth, Massachusetts, October 23, 1702, and died at Dartmouth, February 11, 1803, aged one hundred years, three months, and eighteen days. ("Dartmouth Manuscript Records," p. 370.) Thomas was said to have left three children, thirty grandchildren, one hundred and forty-two great-grandchildren, and eight great-great-grandchildren. This statement was made in the "Columbia Courier," New Bedford, Massachusetts, February 18, 1803. In October, 1884, the old farmhouse of Thomas West was still standing in Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Children of Thomas and Mary (Jenney) West were: 1. Susannah, born September 5, 1730. 2. Richard, born January 1, 1733. 3. Mary, born August 22, 1735. 4. Parnel, of whom further. 5. Thomas, born May 26, 1742. 6. Elizabeth, born June 24, 1750.

("Vital Records of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, Births," 1686-1787, p. 159.)

V. Parnel West, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Jenney) West, was born April 28, 1738, and died June 25, 1831. She married, November 28, 1756, Hezekiah Mason. (Mason IV.) (In Bristol, Rhode Island, records she is called Mrs. Parnel West, but this appears to be either an error or else the usage of the term Mrs. merely in the old form as a mark of respect.)

(A. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family.")



Galkin
(Gaulkins)



Blackwell



Savage



Dunham



Parker



Norton

GALLIN (CARTERS)
Banks, "General History"

BLACKWITT
Banks, "General History"

SAVAGE
Banks, "General History"

DUNHAM
Banks, "General History"

MARKER
Banks, "General History"

NORTON
Banks, "General History"

CALKINS (CAULKINS)

Arms—Argent, a pale gules. (Burke: "General Armory.")

BLACKWELL

Arms—Paly of six argent and azure on a chief gules; a lion passant guardant or. (Burke: "General Armory.")

SAVAGE

Arms—Argent, six lions rampant sable.

Crest—Out of a ducal crown or, a lion's gamb erect sable.

(Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book.")

DUNHAM

Arms—Azure a chief indented or, a label of three points gules.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

PARKER

Arms—Gules a chevron between three leopards' faces or.

Crest—A leopard's head affrontée erased, or, ducally gorged gules.

Motto—Dare to be true.

(W. T. Parker: "Gleanings from Parker Records.")

NORTON

Arms—Gules, a fret argent; a bend vair over all.

Crest—A griffin, sejant, proper, winged gules, beak and fore-legs or. (Crozier: "General Armory.")

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(The Blackwell Arms)

Arms—Paly of six argent and azure on a chief gules; a lion passant guardant or.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

It is quite readily perceived that the place of residence or the locality in which an individual was born was easily a likely origin for the name assumed as family name. Several localities called Blackwell can be cited, one a parish of Derbyshire near Alfreton, another of Darlington, County Durham. A Margery de Blacwelle was in Cambridge-shire in 1273, a Thomas Blakewell was of Yorkshire in 1379. Blackwill and Blackwall are other forms of the name. The name Blackwell appears as early as 1637 in the records of Sandwich, Massachusetts. The actual settlement of the place dates from April 3, 1637, when ten men were given by the Plymouth Court a place to settle with sufficient land for three-score families. The same year fifty other settlers came, chiefly from Lynn (Saugus), Duxbury, and Plymouth, most of them bringing their families, and the name Blackwell was among them. The Blackwells of Sandwich were generally called Black. The name of Michael Blackwell does not appear until somewhat later.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." T. Spooner: "Memorial of William Spooner," p. 61. A. Pratt: "Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Sandwich and Bourne, Massachusetts," p. 27.)

I. Michael Blackwell appears on Sandwich, Massachusetts, town records in 1651, regarding fishing privileges. In 1655 he subscribed £1 to a building fund, and in the same year he is listed as a church member. He was appointed overseer of fishing in 1670. In 1675 he is recorded as having the rights and privileges of the town of Sandwich, Massachusetts. The name was often called Black, and James Savage, the historian, says: "Hardly can I doubt that this man is he designated in the Colonial list of those able to bear arms, 1643, as Miles Black." If Michael's son of the same name died at the age of twenty-five, as stated by Savage, Michael, the first settler, must have survived him, as "Mich. Blackwell" was recorded, in 1675, as one who had a "just right to the privileges of the town" of Sandwich. Also, Mikell Blackwell was one of the two men who took the inventory of Edmond Freeman in 1682. He died in Sandwich, January 6, 1710. Children, order of birth not known: 1. Michael, born June 1, 1648,

ESLEECK AND ALLIED FAMILIES

died May 28, 1673, aged twenty-five years; probably unmarried. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Joshua, married before 1682; had several children. 4. Jane.

(J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New England," Vol. I, p. 191. "Sandwich, Massachusetts, Records in Genealogical Advertiser," Vol. IV, pp. 24-25-34-53-99. Freeman: "History of Cape Cod," Vol. II, p. 68. "Mayflower Descendants," Vol. XII, p. 250. "Genealogical Advertiser," Vol. IV, p. 99, and Vol. XV, p. 28.)

II. John Blackwell, son of Michael Blackwell, died in 1688, the inventory of his estate being taken November 28, 1688. The record mentions several children, but does not name them. Mention is made of the land at Eguewan and Namasket bought of Samuel Dunka and John Haskall. John Blackwell was one of the persons commissioned in 1679 to hold Select Courts in Barnstable County. His name had been recorded four years before (1675) as one of those who had "just right to the privileges of the town." In 1677 (Goodman) Black was appointed to lay out two acres of land "formerly his father's." In 1678 the town of Sandwich, Massachusetts, voted that John Blackwell have paid him two shillings for a copy of the records of Town Neck, and again that the town pay him for use of his bogs. On July 4, 1678, John Blackwell and John Blackwell, Jr., are on list of those taking the fidelity oath. (In one record the name is Black.)

John Blackwell married Sarah Warren. (Warren III.)

Of the children of the marriage various authorities differ. The seventh and the eighth child listed below are to be found in Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary," the other authorities not giving them. Savage also lists a son Nathaniel, born December 16, 1676, as does also the "Spooner Memorial." There seems in this case some confusion with the son Michael listed below, whose birth date is so recorded. Children, births recorded at Sandwich: 1. John, born December 26, 1674-75; married Lydia. 2. Michael, born December 16, 1676. 3. Desire, of whom further. 4. Alice, born May 8, 1681; married, probably, William Spooner. 5. Jane, born March 3, 1682-83. 6. Nathaniel, born December 27, 1686, died at Dartmouth (Acushnet), Massachusetts, March 16, 1749-50; married, probably, Joanne. 7. Lettice. 8. Caleb, married Bethiah.

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New England," Vol. I, pp. 67-68, 190-91; Vol. VII, p. 36. E. Roebing: "Richard Warren of the Mayflower," p. 11. "Plymouth Records," Vol. II, pp. 186-87.



Warren

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"Mayflower Descendants," Vol. VII, p. 133; Vol. X, p. 7; Vol. XIV, pp. 108-09, 166-69. "Acushnet, Massachusetts, Cemetery Memorial Record," p. 4. "New England Register," Vol. V, p. 85. T. Spooner: "Memorial of William Spooner," p. 61.)

III. Desire Blackwell, daughter of John and Sarah (Warren) Blackwell, was born in Sandwich, Massachusetts, December 20, 1678, and died January 2, 1773, aged ninety-five years. In the will dated 1707 of Nathaniel Warren, Jr., brother of her mother, she is called "Desire Blackwell *alias* Gennings ye wife of Lettice Gennings of Dartmouth." While in the Agreement of the heirs of Nathaniel Warren, Jr., she is mentioned as "Desire Black al^s Jenny the wife of Lettice Jenny of Dartmouth."

Desire Blackwell married Lettice Jenney. (Jenney III.)

(The Warren Line)

Arms—Chequy or and azure.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

In interest and antiquity the history of the Warren family is exceeded by that of no other in England. The surname Warren is of Norman-French origin, and is derived from Garenne, or Gareme, a small river in the old county of Calilas, or Caux, in Normandy, which gave its name to the neighboring commune. There is at present a village called Garenne in the same district, and it is here that the origin of the family has been fixed by historians. The ancient baronial seat of the De Warrenes stood on the west side of the river Garenne, and as late as the year 1832 some of the ruins were standing. The surname has assumed different forms from time to time—Gareyn, Warreyn, Waryn, Warin, Waring, Warynge, Waryng, and Warren. It first appears in England with William de Warrene, a Norman nobleman, who came to England with William the Conqueror, and was related to him both by marriage and common ancestry. An ancient genealogy of the family traces the lineage of this William de Warrene back to the year 900 A. D., when his Scandinavian ancestors are said to have settled in Normandy. The Scandinavian origin of the Norman family is conceded by eminent genealogists, and the following pedigree with slight variations, is accepted by authorities on the Warren history.

(1) *The Progenitor*, a Danish knight, was among those who succeeded in obtaining a footing in Normandy, and became allied through

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marriage with some of the foremost families of noble lineage of Europe.

(II) *Herfastus*, son of the progenitor.

(III) *A daughter*, married Walter de Saint Martin.

(IV) *William de Warren*, Earl of Warren in Normandy, married a daughter of Ralph de Torta.

(V) *William de Warren*, son of William de Warren, married Gundred, daughter of William the Conqueror, and became the first Earl of Warren and Surrey in England.

(VI) *William de Warren*, second Earl of Warren and Surrey, married Isabel, daughter of the fifth Earl of Vermandois, in France.

(VII) *Reginald Warren*, son of William de Warren, married Adelia de Mowbray, daughter of Roger de Mowbray.

(VIII) *William Warren*, only son of Reginald Warren, married Isabel de Hayden, daughter of Sir William de Hayden, Knight.

(IX) *Sir John Warren*, only son and heir, married Alice de Townsend, daughter of Roger de Townsend, Esquire.

(X) *John Warren*, son and heir, married Joan de Port, daughter of Sir Hugh de Port, Knight.

(XI) *Sir Edward Warren* married Maud de Skeyron, daughter of Richard de Skeyron (Skegeton).

(XII) *Sir Edward Warren* married Cicely de Eaton, daughter of Nicholas de Eaton, Knight.

(XIII) *Sir John Warren*, only son, married Agnes de Wynnington, daughter of Richard de Wynnington, Knight.

(XIV) *Sir Lawrence Warren*, only son and heir, married Margery Bulkely, daughter of Hugh Bulkely, Esquire, of Ware, in Shropshire, ancestor of the Bulkelys of New England.

(XV) *John Warren*, eldest son, married Isabel Stanley, daughter of Sir John Stanley, Knight.

(XVI) *Sir Lawrence Warren* married Isabel Legh, daughter of Sir Robert Legh, Knight.

WELDON
(WHELDON)

JENNEY



BLACKWELL



WILSON

[illegible]

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(XVII) *William Warren*, seated at Caunton, in Nottinghamshire, married Anne. He died in May, 1496.

(XVIII) *John Warren* married Elizabeth, and died in 1525.

(XIX) *John Warren*, of Hedbury, in the parish of Ashburton, Devonshire.

(XX) *Christopher Warren*, of Hedbury.

(XXI) *William Warren*, of Hedbury, married Anne Mable, daughter of Thomas Mable, of Calstocke, in Cornwall; she married (second) William Culling, of Woodland, in Devonshire.

(XXII) *Christopher Warren*, of Hedbury, only son and heir, married Alice Webb, daughter of Thomas Webb, of Sidenham, in Devonshire.

(Rev. Thomas Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family." John Collins: "The Warren Genealogy," from research done in England. Samuel Putnam Avery: "The Warren, Little, Lothrop, Etc., Pedigrees.")

(The Family in America)

I. *Richard Warren*, son of Christopher and Alice (Webb) Warren, came to the American Colonies in the historic "Mayflower" Company, which founded Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, although he was not of the Leyden company. The register at the end of Governor Bradford's folio manuscript gives him the honorable prefix of "Mr." He was mentioned by a contemporary as "grave Richard Warren, a man of integrity, justice, and uprightness, of piety and serious religion," and also "as a useful instrument during the short time he lived, bearing a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the plantation." He received land grants in common with his associates, and one of these grants was at Warren's Cove. He was one of the influential members of the company, and as such was selected with nine others to cruise along the coast from Cape Cod Harbor in a shallop for the purpose of deciding a place of settlement. His death occurred at Plymouth in 1628. His wife, Elizabeth, whom he married in England, followed him to America in the ship "Ann," in 1623, bringing with her their five daughters. She occupied an important social position in the Colony, and is usually mentioned in the records as Mistress Eliza-

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beth Warren, a designation by no means common. Here is one of the rare instances in an early colony of continued widowhood. Upon the marriage of her daughters she conveyed to their husbands certain lands, variously located at Eel River and Wellingsly. She died at Plymouth, October 2, 1673, aged about ninety years. Children: 1. Mary, born in England, came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in the "Ann," in July, 1623, died after 1676. She married, in 1628, Robert Bartlett, a fellow passenger on the "Ann." 2. Ann, born in England about 1612, came to Plymouth in the "Ann"; married, April 19, 1633, Thomas Little, of Plymouth, and lived in Marshfield. 3. Sarah, born in England, came to Plymouth in the "Ann"; married, March 28, 1634, John Cooke, who later settled in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, and was the last survivor of the "Mayflower." 4. Elizabeth, born in England, died in Hingham, Massachusetts, March 4, 1670; married, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, about 1635, Richard Church. 5. Abigail, born in England and came in the "Ann," died after 1685 or 1692. She married, November 8, 1629, Anthony Snow, of Plymouth, and later of Marshfield, Massachusetts. 6. Nathaniel, of whom further. 7. Joseph, born before March 22, 1627, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, died there May 4, 1689; married, in 1651-52, Priscilla Faunce, daughter of John Faunce.

(Roebing: "Richard Warren of the Mayflower," pp. 4-5, 6, 8, 9-10, 12. Ames: "The Log of the Mayflower," pp. 149-65, 168-80. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LV, p. 7.)

II. Nathaniel Warren, son of Richard and Elizabeth Warren, was born in 1624-25, and died (probably), in October, 1667, at Plymouth, Massachusetts. His will was executed June 29, 1667; codicil July 16, 1667; inventory of estate taken October 21, 1667. Nathaniel Warren lived at Eel River in the Plymouth settlement on land that was possibly granted to him, June 5, 1662, because he was one of the first born children in the colony. This property later came to his son James. Nathaniel Warren also owned land in the Middleborough, Massachusetts, purchase and had rights in Puncateesett (now in Rhode Island), also land in Agawam. In 1643 we find him a member of the Plymouth militia; in 1654 surveyor of highways; in 1667 selectman; and Representative to the General Court from 1657 to 1660, and again from 1663 to 1665. The lands he owned were conveyed to his son, James, by the other children, January 9, 1689-90. These chil-

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dren were Richard Warren, Nathaniel Warren, Jabez Warren, Elizabeth Green, Sarah Blackwell, Thomas Gibbs, and Alice, his wife; Jonathan Delano and Mercy, his wife. The widow of Nathaniel Warren, Sarah, made a similar conveyance to said son James the same day.

Nathaniel Warren married, November 19, 1645, Sarah Walker, probably granddaughter of Jane Collier, wife of William Collier, of Duxbury, Massachusetts. She died November 24, 1700, in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Children, all born in Plymouth: 1. Richard, born in 1646, died January 23, 1696-97; married Sarah. 2. Jabez, born in 1647, died April 17, 1701, drowned at sea, probably. 3. Sarah, of whom further. 4. Hope, born March 7, 1651, mentioned as "lame" in her father's will. 5. Jane, born December 21, 1652, died February 27, 1683; married, September 19, 1672, Benjamin Lombard. 6. Elizabeth, born September 15, 1654; married William Green, of Plymouth, who died October 7, 1685. 7. Alice, born August 2, 1656; married, December 23, 1674, Thomas Gibbs, of Sandwich, Massachusetts. 8. Mercy, born February 20, 1657-58; married, February 26, 1678, Lieutenant Jonathan Delano, one of the purchasers of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, born in 1647, and died December 23, 1720. 9. Mary, born March 9, 1660. 10. Nathaniel, born March 19, 1662, died October 29, 1707; married Phebe Murdock, who married, as her second husband, Thomas Gray, of Plymouth. 11. John, born October 23, 1663, died young. 12. James, born November 7, 1665, died January 29, 1715; married Sarah Doty.

(Roebling: "Richard Warren of the Mayflower," pp. 10-11.)

III. Sarah Warren, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah (Walker) Warren, was born August 29, 1649; living in January, 1690. She married John Blackwell, of Sandwich, Massachusetts. (Blackwell II.)

(The Colton Line)

Arms—Sable, a saltire engrailed between four crosses, crosslet or.

Crest—A boar passant argent, armed and bristled or, vulned in the shoulder gules.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

Parishes in Counties Norfolk and Stafford and also a township in the parish of Bolton Percy in the West Riding of Yorkshire were called Colton. Undoubtedly the surname Colton was derived from one of these places in the early days when the assuming of family names was in its beginnings. John de Coleton, of County Devon, is mentioned

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in 1273, and Willelmus de Colton and Johannes de Colton were of Yorks in 1379.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

George or "Quartermaster" Colton is mentioned as one of three or possibly four first settlers of Longmeadow, Hampden County, Massachusetts, in 1644, eight years after the settlement of Springfield. The settlement was at first on the banks of the Connecticut River, but after quite a serious flood in the year 1695, in which the Coltons were forced from their home to higher land to escape drowning, a petition was made and granted that they move out of the meadow onto a hill about a mile east of the river. In 1709 the grand hegira took place and the result was the settlement of the village which is now Longmeadow. The Coltons have been, ever since that time, among the leaders of civic affairs in the community, mentioned very frequently in town records, as well as in mercantile, clerical and various other occupations.

("History of Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 1039.)

I. Quartermaster George Colton came from England and died December 17, 1699. Tradition says he was born in the town of Sutton, Coldfield County, Warwick, England. He reached Springfield settlement as early as 1644, and located in Masacksick, Longmeadow, Springfield, Massachusetts, but the exact date is unknown, as well as the name of the ship that brought him, although it is probable that he came on "Lion's Whelp" on one of her many trips between the two continents. He took the oath of allegiance in 1665, was made a freeman in 1669-71, and in 1677 was a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts. In 1670 he, with several others, was appointed commissioner to lay out lots, and organize and sell the lands in the new Plantation (of Suffield) by the General Court of Massachusetts. On March 20, 1672, the General Committee instructed Lieutenant Cooper and Quartermaster George Colton to lay out and establish the bounds of Suffield, while others were appointed to attend them during the performance of that duty. In 1722, fifty acres of land were laid out in Suffield, to the assigns of said George Colton, then deceased, for recognition of public services. Other honorable mention is made of him in the old records, showing that he was a respected and public-

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spirited member of his community. He was Quartermaster of the Hampshire County troops. He did important service in King Philip's War, and was selectman for seventeen years. In 1699 he was Deputy to General Court.

Quartermaster George Colton married (first), about 1644, Deborah Gardner, of Hartford, Connecticut, who died September 5, 1689. He married (second), March 1, 1692, widow Lydia (Wright) Lamb, daughter of Samuel Wright, who had been previously married three times. She married (first), October 25, 1654, Laurence Bliss; (second), October 31, 1678, John Norton; (third), January 7, 1688, John Lamb. She died February 18, 1699. Children of Quartermaster George and Deborah (Gardner) Colton: 1. Isaac, of whom further. 2. Ephraim, born April 9, 1648, died May 14, 1713; married (first), November 17, 1670, Mary Drake; (second), March 26, 1685, Esther Marshfield. 3. Mary, born September 22, 1649, died March 4, 1709; married, October 30, 1678, Samuel Barnard. 4. Captain Thomas, born May 1, 1651, died September 30, 1728; married (first), September 11, 1677, Sarah Griswold; (second), December 17, 1691, Hannah Bliss. 5. Sarah, born February 24, 1653, died July 11, 1689; married, October 30, 1678, Samuel Graves. 6. Deborah, born January 25, 1655, died November 26, 1753; married, December 28, 1676, Nathaniel Bliss. 7. Hepzibah, born January 7, 1657, died August 27, 1697; married, December 13, 1682, Captain Jonathan Wells. 8. John, born April 8, 1659, died February 3, 1727; married (first), February 19, 1684, Abigail Parsons; (second), September 2, 1690, Joanna Wolcott. 9. Benjamin, born May 26, 1661, died young.

(G. W. Colton: "George Colton and His Descendants," pp. 1, 3, 4. Charles H. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 113. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New England," Vol. I, p. 438. Farmer: "Genealogical Register of First Settlers of New England," p. 66. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXIII, p. 202. Bodge: "Soldiers in King Philip's War," p. 475. H. M. Burt: "The First Century of Springfield," Vol. II, p. 548.)

II. Isaac Colton, son of Quartermaster George and Deborah (Gardner) Colton, was born November 21, 1646, and died September 3, 1700. He, with two brothers, Ephraim and Thomas, took oath of allegiance, December 31, 1678. He was made freeman with brother John in 1690 and was selectman in 1699. Mary, his wife, was cap-

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tured by Indians on March 26, 1676, as she, with others, was going to meeting. She was badly wounded and left for dead, but recovered.

Isaac Colton married, June 30, 1670, Mary Cooper, daughter of Thomas Cooper, who was born October 15, 1651. She married (second), October 18, 1701, Edward Stebbins, as his second wife. She died August 30, 1742. Children: 1. Mary, born March 30, 1671, married Daniel Graves. 2. Sarah, born June 11, 1673, died July 9, 1689. 3. Captain George, of whom further. 4. Rebecca, born June 20, 1681, died June 20, 1770; married, February 29, 1700, Joseph Stebbins. 5. Deborah, born July 26, 1684; married, March 21, 1702. Daniel Morgan. 6. Daughter, born and died August 1, 1687. 7. Hannah, born August 8, 1688, died March 5, 1739; married, November 9, 1704, Benjamin Chapin. 8. Joseph, born April 20, 1693; married, May 5, 1705, Abilena Chapin. 9. Benjamin, born June 18, 1695, died May 6, 1770; married, February 16, 1721, Elizabeth Pynchon.

III. Captain George Colton, son of Isaac and Mary (Cooper) Colton, was born June 16, 1677, and died August 6, 1760. He married, February 3, 1704, Mary Hitchcock, daughter of Luke and Sarah Hitchcock. She died September 18, 1774. Children: 1. Timothy, born February 10, 1706, died May 27, 1787; married, March 27, 1729, Mary Ferry. 2. George, of whom further. 3. Mary, born in November, 1710; married, January 28, 1735, David Merrick. 4. Sarah, born February 22, 1713, died August 17, 1763; married, September 5, 1732. 5. Rebecca, born October 26, 1715; married, May 4, 1737, Ebenezer Bliss. 6. Elizabeth, born April 5, 1718; married, March 1, 1743, Ezekiel Lomis. 7. Isaac Cornet, born August 9, 1720; married (first) Elizabeth Colley; (second), November 19, 1745, Mercy Colton; (third) in 1762, Elizabeth Sears. He died August 20, 1800. 8. Miriam, born February 28, 1723; married, May 21, 1751, Nathan Hoar. 9. Jonathan, born March 11, 1726, died May 7, 1752.

(G. W. Colton: "George Colton and His Descendants," pp. 5-6, 13-14, 31. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXIII, pp. 202-03-04, and 416. Henry M. Burt: "The First Century of Springfield," Vol. I, p. 29; Vol. II, p. 548.)

IV. George Colton, son of George and Mary (Hitchcock) Colton, was born January 27, 1708, and died March 9, 1784. He married, May 1, 1731, Experience Burt, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary

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(Ferry) Burt, born October 21, 1703, and died September 22, 1772. Children: 1. Experience, born in 1732, died September 28, 1775; married, October 12, 1752, Daniel Burt. 2. Eunice, born in May, 1735, died October 15, 1763. 3. George, of whom further. 4. Mary, born March 24, 1744, died October 26, 1749. 5. Miriam, born in September, 1746, died November 13, 1831; married, July 2, 1767, Captain Ebenezer Colton.

V. George Colton, son of George and Experience (Burt) Colton, was born March 12, 1737. He removed to Vershire, Vermont, where he lived with his son Julius until his death, which occurred on December 30, 1817. He married (first), November 2, 1757, Sarah Colton, daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Burt) Colton. She died June 7, 1792. He married (second) Mrs. Eleanor (Cooley) Cane, daughter of Eli and Mary (Phips) Cooley, born May 20, 1762, and died December 20, 1844. Children, all by first wife: 1. Nathan, born October 26, 1758, died October 9, 1797; married, July 15, 1780, Anne Webber. 2. Rev. Abishai, born May 4, 1761, died January 12, 1823; married, May 20, 1792, Abigail Denison. 3. Julius, born March 4, 1763, died December 3, 1829; married, in November, 1789, Sibil Post. 4. Alpheus, born in December, 1765, died October 22, 1823; married, August 31, 1786, Lois Spencer. 5. Demas, of whom further. 6. Sarah, born June 14, 1770, died June 23, 1823, unmarried. 7. Experience, born November 30, 1773, died March 26, 1843; married, March 26, 1797, William Patterson.

(Ibid.)

VI. Demas Colton, son of George and Sarah (Colton) Colton, was born November 26, 1767. He kept an inn in Longmeadow, Massachusetts, for several years. After the death of his wife he removed to Upper Middletown, Connecticut, now Cromwell, where he died September 1, 1854.

Demas Colton married (first), February 6, 1789, Mary Woolworth, daughter of Richard and Lois (Colton) Woolworth. She died October 10, 1834. He married (second), February 14, 1836, Mrs. Lucretia Baines. She was born October 20, 1777, and died January 20, 1870. Children, all by first wife: 1. Laura, born September 15, 1789, died March 19, 1853; married, June 10, 1819, Daniel Burbanks. 2. Philenda, born September 4, 1791, died November 27,

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1813. 3. Col. George, of whom further. 4. Lois, born March 14, 1796, died September 9, 1873; married, as his second wife, Christopher R. Comstock. 5. Demas, born March 24, 1798, died June 25, 1874; married, November 2, 1824, Harriet Ann Johnson. 6. Joseph Hutchins, born July 5, 1800, died July 19, 1893; married Orilla C. Burnham. 7. Mary (Polly) Woolworth, born November 30, 1802, died October 14, 1838; married, December 28, 1826, Lathrop Olmstead. 8. Lester, born April 4, 1805, died June 16, 1834; married, March 18, 1833, Amelia Holmes. 9. Angeline, born May 31, 1809, died June 16, 1834; married, March 18, 1833, Amelia Holmes. 9. Angeline, born May 31, 1809, died July 25, 1858; married (first) a Mr. Tracy; (second), November 27, 1837, Elijah Wentworth. 10. Chauncey Goodrich, born July 3, 1811, died April 5, 1812.

(G. W. Colton: "George Colton and His Descendants," pp. 147-149. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXIV, pp. 34 and 265.)

VII. Colonel George Colton, son of Demas and Mary (Woolworth) Colton, was born September 29, 1793, and died September 5, 1839. He lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, where he was a leading citizen. He was commissioned Ensign in First Regiment, First Brigade, Fourth Division, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, May 17, 1814. He was a lieutenant, June 12, 1815; major, April 28, 1819, and lieutenant-colonel August 15, 1822. Colonel George Colton was selectman in Springfield, 1824 to 1830, and county treasurer from 1835-38.

Colonel George Colton married, September 11, 1816, Lucretia L. Hoyt, who died January 10, 1879. Children: 1. Lucretia Howe, born August 2, 1817, died June 9, 1893; married, September 29, 1836, Joseph C. Parsons. 2. George, of whom further. 3. John, born November 27, 1820, died February 21, 1875; married, July 31, 1842, Judith S. Kimball. 4. Josiah, born June 12, 1822, died August 23, 1824. 5. Mary, born April 16, 1824; married, July 24, 1856, Sheldon H. Walker. 6. Josiah, born January 18, 1826, died June 5, 1837. 7. Elizabeth, born September 20, 1827, died August 21, 1828.

(G. W. Colton: "George Colton and His Descendants," pp. 271-272. Mason A. Green: "Springfield, 1636-1886," pp. 395 and 409. C. W. Chapin: "Sketches of Old Inhabitants of Springfield," p. 148.)



Robyns
(Robins)

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VIII. George Colton, son of Col. George and Lucretia L. (Hoyt) Colton, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, November 7, 1818. He was druggist in Boston and for fifty-six years faithfully conducted that business. He was a conscientious Christian, even in everyday life, making it a rule never to sell anything in his store on Sunday except drugs and prescriptions.

George Colton married Mary Elizabeth Lombard. Children: 1. Mary Georgiana, born March 8, 1847. 2. Emma Howard, of whom further. 3. Clara Amelia, born September 10, 1853. 4. Frank Walter, born March 19, 1855; married, May 29, 1879, Estelle E. Garvin.

IX. Emma Howard Colton, daughter of George and Mary Elizabeth (Lombard) Colton, was born January 15, 1848. She married, January 30, 1871, Augustine Washington Esleeck. (Esleeck V.)

(The Robyns (Robins) Line)

Arms—Per pale sable and argent, two flaunches and three fleurs-de-lis in fesse all counterchanged.

Crest—Between two dolphins haurient respecting each other or, a fleur-de-lis per pale argent and sable. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Robbins is a very old and very frequently used surname in England. It is derived from the personal name Robin and is identical in derivation with Robinson, both being derived by the mediæval diminutive Robyn, a nickname of Robert, as in Robin Hood and Robin Goodfellow. Robin generally implies something of mischievous, and in the South of England, "what the Robin are you about?" and similar phrases are still in use. Birds, flowers and weeds soon took possession of the name, the ruddock giving way to Robin redbreast so completely as to cause the earlier name to be forgotten.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register." Cutter: "Genealogical and Family History of Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 166. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Nicholas Robbins (name so spelled) was the earliest progenitor of this branch of the family in America. He was one of the original proprietors of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, but never lived there. He was a shoemaker of Cambridge, where he owned land which he sold about 1638. He removed to Duxbury and purchased land October 4,

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1638. His will, dated December 9, 1650, gives his house to his wife, Ann, and mentions his children.

Nicholas Robbins married Ann.

(Lamb: "Biographical Dictionary," Vol. VI, p. 505, edited by J. H. Brown. N. Mitchell: "History of Bridgewater, Massachusetts," p. 286. C. H. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 387. "New England Register," Vol. IV, p. 319.)

Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Catherine. 3. Mary. 4. Hannah.

("Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," p. 1610.)

II. John Robbins, son of Nicholas and Ann Robbins, was of Duxbury in 1661, afterwards of Bridgewater. He was an invalid and became helpless. John Robbins married, December 14, 1665, Jehosobeth Jourdain. Child: 1. Jeduthan, of whom further.

III. Jeduthan Robbins, son John and Jehosobeth (Jourdain) Robbins, was born in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, January 11, 1667. The latter place was established as a township June 3, 1656, from a part of Duxbury and was called the New Plantation. In 1700 he sold his house and land to Samuel Kinsley. Jeduthan Robbins married, in 1694, Hannah Pratt. Children: 1. Jeduthan, Jr., born in 1694. 2. Esther, born in 1695. 3. John, born in 1696. 4. Nicholas, born in 1698; married Elizabeth Thomas. 5. Persis, born in 1699; married Jonathan Wood. 6. Hannah, born in 1702; married Barnabas Wood. 7. Elizabeth, born in 1708. 8. Mehitabel, born July 3, 1713. 9. Lemuel, of whom further. 10. Abigail, born October 26, 1718.

("Bridgewater Vital Records," Vol. 1, pp. 3. and 821. N. Mitchell: "History of Bridgewater, Massachusetts," p. 286. W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," p. 219. "Plymouth Vital Records to 1850," p. 172.)

IV. Lemuel Robins (name so spelled), son of Jeduthan and Hannah (Pratt) Robbins, was born in Plympton, Massachusetts, April 20, 1715, and died in 1786. He was of Plympton, but record of his residence is lost between the years 1737 and 1757. Lemuel Robins married, in Plympton, Massachusetts, November 15, 1737, Esther Dunham, who was born in 1720, and died in 1770, aged fifty years. (Dun-

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ham IV.) Children, only four recorded, although others were born at an earlier date: 1. John, baptized April 22, 1750. 2. Ephraim, of whom further. 3. Betty, baptized October 13, 1754. 4. Abigail, baptized August 21, 1757.

(“Family Records of Family of Ephraim Robins” (chart at Long Island Library). “Vital Records of Plympton, Massachusetts,” p. 379. “Vital Records of Sutton, Massachusetts,” p. 147.)

V. Ephraim Robins, son of Lemuel and Esther (Dunham) Robins, was born at Sutton, Massachusetts, March 7, 1752, and died at Hartford, Connecticut, June 30, 1829. Before 1772 he was of Windham, Connecticut, in 1776 he was of Mansfield, Connecticut, and in 1786 he was of Suffield, Connecticut. He devoted the early part of his life to commercial enterprise. When about forty years of age he suffered losses arising from extensive purchasing of land in Ohio. In 1798 he retired and removed to Hartford, Connecticut. In Trumbull's “History of Hartford County, Connecticut,” Vol. I, p. 401, appears the following: “Deacon Ephraim Robins supplied the pulpit at the First Baptist Church of Hartford after 1801.”

Ephraim Robins married Abigail Caulkins. (Caulkins VI.) Children: 1. Dianthe, born in Windham, Connecticut, May 28, 1772, and died May 29, 1772. 2. Dianthe, born in Windham, Connecticut, April 22, 1774. 3. Emilia, born in Mansfield, Connecticut, February 26, 1776; married Rev. S. S. Nelson, of Hartford. 4. Abigail, born in Mansfield, Connecticut, August 10, 1778; married Rev. William Collier. 5. Clarissa, born in Mansfield, Connecticut, May 26, 1780, died in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1801. 6. Sally, born in Mansfield, Connecticut, April 23, 1782; married Francis Wilby. 7. Ephraim, born in Mansfield, Connecticut, March 29, 1784. 8. Gurdon Caulkins, of whom further. 9. Joseph Skiffe, born in Suffield, Connecticut, May 22, 1789, died in 1790. 10. Joseph Skiffe, born in Suffield, Connecticut, February 16, 1791, died in 1815. 11. John Newton, born in Suffield, Connecticut, January 6, 1797.

(Lamb: “Biographical Dictionary,” Vol. VI, p. 505, edited by J. H. Brown. “Family Records of Ancestors of Ephraim Robins” (chart in Long Island Library). “New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. LXXIX, p. 166.)

VI. Gurdon Caulkins Robins, son of Ephraim and Abigail (Caulkins) Robbins, was born in Suffield, Connecticut. He was of Hart-

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ford, Connecticut, and later of East Windsor, Connecticut. Gurdon Caulkins Robins married, October 7, 1809, Julia Savage, daughter of Captain Timothy Savage, of Middletown, Connecticut. (Savage VI.) Children: 1. Julia Ann, born July 10, 1810. 2. Charles Dodd, born November 21, 1811. 3. Gurdon, born November 7, 1813. 4. Julia Savage, born January 11, 1816, of Brooklyn, New York. 5. Sarah Caroline, born May 3, 1818, of New York. 6. Harriet Chase, born September 28, 1820. 7. Ann Elizabeth, born October 31, 1822, of Hartford, Connecticut. 8. Marie Gertrude, born March 14, 1825, of Brooklyn, New York. 9. Henry Ephraim, of whom further. 10. Charles McAllester, born June 3, 1831.

(Lamb: "Biographical Dictionary of the United States," edited by J. H. Brown, Vol. VI, p. 505. "Family Records of Ephraim Robins" (chart in Long Island Library).

VII. Reverend Henry Ephraim Robins, son of Gurdon Caulkins and Julia (Savage) Robins, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, September 30, 1827. His education was received at the Literary Institute, Suffield, Connecticut, and at Newton Theological Seminary, where he was graduated in 1861; was ordained the same year. In 1862 he became pastor of Central Baptist Church, Newport, Rhode Island. In 1867 he took pastorate of the First Baptist Church, of Rochester, New York, and remained there until 1873, when he was called to the presidency of Colby University, Waterville, Maine. He administered affairs of college with success. In 1882 he was elected to the chair of Christian ethics in Rochester Theological Seminary. The honorary degree of D. D. was conferred on Mr. Robins by the University of Rochester in 1868, and that of LL. D. by Colby University in 1890. Dr. Robins was the author of "Harmony of Ethics with Theology" (1891); "The Christian Idea of Education, Distinguished from the Secular Idea of Education" (1896); "The Ethics of the Christian Life."

Henry Ephraim Robins married (first), August 11, 1864, Martha J. Bird. (Bird VIII.) He married (second), September 4, 1872, Margaret Richardson, daughter of Professor John F. and Catherine Elizabeth (Sayles) Richardson, of Rochester, New York. She died in 1873. He married (third), August 7, 1878, Cordelia Ewell, daughter of Handel Gershom and Lydia C. (Kingman) Nott, of New



Bird

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Haven, Connecticut. She died in 1888. Child by first wife: 1. Martha, of whom further.

(Appleton "Cyclopedia of American Biography." Lamb: "Biographical Dictionary," Vol. VI, p. 505, edited by J. H. Brown.)

VIII. Martha Robins, daughter of Henry Ephraim and Martha J. (Bird) Robins, married Augustine Washington Esleeck. (Esleeck V.)

(The Bird Line)

Arms—Quarterly argent and sable, in the first quarter an eagle displayed of the second.

Crest—On a dolphin proper an eagle or, wings expanded.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The surname Bird is considered by some to be derived from the nickname "the bird" applied to the earliest bearer probably because of his singing propensities; note the time-honored phrase "He sings like a bird." Another origin is that Bird is a corruption of the term "bert," meaning famous. Its more probable derivation is the old Norse *burdr*, Anglo-Saxon byrd-birth, which in ancient times had the same meaning as one modern phrase "a man of birth."

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Robert Ferguson: "The Teutonic Name System," p. 93.)

I. Thomas Bird, who died about 1660, was first known at Hartford in 1644. He came there ten years after its settlement and was proprietor of only a small homestead south of the city limits, and of a parcel of land of about fourteen acres constituting (as the records say) "an island in the great river over the landing." He may have removed with his sons to Farmington. Thomas Bird married Mary. Children: 1. Joseph, died in 1695. He had eight children, five sons and three daughters. 2. James, of whom further. 3. Hannah, married John North. 4. A son or daughter, married a Scott.

(Isaac Bird: "Genealogical Sketch of the Bird Family," pp. 5-13. D. S. Durrie: "The Steele Family," pp. 5-7-21.)

II. James Bird, son of Thomas and Mary Bird, died in 1708. He married, March 31, 1657, Lydia Steele, daughter of John and Rachel Steele, who came to Hartford, Connecticut, from England in 1631-32. Children: 1. James, died in 1708. 2. Thomas, of whom further. 3. Hannah, married Nathaniel Morgan, of Springfield. 4. Rebecca,

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married Samuel Lamb, of Springfield. 5. Lydia, married Pelatiah Morgan, of Springfield. 6. Mehitable, married Simon Newell. 7. Elizabeth, married Ebenezer Alvord.

(*Ibid*)

III. *Thomas (2) Bird*, son of James and Lydia (Steele) Bird, died in 1725. He lived in that part of Farmington, afterwards called Northington, now Avon, of "Shady Side" memory. He united with the church in 1691. Thomas Bird married (first), July 3, 1693, Mary Woodford. She died November 9, 1725. He married (second) Widow Sarah Smith, who died in 1737. Children: 1. Mary. 2. John. 3. Joseph, of whom further. 4. Jonathan. 5. Mary, married Abraham Goodwin, of Litchfield. 6. Rebecca, married Thomas Hart.

(*Ibid*)

IV. *Joseph Bird*, son of Thomas and Mary (Woodford) Bird, was born December 27, 1696, and died in 1754. He was among the first settlers and proprietors of Litchfield, also of Salisbury. He went to Litchfield in 1718-19, and removed to Salisbury in 1748. He was the first representative from Litchfield to the Legislature in May, 1740, and was also deputy in October, 1742, 1745, 1746, and 1749.

Joseph Bird married (first), in 1721, Dorcas Norton, daughter of John and Ruth (Moore) Norton, of Farmington. She died in 1750. (Norton III.) He married, in 1752, Widow Eldridge. Children: 1. James, of whom further. 2. Mary, born May 3, 1724; married (first) Dr. Peck; (second) Ariel Bradley, of Salisbury. 3. Thomas, born October 22, 1726. 4. Moore (twin), born March 21, 1729. 5. Isaac (twin), born March 21, 1729. 6. Ruth, born February 17, 1731. 7. Joseph (not mentioned in Woodruff's "Genealogical Register"). 8. Nathaniel, born August 9, 1735. 9. Amos, born May 13, 1741, died in Castleton, Vermont, in 1771. Child by second marriage: 10. A daughter, mentioned in Isaac Bird's "Genealogical Sketch of Bird Family," p. 21.

Isaac Bird: "Genealogical Sketch of the Bird Family," p. 6. R. R. Hinman: "Early Puritan Settlers of Connecticut," p. 225. G. C. Woodruff: "Genealogical Register of the Town of Litchfield," p. 29.)

V. *James (2) Bird*, son of Joseph and Dorcas (Norton) Bird, was born in Litchfield in 1722, and died in Salisbury, September 28,

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1794. He married, in 1750, Abigail Gridley, of Kensington, who died in 1815, aged eighty-four. Children: 1. Dorcas, married Colonel W. Lee, of Castleton, Vermont. 2. Thomas. 3. Isaac, of whom further. 4. Abigail, married D. McIntosh, of Castleton, Vermont. 5. Eunice, married (first) J. Lord; (second) Dr. W. Mather, of Torrington, Connecticut.

(Isaac Bird: "Genealogical Sketch of the Bird Family," pp. 7 and 22.)

VI. Isaac Bird, son of James and Abigail (Gridley) Bird, was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, January 16, 1757, died in Salisbury, January 16, 1829. He served in the Revolutionary War, enlisting as a private at the age of eighteen. He married, February 28, 1780, Rhoda Selleck, of Salisbury. Children: 1. Salome, married H. Covey, of Penfield, New York. 2. James, married Susan Danchy. 3. Abigail, married P. Wheeler, of Salisbury, Connecticut. 4. William. 5. Isaac, of whom further. 6. Henry. 7. Semanthe E., married C. Reed, of Bethany, Pennsylvania.

(Isaac Bird: "Genealogical Sketch of the Bird Family," pp. 2, 8, and 23. "Daughters of the American Revolution Lineage," Vol. LI, p. 314, No. 50699.)

VII. Reverend Isaac Bird, son of Isaac and Rhoda (Selleck) Bird, was born June 19, 1793. He was a graduate of Yale College in 1816. Rev. Isaac Bird read theology at Andover in 1817, and afterwards attended two courses of medical lectures at Boston and New Haven. He left soon after his marriage, in 1822, for Syria to serve as a missionary in that country. His service was chiefly at Beirut, at which place he gave of his best for fourteen years. During this time he visited Mount Lebanon, Jerusalem, Malta, Smyrna, Tripoli, and Tunis. He became well versed in Italian, Arabic, Syriac, and French, being particularly proficient in the first two mentioned. On his return to America in 1836 he became agent for the American Board, then instructor of Theology in Gilmanton Seminary, then instructor of Sacred Literature in 1844.

Rev. Isaac Bird married, in New Hampshire, November 18, 1822, Ann Parker, of Dunbarton. (Parker VII.) Children: 1. William, born on Island of Malta, in August, 1823, graduated Dartmouth College, in 1844; married Sarah F. Gordon, of Exeter, New Hampshire,

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and resided in Beirut, Syria. 2. Emily A., married Rev. H. J. Van Lennep, of Constantinople. She was born in Beirut, Syria, in 1825. 3. James, born in Beirut, in 1826; married Elise Goodell, daughter of Rev. William Goodell, missionary to Beirut. 4. Martha J., of whom further. 5. Henry P. 6. Henry P., 2d. 7. Mary E., born in Smyrna. 9. Ellen, died in infancy. 10. George B. W., died in infancy.

(Isaac Bird: "Genealogical Sketch of the Bird Family," pp. 10, 11, and 23. R. R. Hinman: "Early Settlers of Connecticut," pp. 223, 225.)

VIII. Martha J. Bird, daughter of Rev. Isaac and Ann (Parker) Bird, was born in Malta, Mediterranean Sea, and died in 1867. She married Henry E. Robins. (Robins VII.)

(The Calkin [Caulkins] Line)

Arms—Argent, a pale gules.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

It seems apparent that Caulkin is most probably one of that large class of surnames derived from occupation, that of a caulker being a most necessary or important one. Variations of the surname are Caulkins, Calkins, Calkin, Cawkin, Calkings, Cauken, Cauking, Cawlkings, Corkins.

(James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New England." "New England Historical and Genealogical Register Index," Vol. IV, p. 7.)

I. Hugh Caulkins, born in 1600, is believed to have been a Welshman, and came to New England with the Rev. Richard Blinman, settling first, in 1640, at Marshfield, Massachusetts. He removed, in 1640, to Lynn for a short season and was selected freeman, December 27, 1642; selectman, 1643-48; representative, 1650-52. He removed to New London, Connecticut, and then to Norwich, Connecticut. At Norwich he was the first deacon on organizing the church. Hugh Caulkins died at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1690. He married Ann. Children: 1. Sarah, married, October 28, 1645, William Hough. 2. Mary, married, November 8, 1649, Hugh Roberts. 3. John, of whom further. 4. David, married Mary Bliss. 5. Deborah, born March 18, 1645; married, in 1660, Jonathan Rayce, of Saybrook, Connecticut. 6. Rebecca, died March 14, 1651.

(J. O. Hodge: "Hodge Genealogy," p. 389.)

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II. John Caulkins, son of Hugh and Ann Caulkins, was born in England about 1633, and died in Norwich, Connecticut, January 8, 1703. He came with his father to New England. He became one of the first proprietors of Norwich, Connecticut, and was a representative to the General Court for eleven sessions.

John Caulkins married, in 1658, Sarah Royce, daughter of Robert Royce, who died in May, 1711. Children: 1. Hugh, born in June, 1659; married (first), in May, 1689, Sarah Sluman, daughter of Robert Sluman; (second) Lois Standish. 2. John, born in July, 1661; married, October 23, 1690, Abigail Birchard, daughter of John Birchard. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. Sarah, born in June, 1666; married, in 1684, Thomas Baldwin. 5. Daniel, born in 1667, died early. 6. Mary, born in May, 1669; married Samuel Gifford. 7. Elizabeth, born in April, 1673; married Samuel Hyde. 8. Ann, born August 16, 1678; married (probably) Samuel Burchard.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 390-91. F. M. Caulkins: "History of Norwich, Connecticut," p. 162.)

III. Samuel Caulkins, son of John and Sarah (Royce) Caulkins, was born in October, 1663, and died in 1720. He was a mariner and resided first in Norwich, Connecticut, where three children were born, and then in Lebanon, Connecticut, to which place he moved about 1697, and where he died.

Samuel Caulkins married, in November, 1691, Hannah Gifford, born January 17, 1671, daughter of Stephen Gifford. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Hannah, born in 1694. 3. Ruth, born in 1695. 4. Samuel, born in 1699. 5. Nathaniel, born in 1703, died early. 6. Stephen, born in 1706. 7. Nathaniel, born in 1710. 8. Aquila, born in 1711, died in 1720.

(J. O. Hodge: "Hodge Genealogy," pp. 390-91; Jas. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. I, p. 350.)

IV. John Caulkins, son of Samuel and Hannah (Gifford) Caulkins, like his father, was a mariner and resided at Lebanon, Connecticut. He married (first), November 5, 1719, Catherine Foster, born August 21, 1696. He married (second), June 20, 1743, Elizabeth Curtis. Children: 1. Daniel (twin), born April 4, 1724. 2. Solomon (twin), of whom further. 3. Hannah, born May 26, 1726. 4.

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Ezekiel, born November 4, 1728. 5. Israel, born June 4, 1731. 6. Elizabeth, born September 14, 1733. 7. Simeon, born June 10, 1736.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Solomon Caulkins, son of John and Catherine (Foster) Caulkins, was born April 4, 1724. He married Abigail Skiff. (Skiff IV.) They had seven children, the eldest Abigail, of whom further.

VI. Abigail Caulkins, daughter of Solomon and Abigail (Skiff) Caulkins, married Ephraim Robins. (Robins V.)

(The Skiff Line)

None of the authorities on British surnames list the name Skiffe, although in the United States the forms Sciff, Skiff, Skeff, Skiffe, and Skift, are to be found. Whether the name has undergone a change is a matter of conjecture, possibly losing a final syllable or two as Skeffington is to be found. However, this supposition lacks definite proof.

("General Census," 1790, p. 262.)

I. James Skiff was of Kent, England. He died after 1688 (at which date he is known to have been living). He came from London, England, and is recorded as proprietor of Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1637. Lynn was a grant from old Plymouth Colony and began to be settled in 1629. It was incorporated in 1630.

James Skiff, yeoman of Plymouth, received five acres of land for services done to Isaac Allerton, and bought five more acres from Peter Talbot, August 22, 1636. On January 1, 1637, James Skiffe sold his house and land. He then removed to Sandwich, Massachusetts, where lands were granted to him in 1641. He was made freeman June 5, 1644. In 1659 James Skiff, town deputy from Sandwich, was rejected by the General Court for his toleration of Quakers. He was a man of culture and of decidedly broad views for his time. One of the leading men of Sandwich, he served as selectman, excise man, and constable. He was deputy to the General Court and served as member of the governor's council.

James Skiff married Mary Reeves, who died September 21, 1673.

("American Ancestry," Vol. II, p. 155. F. L. Pierson: "Descendants of James Skiff," p. 3. R. H. Tilley: "Magazine of New England History," Vol. II, p. 185.)

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Children: 1. James, Jr., born September 12, 1638, died in Sandwich; married (first) Elizabeth Tabor; (second) Sarah Barnard, daughter of Robert Barnard, of Roxbury. 2. Stephen, born April 14, 1641; married Lydia. 3. Nathaniel, of whom further. 4. Samuel, born October 12, 1646. 5. Bathsheba, born April 26, 1648; married, in 1666, Shearjashub Bourne. 6. Mary, born March 25, 1650. 7. Miriam, born March 25, 1652. 8. Patience, born March 25, 1653; married, October 26, 1675, Elisha Bourne. 9. Benjamin, born November 14, 1655; married, February 20, 1680, Hannah Merry. 10. Nathan, born May 16, 1658; married (first), about July 10, 1680, Hepsibah Codman, daughter of Robert Codman, of Edgartown; (second), December 13, 1699, Mercy Chipman, daughter of John Chipman, of Barnstable. 11. Elizabeth, buried at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, June 25, 1676.

("American Ancestry," Vol. II, p. 115. F. L. Pierson: "Descendants of James Skiff," pp. 3-4.)

II. Nathaniel Skiff, son of James and Mary (Reeves) Skiff, was born, probably, at Sandwich, Massachusetts, March 20, 1645, and died at Windham, Connecticut, April 24, 1723. He was deeded lands in Sandwich by his father, February 27, 1671. In 1677 he was one of several who were assigned land at Woods Hole, Little Harbor, Massachusetts. These strips of lands were fronting on the "Great Harbor," were seven rods in width and extended back to the south end of Little Neck.

(F. L. Pierson: "Descendants of James Skiff," p. 13. C. H. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 417. F. Freeman: "Annals of Cape Cod," Vol. II, p. 427.)

Nathaniel Skiff married (first), February 1, 1668, Mary Chipman, daughter of John Chipman, of Barnstable. He married (second) Ruth West, born in 1651, daughter of Francis and Margery (Reeves) West. Ruth (West) Skiff died December 31, 1741, aged ninety. Children, exact order of birth not certain: 1. Sarah. 2. Abigail. 3. Hannah, died August 22, 1775, aged eighty-three. 4. Nathaniel, Jr., of whom further.

(F. L. Pierson: "Descendants of James Skiff," p. 4. "New England Register," Vol. LX, p. 142.)

III. Nathaniel Skiff, Jr., son of Nathaniel and Ruth (West) Skiff, was born in 1693, and died March 23, 1761, aged sixty-eight

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years. He was a deacon of the first church of Windham, Connecticut. An attempt was made in 1726 to utilize the unused water power of the Willimantic River. Certain men organized a company for manufacturing iron and bought an "iron mine" of Deacon Nathaniel Skiff in the town of Mansfield, agreeing to pay two shillings, six pence a ton, if three tons of ore made one ton of iron, etc. Among the Deputies to the General Court from Windham between 1746-60 was Nathaniel Skiff.

(F. L. Pierson: "Descendants of James Skiff," p. 6. E. D. Larned: "History of Windham, Connecticut," Vol. I, pp. 101 and 555; Vol. II, pp. 54 and 227.)

Nathaniel Skiff, Jr., married, April 24, 1716, Hannah Carey. She died in Windham, August 22, 1775. Children: 1. Ruth, born March 31, 1718, died December 3, 1784. 2. Joseph, born March 20, 1719-1720, died, unmarried, in 1813, aged ninety-four. 3. Jemima, born May 25, 1722, died January 29, 1786. 4. Hannah, born April 14, 1725, died September 14, 1737. 5. Abigail, of whom further. 6. Elizabeth, born November 27, 1729. 7. Zurviah, born January 13, 1733-34.

(F. L. Pierson: "Descendants of James Skiff," p. 6.)

IV. Abigail Skiff, daughter of Nathaniel, Jr., and Hannah (Carey) Skiff, was born October 16, 1727, and died in 1807. She married Solomon Caulkins. (Caulkins V.)

(The Parker Line)

Arms—Gules a chevron between three leopards' faces or.

Crest—A leopard's head affrontée erased, or, ducally gorged gules.

Motto—Dare to be true. (W. T. Parker: "Gleanings from Parker Records.")

The name Parker comes to us from the occupation of "parker," or keeper of forests and preserves. When nobles and kings were able to own unlimited stretches of forest land for game, the position of forester or parker was a highly honorable and lucrative profession. Head foresters had an army of game keepers under their control. They watched over the condition of the game, supervised the living conditions of the forester, charcoal burners, and woodcutters, and indeed, ran a forest kingdom. Invasions were not uncommon; the stories of Robin Hood are of one outlaw who became a hero. There were many such bands of outlaws, some doubtless chivalrous and ill-used, but others criminal and highwaymen.

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As early as 900-25, in the reign of Edward I, a Geoffrey Parker is mentioned, even before the common use of surnames in England. In 1273 we find a John Parcar, of Dorset, and Adam le Parker, of Norfolk, about the same time, as well as a Peter de Parker in Yorkshire.

In England the family appeared in many counties: Derby, Staffs, Essex, Lincoln, Suffolk, Warwick, Devon, Gloucester, Kent, Surrey, York, Salop, Cornwall, Lancaster, and also in Ireland. The name is variously spelled Parkeere, Parcar, Parkre, and Parker. In America it is sometimes found under the spelling Perker, and there has no doubt been confusion with the name Packer. Anciently, it is certain the name was spelled le Parker.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." American Historical Society: "American Biography," Vol. XXV, p. 166.)

(The Family in America)

I. Abraham Parker was born in Marlborough, Wiltshire, England, about 1612, and died in Chelmsford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, August 12, 1685. He was one of five brothers, James, Joseph, John, and Jacob being the other four, all early settlers in New England. A cousin, Thomas Parker, was also among the early settlers. Abraham Parker settled at Woburn, Massachusetts, and later, in 1653, was a resident of Chelmsford, where he remained until his death. He was made a freeman in 1645, and on September 29, 1662, twenty-four acres were set off for him. He held various minor town offices, and his name appears on a petition in church affairs.

Abraham Parker married, in Woburn, Massachusetts, November 18, 1644, Rose Whitlock, who died November 30, 1691. Children, first four born in Woburn, others in Chelmsford: 1. Ann, or Hannah, born October 29, 1645; married, January 16, 1679, Nathaniel Blood. 2. John, born October 30, 1647, died April 14, 1699; married, June 4, 1678, Mary Danforth. 3. Abraham, born March 8, 1650, died October 20, 1651. 4. Abraham, of whom further. 5. Mary, born November 15, 1655; married, December 11, 1678, her cousin, James Parker. 6. Moses, born about 1657, died October 12, 1732; married, June 19, 1684, Abigail Hildreth. 7. Isaac, born September 13, 1660, died February 22, 1688-89; married Esther Fletcher. 8. Elizabeth, born April 10, 1663, died March 5, 1688; married James Pierce, of Woburn, Massachusetts. 9. Lydia, born February 17, 1665; married,

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December 3, 1684, John Kidder, of Chelmsford. 10. Jacob, born March 24, 1669, probably died young.

(W. T. Parker: "Gleanings from Parker Records." T. Parker: "Parker Genealogy." A. G. Parker: "Parker in America," pp. 530, 531. W. T. Parker: "Genealogy of William Thornton Parker," p. 2. D. B. Cutter: "History of Jaffrey, New Hampshire," p. 413. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVI, p. 41.)

II. Ensign Abraham (2) Parker, son of Abraham and Rose (Whitlock) Parker, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, in August, 1652, baptized in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, February 1, 1656, and died in Bradford, Massachusetts, October 13, 1732. He left Chelmsford, where he had been taken by his parents when about three years of age, and settled in Bradford in 1701. He was known as Ensign Abraham Parker. He married, in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, July 15, 1682, Martha Livermore, died October 26, 1740, in her eighty-fourth year, daughter of John and Grace Livermore, of Watertown, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Abraham, of whom further. 2. Daniel, born July 15, 1683; married, in Newbury, November 26, 1713, Sarah Morse. 3. A daughter, born July 3, 1687. 4. Lydia, born July 11, 1691; married, September 27, 1719, Henry Blaisdell. 5. Grace, born May 27, 1693, died in Chester, New Hampshire, October 16, 1755; married, June 3, 1714, Captain Abel Morse, of Bedford, New Hampshire. 6. Samuel, born April 13, 1700, died April 29, 1700.

("Vital Records of Chelmsford, Massachusetts," p. 105. "Vital Records of Bradford, Massachusetts." Clippings from the Boston "Evening Transcript." A. G. Parker: "Parker in America," pp. 530-31.)

III. Abraham (3) Parker, son of Ensign Abraham and Martha (Livermore) Parker, was born about 1686, and died February 12 or 14, 1762, in his seventy-seventh year. Lieutenant Abraham Parker and his wife are on record as having been admitted to the church at Bradford, Massachusetts, on April 23, 1710. They were among the one hundred and one members who were dismissed from the mother church to form its first colony, that of the East Precinct in Bradford, now the church at Groveland, Massachusetts, incorporated by this group, June 17, 1726.

Abraham Parker married, probably before 1710, Elizabeth Bradstreet. Children, all born in Bradford, Massachusetts: 1. Elizabeth,

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born March 18, 1716; married, July 17, 1730, Job Tyler, of Boxford, Massachusetts. 2. Nathaniel, born September 13, 1717; married, in Newbury, November 25, 1739, Rachel Sargent. 3. Abraham, of whom further. 4. Hannah, born May 23, 1723; married, September 3, 1741, Daniel Thurston. 5. Abigail, baptized June 30, 1728, probably died July 8, 1728. 6. Bradstreet, born July 13, 1729; married, November 1, 1759, Rebecca Balch.

(“Vital Records of Bradford, Massachusetts,” pp. 126-27, 128, 351. Parker: “Parker in America,” p. 531. W. T. Parker: “Genealogy of William T. Parker,” p. 4.)

IV. Abraham (4) Parker, son of Abraham (3) and Elizabeth (Bradstreet) Parker, was born in Bradford, Massachusetts, December 4, 1719, and died there, December 2, 1795. He married (first), in Newbury, New Hampshire, December 14, 1738, Hannah Chase, who died December 18, 1744, aged twenty-four; he married (second), February 17, 1745-46, Hannah Harten, who died August 2, 1762. (Note: According to a clipping from the “Boston Transcript,” Hannah “Harten” was Hannah (Becket) Hathorne, widow of Joseph Hathorne, whom she married, February 20, 1743, and who must have died soon after.) Abraham Parker married (third), November 10, 1763, Susanna Greenough. Children of first marriage, born in Bradford: 1. Mary, born December 9, 1739; married, January 8, 1760, Thomas Carlton, Jr. 2. Betty, born October 8, 1741; married, January 5, 1758, Stephen Danforth. 3. Chase, born February 25, 1742-1743. 4. Nathaniel, born December 9, 1744; married, March 29, 1768, Judith Hopkinson. Children of second marriage: 5. Retvie Hathorne, born December 12, 1746; married, May 19, 1768, Ednah Hardy. 6. William, of whom further. 7. Hannah, born December 18, 1750; married, February 3, 1788, Stephen Burbank. 8. Sarah, born August 12, 1753. 9. Free Groves, born April 17, 1755; married, June 3, 1818, Mrs. Betsey Carleton, widow. Children of third marriage: 10. Rachel, born May 13, 1767; married, February 5, 1790, William Latham. 11. Alice, born August 1, 1769; married, June 21, 1787, Nathaniel Mitchell. 12. Abigail, born February 1, 1774; married, October 14, 1802, Day Mitchell. 13. Judah, baptized July 11, 1779. Two other children are on record as having died April 15, 1752, and September 15, 1772, respectively.

(“Vital Records of Bradford, Massachusetts,” pp. 126, 129, 130, 131, 253, 348, 349.)

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V. William Parker, son of Abraham (4) and Hannah (Becket-Hathorne) Parker, was born in Bradford, Massachusetts, January 10, 1748-49, and died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, probably, November 26, 1842, aged ninety-five years. He married, November 21, 1771, Hannah Hardy, died May 11, 1830, aged eighty. This family may also have been of Newbury, New Hampshire. Children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Anna, born May 11, 1775. 3. Hannah, born June 24, 1778; married, October 15, 1800, Daniel Kimball. 4. John, born August 29, 1781; married, March 22, 1803, Hannah Spofford. 5. Susanna, born September 6, 1788; married, June 15, 1808, John Pemberton. 6. Judith, born June 6, 1791; married, November 18, 1807, Thomas Morse. 7. Leonard Stickney, born December 8, 179— 8. Eliphalet, born September 26, 1795.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Captain William Parker, son of William and Hannah (Hardy) Parker, was born in Bradford, Massachusetts, January 9, 1773. At some period of his life he may have lived at Dunbarton, New Hampshire, though we have no definite record to that effect. It is probable that his family were in the vicinity of Newbury, New Hampshire. He married (first), April 21, 1796, Anna Stickney, died December 19, 1796, aged twenty-two; (second), in Bradford, in April, 1798, Martha Tenney. He married (third), November 7, 1815, Abigail Hopkinson. Children of second marriage: 1. Ann, of whom further. 2. Emily, born September 5, 1800. 3. William, born September 8, 1802. 4. Martha, born January 23, 1804.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Ann Parker, daughter of Captain William and Martha (Tenney) Parker, was born in East Bradford, Massachusetts, January 18, 1799. She married, in Dunbarton, New Hampshire, November 18, 1822, Rev. Isaac Bird. (Bird VII.)

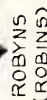
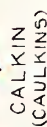
(The Norton Line)

Arms—Gules, a fret argent; a bend vair over all.

Crest—A griffin, sejant, proper, winged gules, beak and forelegs or.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

The name of Norton is of ancient origin, and the many distinct families in America bearing it are undoubtedly descended from the same source. Their lineage can be traced back to le Signr de Noruile

[illegible]

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(Norville), who crossed the Channel with the Norman Conqueror and subsequently served as the latter's constable. This de Norville married a lady of the famous house of Valois. Dr. Norton, of London, England, has done considerable research in an effort to discover the earliest origin of the family, and finds it first in Norway, whence came a large portion of the inhabitants of Normandy, France, the original home of William the Conqueror. In Norway it appeared in its present form, but the influence of the French language changed it somewhat, so that it became Nordville and Norville. A few generations after its arrival in England it was changed to the original form of Norton. The senior William D. Norville was chamberlain of William the Conqueror at the time of the Conquest. A descendant of Cantable de Norville in the sixth generation Anglicized the name so that it then became Norton, which is its present form. Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Harvard University, is a lineal descendant of the constable in the twenty-first generation. In addition to Norton Street, a prominent London thoroughfare, there are in England several important rural communities of this name—Chipping Norton, Sedley Norton, King's Norton, and Philip's Norton, all of ancient origin and doubtless deriving their name from some prominent family or individual. Several immigrants of this name are mentioned in the early Colonial records of New England—Captain Walter Norton, arrived in America in 1630; George Norton, of Salem, Ipswich, and other places, came from London, was made a freeman in 1634, and died in 1659.

The name in America is closely related to the history of the church, and to educational interests from Colonial times to the present.

(E. T. Nash: "Puritan Ancestors," pp. 64-67. Cutter: "New England Genealogy," Vol. I.)

The ancestral line of John Norton, of Branford, Connecticut, is as follows:

(I) *Le Sieur de Norville* came into England in 1066. He married into the family of Valois. He was the father of

(II) *Sieur de Norville*, who married into the family of Barr. He was the father of

(III) *Sieur de Norville*, who married into the family of Dalba Monte. He had

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(IV) *Sieur de Norville*, who married Actina, daughter of De Witt of Rugby. They had

(V) *Sieur de Norville*, who married Joricia, daughter of Daunpre. He was the father of

(VI) *Sieur de Norville*, *alias* Norton, who married the daughter of Sir John Hedoroke. They were the parents of

(VII) *Sieur de Norton*, *alias* Norville, married the daughter of Mr. Bassington. He had

(VIII) *Sir John Norton*, *alias* Norville, married Annie, daughter of Lord Grey, of Ruthm. They had

(IX) *John Norton*, of Sharpenhaw, Bedfordshire. He had

(X) *John Norton*, of Sharpenhaw, married (second) Jane Cooper, daughter of John Cooper. Children. 1. William. 2. Alice, married (first) a Goodrich; married (second) Thomas Deacon. 3. John, married (first) Miss Preston; married (second) Miss Spyon. 4. Robert. 5. Richard, of whom further.

(XI) *Richard Norton*, son of John and Jane (Cooper) Norton, married Margery Wingar, of Sharpenhaw. Among their children was William, of whom further.

(XII) *William Norton*, son of Richard and Margery (Wingar) Norton, married (first) Margaret Harris (or Harnesne); married (second) Dennis Chitsmby (or Chelmsbey). Children of first marriage: 1. William, married Alice Brewster. Children of second marriage: 2. Thomas, born in England in 1582, died in Guilford, Connecticut, in August, 1648; married Grace. 3. Richard, of whom further. 4. Hugh. 5. Daniel. 6. Phebe. 7. John. 8. Elizabeth. 9. Francis, died in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1667; came to New Hampshire, in 1630.

(XIII) *Richard Norton*, son of William and Dennis (Chitsmby, or Chelmsbey) Norton, married Ellen Rowley, daughter of Thomas Rowley. Children: 1. Luke. 2. Richard. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Ellen. 5. Dorothy.

(E. T. Nash: "Fifty Puritan Ancestors," pp. 64, 65, 66.)

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(The Family in America)

I. John Norton, immigrant ancestor, son of Richard and Ellen (Rowley) Norton, was born in England, probably in London, in 1622 or 1625, and died in Farmington, Connecticut, November 5, 1708-09. The date of his emigration to America is not known. His name is first mentioned on the records of the colony of Branford, where he was a landed proprietor, July 7, 1646. In 1659 John Norton removed from Branford to Hartford, and on September 29 of that year he made a purchase of several pieces of land and "housing." He was made a freeman at Hartford, May 21, 1664. John Norton was interested in the establishment of a colony at Tunxis, which later became Farmington, and was one of the proprietors of the town. He joined the church at Farmington in October, 1661. He was one of the largest landholders there, a man of considerable wealth according to the standards of the period. All his extensive holdings in Farmington descended to his heirs.

John Norton married (first) Dorothy, who died in Branford, January 24, 1652. He married (second) Elizabeth, who died November 6, 1657. He married (third) Elizabeth Clark, who died November 8, 1702. Children, of first marriage: 1. Elizabeth, born in 1645; married, November 24, 1668, John Plumb, of Milford, Connecticut. 2. Hannah, born in 1646 or 1647; married, January 3, 1666, Samuel North. 3. Dorothy, born in Branford, March 1, 1649. 4. John, born May 24, 1650, died January 15, 1657. Children of second marriage: 5. John, of whom further. 6. Samuel, baptized in Farmington, Connecticut, May 30, 1659, died August 20, 1659. 7. Thomas, born in 1660, died in 1729; married, June 7, 1700, Hannah Rose.

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New-England," Vol. III, p. 292. Andrews: "Memorial History of New Britain, Connecticut," p. 287. E. T. Nash: "Fifty Puritan Ancestors," p. 66.)

II. John Norton, son of John and Elizabeth Norton, was born in Branford, Connecticut, October 14, 1657, baptized in October, 1661, and died April 25, 1725. He was a man of considerable prominence in the early Colony, and was deputy to the General Court from Farmington, in 1680-81-82. He married, in Farmington, Ruth Moore, born January 5, 1657, daughter of Isaac and Ruth (Stanley) Moore; she and their son Thomas were administrators of John Norton's estate.

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Children: 1. John, baptized April 6, 1684. 2. Mary, baptized November 21, 1686. 3. Sarah, baptized March 31 or April, 1689. 4. Hannah, baptized May 15, 1692. 5. Dorcas, of whom further. 6. (Probably) Ruth, married Thomas Seymour.

(I. Bird: "Genealogical Sketch of Bird Family," p. 292. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New England," Vol. III, pp. 227-228. Andrews: "Memorial History of New Britain, Connecticut," p. 287. C. Selleck: "Norwalk," p. 402.)

III. Dorcas Norton, daughter of John and Ruth (Moore) Norton, was baptized January 20, 1694-95, and died October 28, 1750. She married, in 1721, Joseph Bird. (Bird IV.)

(R. Hinman: "Early Settlers of Connecticut," p. 224. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XII, p. 327. "Historical Collection of Salisbury Association," Vol. I, p. 34. I. Bird: "Genealogical Sketch of Bird Family," p. 21.)

(The Savage Line)

Arms—Argent, six lions rampant sable.

Crest—Out of a ducal crown or, a lion's gamb erect sable.

(Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book.")

The patronymic Savage is classified as a nickname and during the early days pertained to those whose personal characteristics gave rise to the name. This usage is explained by the eminent authority, Bardsley, as follows: "It is curious that Wild and Savage should be so popular as soubriquets, but fierceness was fascinating." Both Wild and Savage became very popular during the surname period. The spellings of the name "Savage" are various. Honorable R. R. Hinman, long Secretary of State in Connecticut, and well informed as to the early settlers, says: "Savage, Savidge, Savadge, John of Middletown (our ancestor) was made free at Hartford, 18 May 1654." His will is signed "John Saudig," though in the declaration with which that instrument opens, it is written "Sauedg." The same uncertainty as to spelling exists elsewhere. In France, at Bayeux, Normandy, and at Poitiers, "Sauvage" prevails, and in Canada the French spelling is followed. In the seventeenth century the name applied to members of the Massachusetts family. In the public records of that Colony were written Savadge, Savidge, Savige, and Sauage as well as Savage.

Of the ancient and noble family of Savage, or as the Normans wrote it, Le Sauvage, the first two who came into these kingdoms passed from Normandy into England with the army of the Conqueror,

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A. D. 1066, and settled in Derbyshire. From Derbyshire the Savage family branched out into several English counties, and from Derbyshire, in 1177, they established themselves in Ireland in the person of William Savage, one of the twenty-two knights who fought De Courcy in the subjugation of the Ulster Palatine Barons.

In England the Savages became the owners of extensive estate, held high offices, contracted noble alliance, distinguished themselves at decisive political conjunctives, amassed great wealth, attached themselves to successive monarchs, were advanced to various dignities, and the Viscounts Savage and Earl Rivers transmitted royal blood to their descendants. The family contributed their share of illustrious men to the State, to arms, to the church, to literature.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," "Americana," American Historical Society, Vol. XX, pp. 146-47.)

I. John Savage, immigrant ancestor, probably came from England to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and thence removed to Hartford (then known by the Indian name Mattabesett or Mattabesack), where he first appears on the court records in 1652. He was made freeman, May 18, 1654. In 1674 he possessed 1,207 acres of land, and his name is seventh on the list of members who organized, September 14, 1668, the First Congregational Church of Middletown.

He was one of the townsmen of Middletown, in 1657, and held the military rank of sergeant, as appears by "An inventory of the Estate of Sarg'nt John Saudig, deceased March 6, 1684-5," filed with Hartford Probate records, where his will may also be found. John left an estate of eight hundred and five acres and property valued at £480 15s.

John Savage married, February 10, 1652, Elizabeth Dubbin. The record of this marriage appears in the Hartford (Connecticut) records as follows: "John Savage of Hartford was married to Elizabeth Dubbin ye tenth day of febrree; one thousand six hundred and fifty-two." Children: 1. John, born December 2, 1652. 2. Elizabeth, born June 3, 1655, died January 30, 1742; married, March 28, 1678, Deacon Nathaniel White, son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth White, of Middletown, Connecticut, and lived at Hadley, Massachusetts. 3. Sarah, born July 30, 1657; married, March 28, 1678, Israel Wilcox. 4. Thomas, born September 10, 1659, died in December of that same year. 5. Hannah, born April 6, 1661, died in May of same year. 6. Mary, born June 25, 1663; married, in April, 1686, John Whitmore.

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7. Abigail, born July 10, 1666; married, April 14, 1687, Edward Shepard. 8. William, of whom further. 9. Nathaniel, born May 7, 1671. 10. Rachel, born April 15, 1673; married John Spinning. 11. Hannah.

(Chart of "John Savage of Middletown and His Descendants." "The Ancient and Noble Family of the Savages of the Ards," George Francis Savage-Armstrong.)

II. William Savage, son of John and Elizabeth (Dubbin) Savage, was born in Middletown Upper Houses, Connecticut, April 26, 1668, and died there January 25, 1726-27. He was buried in the old cemetery and his tombstone was still standing in 1908. He was a deacon in 1716, captain of the North Company the same year, and deputy to the General Assembly in 1715-26. William Savage married (first), May 6, 1696, Christian Mould, born in 1677, died October 16, 1719, daughter of Hugh and Martha (Coit) Mould, of New London, Connecticut. He married (second), in November, 1726, Mrs. Elizabeth (Whitmore) Clark, widow of Daniel Clark. She married (third) a Mr. Williams, and died January 31, 1743. Children of first marriage: 1. Martha, born June 10, 1697; married (first) Jacob White, and (second) Jonathan Riley; (third) Captain Samuel Parker. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Christian, born May 7, 1702; married, January 10, 1732-33, Lieutenant Samuel Shepard, as his second wife. 4. Hannah, born November 21, 1704; married William Savage, probably her cousin. 5. Joseph, born September 21, 1711; married (first), January 11, 1732-33, Mary Whitmore, and (second), October 14, 1736, Mrs. Prudence Stow.

(Adams: "Middletown Upper Houses," pp. 640-42.)

III. William Savage, son of William and Christian (Mould) Savage, was born in Middletown Upper Houses, Connecticut, September 18, 1699, and died there, April 15, 1774. He was a deacon of the church. He married, June 2 or 26, 1726, Sarah Savage, born in September, 1700, and died August 10, 1780, daughter of John and Mary (Rannay) Savage. They were first cousins. Children, of whom we have record: 1. William, married Martha Gibson. 2. Elisha, born December 9, 1728; married, May 6, 1755, Thankful Johnson. 3. Jonathan, born July 12, 1731; married Elizabeth Rannay. 4. Amos, born September 25, 1733; married, June 2, 1757, Sarah Montague.

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5. Josiah, of whom further. 6. Stephen, born October 26, 1737; married, March 14, 1765, Tryphena Riley. 7. Solomon, born June 22, 1740; married (first) December 3, 1761, Sarah Seldon; (second), in December, 1775, Naomi Kirby. 8. Daniel, born October 11, 1742; married (first) Martha Morton; married (second), May 8, 1777, Mrs. Abiah (Eells) Lincoln.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Captain Josiah Savage, son of William and Sarah (Savage) Savage, was born in Middletown Upper Houses, Connecticut, October 17, 1735, and died there, July 6, 1804. He was in the French and Indian Wars and also in the Revolution, serving as ensign and then as captain of the Twenty-third Regiment in 1781.

Josiah Savage married, July 13, 1758, Sarah Stow, born August 10, 1737, died December 16, 1819, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Bulkley) Stow. She is said to have been a notably fine character, and a force in the community. Children: 1. Luther, baptized April 8, 1759; married, December 13, 1781, Jerusha Smith. 2. Josiah, baptized January 11, 1761; married Mary Roberts. 3. Rebecca, baptized December 17, 1762; married Richard Dowd. 4. Edward, baptized February 3, 1765, died October 10, 1776. 5. Giles, baptized May 3, 1767; married Olive Smith. 6. Timothy, of whom further. 7. Persis, baptized January 27, 1771. 8. Sarah, born June 6, 1773; married Colonel Josiah Sage. 9. William, born in 1775; married Hannah Rhodes.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 642, 659, 661, 698.)

V. Captain Timothy Savage, son of Josiah and Sarah (Stow) Savage, was born in Middletown Upper Houses, January 24, 1769, and died there, November 1, 1849, being buried in the family lot there, which is enclosed with an ornate iron fence. At fifteen years of age he began a shipping career, and at twenty-one was master and owner of a vessel. He suffered large losses by the French "spoliation," 1798-1800. One vessel thus captured, the "Henry and Gustavus," was owned by Timothy Savage and Robert Johnson, who valued the horses and oxen seized at twelve hundred dollars. Timothy Savage built several houses in the lower, or original, part of the village of Upper Houses, and in 1816 built a brick mansion. This mansion was seized during his absence in the West Indies to pay debts of a firm

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whose notes Captain Savage had endorsed, and therefore passed out of his possession. He then retired from the seas and went to Wilmington, North Carolina, where for a number of years he was engaged in the West Indian shipping business, in partnership with the British Consul there. When he finally retired from business he returned to Upper Houses for the remainder of his life. There he was an original member of the Baptist Church, and its first clerk. In the latter years of his life he united with the Middletown Universalist Church. His portrait adorns the Life Certificate of the Society of Middletown Upper Houses. A story is told of him that not only illustrates his personal courage, but indicates the spirit of the times as shown even in the children. It is said that during the Revolution as a little chap of nine, he rode ten miles through a dark night mounted on an old lame and almost blind horse, to carry a most important war message into the camp at Wethersfield. Of his wife, he wrote: "In my wife I found a treasure more valuable than gold or silver in all our subsequent life. Not over-elated in prosperity or depressed by adversity, both of which we have experienced together."

Timothy Savage married, November 26, 1789, Sarah Collins, born in Middletown Upper Houses, July 23, 1769, and died there, July 29, 1844. Children: 1. Julia, of whom further. 2. Timothy, born December 30, 1792; married, December 3, 1818, Elizabeth Haddock. 3. Sarah, born January 3, 1795; married Rev. George Phippen. 4. Jerusha, born February 12, 1797; married, March 4, 1821, Jesse A. Root. 5. Henry Russell, born January 16, 1799, died October 2, 1861; unmarried. 6. Maria, born November 6, 1800; married, March 4, 1821, Henry Law. 7. Harriet, born October 13, 1802; married, March 15, 1821, Rev. Irah Chase. 8. Marriette, born November 13, 1804, died September 6, 1810. 9. John Collins, born February 3, 1807; married Marina Constantina Hunter. 10. Abby Green, born March 31, 1809, died in November, 1820. 11. George, born July 4, 1812; married Julia F. Gilbert.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 624-62.)

VI. Julia Savage, daughter of Captain Timothy and Sarah (Collins) Savage, was born in Middletown Upper Houses, Connecticut, January 3, 1791. She married Gurdon Caulkins Robins. (Robins VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

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(The Dunham Line)

Arms—Azure a chief indented or, a label of three points gules.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

A surname of locality, Dunham is derived from two parishes, Great and Little Dunham, in County Norfolk. There is also a Dunham-on-Trent, in the diocese of Southwell. The name is found in the early records of County Lincoln and County Norfolk; we hear of Joel de Dunham, of County Lincoln, in the reign of Henry III, and of Reginald de Dunham, the same date.

The spelling of the name varies according to the district of England in which the various branches are located. The orthography Denham appears in County Kent; Douhams in Devonshire; Downham, in Norfolk, Dunham and Douhan, in Nottingham, and Dynham in Dorsetshire.

The earliest record of the Dunhams is that of Rychert Donham, who was born in 1294, and settled in Devonshire. This county, on the English Channel, was engaged in raising sheep, and the manufacture of woolen fabrics, and with the goods carrying on an extensive trade with Spain. Rychert Donham may have been a Spanish adventurer. He accumulated a large fortune, and bought a large landed estate in Beaminster, County Somerset. Some attempts have been made by genealogists to connect the American family herewith traced, with this early ancestor, but definite proof seems to be lacking.

(Isaac Walton Dunham: "Dunham Genealogy, English and American Branches of the Family," p. 34, and following.)

I. John Dunham was born, probably in England, in or about 1589, and died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, March 2, 1668-69, "aged about fourscore." The author of the Dunham Genealogy gives many pages to supposed proofs that John Dunham was no other than John Goodman, who came over on the "Mayflower," and that the change of name was for safety's sake, because of religious persecution. However, definite proof that the two are identical, is lacking. John Dunham was in Leyden, Holland, and appears in Plymouth in 1633, when he was a debtor, for four shillings, to the estate of Governor Winslow, as shown by the inventory of said estate. The estate of Ephraim Hicks was indebted to John Dunham, Senior, March 6, 1649. September 9, 1650, John "Donham" signed his mark as a witness to the

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will of William Pontus, and John Dunham, Senior's, oath on the same was taken March 4, 1652.

John Dunham purchased one of the thirty-four shares of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, March 7, 1652; and June 13, 1655, John Dunham, Senior, weaver of Plymouth, acknowledged a gift of land to his son-in-law, Gyles Richardson. We also find that John Dunham and Thomas Cushman took an inventory of Governor Bradford's estate, June 3, 1657; and on July 4, 1658, John Dunham, Senior, weaver of Plymouth, acknowledged a gift of land to his son, Jonathan.

There was recorded, February 15, 1658, a former grant of land to John Dunham, Senior, at a place called Fresh Lake, in the township of Plymouth, founded by said Fresh Lake, and "another pond," and "soe over the brook."

John Dunham, Senior, John Howland and Francis Cooke were directed by the court, August 2-12, 1659, to settle a controversy regarding bounds of lands, and they reported on same, September 15, 1659. The will of John Dunham, made January 25, 1668, exhibited to the court at Plymouth, June 4, 1669, on the oaths of Captain Thomas Southworth, Mr. Thomas Cushman, and Mr. John Cotton, gave bequests to: "John Dunham, eldest son; son Benajah Dunham; son-in-law, Stephen Wood; son Daniel Dunham; son Jonathan Dunham; son Thomas Dunham; son Samuel Dunham, and all the rest of my children that are not expressed in this my last will." The will was signed with a mark.

John Dunham married (first) Susanna Kenney. He married (second), in Leyden, Holland, October 22, 1622, Abigail Barlow. Children of first marriage: 1. John, "eldest son," living in Leyden, 1622; married, March 14, 1643, Dorothy. 2. Humility, a daughter, living in Leyden, in 1622. 3. Thomas, living in Leyden, in 1622; married, in 1646, Martha Knott. Children of second marriage: 4. Abigail, first child born in Plymouth; married, November 6, 1644, Stephen Wood, or Atwood. 5. Samuel, married, June 29, 1649, Mrs. Martha Fallowell, widow of William Fallowell. 6. Hannah, married, October 31, 1651, Giles Rickard. 7. Jonathan, married (first), November 29, 1655, Mary de la Noye; married (second) Mary Cobb. 8. Persis, married (first), November 29, 1655, Benajah Pratt; (second), October 15, 1657, Jonathan Shaw. 9. Joseph, of whom further. 10. Benjamin, married, October 25, 1660, Mary Tilson. 11. Daniel, married,

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about 1670, Mehitable Hayward. 12. Benajah, married, October 25, 1660, Elizabeth Tilson.

(“Mayflower Descendants,” Vol. XVII, pp. 113, 114. Dexter: “The England and Holland Pilgrims,” p. 612. Isaac Dunham: “Dunham Genealogy.” “Mayflower Descendants,” Vol. III, p. 110; Vol. IV, p. 213; Vol. XII, p. 214; Vol. XIV, pp. 17, 18; Vol. XVIII, p. 57.)

II. Joseph Dunham, son of John and Abigail (Barlow) Dunham, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, November 18, 1637, and died there early in 1703, his will dated March, 1703, being probated June 16, 1703. He took an oath of fidelity in 1658, and was on the Grand Jury in 1686. He purchased, June 3, 1680, from his brother Jonathan, land which had belonged to their father. Among the various bequests to his children, included in his will, is one to: “my son Micajah twenty acres which he now lives on with one half acre on S. C. corner of lot I now live on.” His wife, Esther, was to retain the homestead until the youngest sons were twenty-one years of age, “then one third income to her for life.” She was the sole executrix.

Joseph Dunham married (first), November 18, 1657, Mercy Morton, died February 19, 1667, daughter of Nathaniel and Lydia (Cooper) Morton. He married (second), August 20, 1669, Hester (Esther) Wornnall, or Wormall, of Rowley, Massachusetts. Children of first marriage: 1. Eleazer, born in 1658; married, in 1682, Bathsheba Pratt. 2. Mercy, born in 1660; married, in 1701, Joseph King. 3. Nathaniel, born in 1665; married, in 1689, Mary Tilson. Children of second marriage: 4. Micajah, of whom further. 5. Joseph, born in 1682; married, June 19, 1706, Bathia Chase. 6. Benajah, born in 1683; married, May 7, 1708, Sarah Covell. 7. Daniel, born in 1689; married Sarah Thexford.

(Dunham: “Dunham Genealogy,” pp. 5, 9, 12, 159, 160. “Mayflower Descendants,” Vol. XVIII, p. 57.)

III. Micajah Dunham, son of Joseph and Hester (Esther) (Wornnall, or Wormall) Dunham, was born in or near Plymouth, Massachusetts, about 1680, and died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, November, 1756. He enlisted, in 1699, for three years, under Captain Warren. He was a resident of Plymouth, where he was a member of the church “in full communion,” May 9, 1736. At this church

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were baptized, August 15, 1731, "six children of Micajah and Elizabeth Dunham."

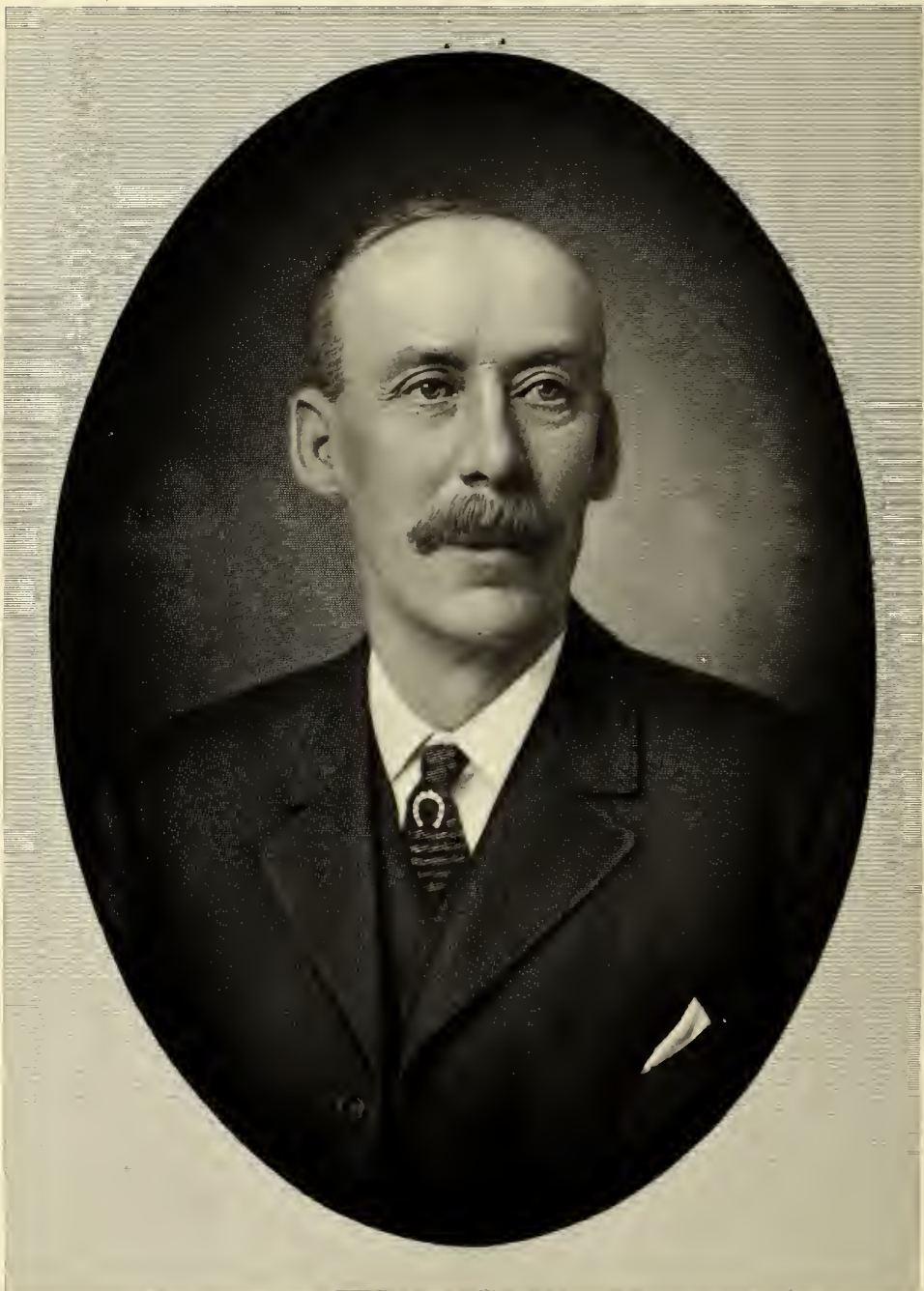
Micajah Dunham married, in 1701, Elizabeth Lazell. Children, order uncertain: 1. Joshua, born in 1701; married Sarah. 2. David, born in 1703; married Esther. 3. Joseph, born in 1705. 4. Abigail, born in 1707; married, before August 15, 1731, John Thomas. 5. Joannah, born November 5, 1709; married, before August 15, 1731, a Mr. Ward. 6. Esther, of whom further. 7. Ephraim, baptized August 15, 1731. 8. Manassah, baptized August 15, 1731. 9. Micajah, born in 1716; married in Brimfield, Massachusetts, in 1736, Mary.

(Dunham: "Dunham Genealogy," p. 202. "Plymouth Church Records." "Genealogical Advertiser," Vol. II, p. 19. "Plymouth Vital Records to 1850," p. 95. "Mayflower Descendants," Vol. V, pp. 182-83.)

IV. Esther Dunham, daughter of Micajah and Elizabeth (Lazell) Dunham, was born, probably in Plymouth, or Plympton, Massachusetts, about 1711. She is mentioned fourth among the six children who were baptized at the Plymouth Church, August 15, 1731; four of whom, including a brother, two married sisters, and herself "were active in the Covenant themselves." She became a member of the church "in full communion," January 20, 1733-34. That she is the same Esther Dunham who married Lemuel Robins (Robins IV), is evident from the similarity of names to be found throughout her family and in the list of her children; also the fact that she was of the right age, and that after careful search among the Plympton Vital Records and Plymouth Church Records, she is the only one found.

(Plympton Vital Records. Plymouth Church Records.)





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Richard H. Johnson

Richard Henry Johnson

BY E. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



IN the business life of Saranac Lake, New York, Richard Henry Johnson for many years took a lively part; and his contribution to the transportation system in the Adirondacks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was of great value, as was his later work in the field of real estate. For his character, as well as for his achievements, he was respected and admired by many; and in him, sterling integrity was mingled with sound business judgment, keenness of intellect, breadth of understanding and sympathy, and the whole delicately blended with a mellowing sense of humor that rendered him the worth-while and well-rounded citizen. His career was highly useful, his life finely and beautifully lived, and his death a cause of widespread and sincere sorrow.

Richard Henry Johnson was born at Clintonville, New York, on February 7, 1854, son of James and Jane (Roberts) Johnson, both of that same place. His father, James Johnson, was the first man to carry the mails and run a stagecoach from Port Kent northward through the Adirondack Mountains, and for his activities in that field of public service he earned the respect and esteem that were his.

The son, Richard Henry Johnson, received his early education in the country schools at Clintonville, his birthplace, and at the age of ten years, began his active work as a stage driver for his father. When he was only seventeen years old, he purchased one of his father's coaches, and from then until about 1900, he conducted a stagecoach line from Port Kent northward through the Adirondacks, covering the same territory that the elder man had previously driven through. The two men worked together for a time in this service, and were eminently successful in their undertakings.

In 1900, however, the younger Mr. Johnson established a livery business at Saranac Lake, New York, and began to devote the greater part of his attentions to his labors in this field. As time went on, he broadened his activities, until he had, at one time, three different stables, all being operated simultaneously. These were known as the

RICHARD HENRY JOHNSON

Riverside Stables, the Linwood Stables, and the Severance Stables, all at Saranac Lake. From the very outset, this business was successful; and Mr. Johnson continued it until the inroads of the automobile were such as to dissuade him from further attempts to keep on with the horse-drawn vehicles.

Then it was, in the year 1915, that he retired from active business, although he never ceased to take a lively interest in public affairs and in the general commercial life of Saranac Lake. He even acquired considerable property, and was for a time extensively engaged in real estate operations. Buying and selling real estate, he was continuously active in this field of endeavor until the time of his death, and was, in this as in his other undertakings, successful. His foresight, and his instinctive knowledge of what the value of a piece of property would be a few years ahead, were qualities that went far toward making him one of the worth while members of his community, as well as a real estate dealer who was capable of bringing profits to himself. The last purchase that he made was that of the "Split Rock Farm," a property about six miles from Saranac Lake, in the Adirondacks.

Known ever as a man who was fair and square in all his dealings with others, and as an individual whose integrity was perhaps his most fundamental characteristic, Mr. Johnson came to be trusted and esteemed, and his word, in this region of New York State, where he was widely known, was as good as his bond. Into every enterprise in which he was interested he put his finest energies and his fullest measure of devotion and enthusiasm; and, as a result, many were the friends that he had in all walks of life, people who knew that in him they could trust and confide, and that, once they took him into their confidence in regard to any subject, their problems were his, and his advice would be of outstanding usefulness, based as it was upon sound judgment and accuracy of opinion.

Richard Henry Johnson married, on March 5, 1885, at Clintonville, New York, his birthplace, Lillian Burt, daughter of Wesley C. and Sabrina (Bigelow) Burt, of that city. Mrs. Johnson was a granddaughter of John Burt, on the paternal side of her house, known in his day as a "grand old man" of this region. He was one of the pioneers of Clintonville, was a lumberman by occupation, and was responsible for clearing off all the land in and near Clintonville.



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Steel Engraving by Pinlog & Conn

Lillian B. Johnson

RICHARD HENRY JOHNSON

The death of Richard Henry Johnson occurred on February 25, 1929. He had done much for his community and for this region of New York State, had lived well and in accordance with the highest ideals, and had so conducted himself on this earth as to make his memory worthy of survival in the long years to come.



